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INDIA IN KĀLIDĀSA

INDIA IN KĀLIDĀSA

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BHAGWAT SARAN UPADHYAYA

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TO
THE MEMORY
OF

MY LATE WIFE

Srimati Vinodini Upadhyaya

PREFACE

The present work has been my dream since 1931. It has taken me about twelve years to complete it. The method followed in its composition has been analytical, constructive, and critical. Kālidāsa is a great poet, a vast ocean, and a comprehensive effort based on his works has yet been a desideratum. Efforts have been made earlier to study Kālidāsa but they have mainly centred round the political aspect. A vast world that is disclosed by the genius of the poet has been therefore lying as a sealed book to us. I have endeavoured to study the poet under the various spheres of human knowledge and the results of my study spreading over more than a decade are embodied in this volume. The arrangement of the work has been made under a comprehensive scheme of seven books, namely (1) The Geographical Data, (2) Polity and Governance, (3) Social Life, (4) Fine Arts, (5) Economic Life, (6) Education and Learning, and (7) Religion and Philosophy, each divided among several chapters. Two appendices dealing with the Date of Kālidāsa, and the extent of Puṣyamitra's Empire have been added at the close. A detailed Contents and an exhaustive Bibliography of the works consulted have been given. The date of Kālidāsa, logically, should have been discussed in the beginning of the work but its discussion has been deferred almost to the closing pages due to an important reason. I have had to take into consideration and marshal into array a number of conclusions and inferences arrived at and drawn from the facts narrated in the body of the book. A discussion of the date of Kālidāsa at the beginning of the book would render a complete summary of the incidents of this work at the outset almost imperative, and the body would then read like a repetition. So after the reader has taken an impression of the times and traditions of Kālidāsa as disclosed in those pages, he will easily follow and in most cases agree with the conclusions reached regarding the date of the poet given at the close.

The main scope of this composition has naturally been the works of the poet himself. I have worked on the generally accepted seven works of Kālidāsa, namely the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Vikramorvaśī* and *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, and the *Rtusambhāra*, *Meghadūta*, *Kumārasambhava* (only the first eight cantos), and the *Raghuvamśa*. The *Kuntalēśvaradantya*, perhaps a work of Kālidāsa, has yet to be recovered and, therefore, a consideration of that work is easily precluded. For fear of repeating the arguments contained in numerous oriental journals I refrain from discussing here the reliability of the ascription of these works to the poet. I have utilized the texts published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press and other modern editions and works references to which have been gratefully acknowledged in the footnotes and in the Bibliography. There is an unmistakable affinity between the contents of the Gupta inscriptions and those of the works of the poet and so the epigraphical records and the numismatic data of the Imperial Guptas have been utilized to elucidate and corroborate the state of things depicted by the poet.

The work is a pioneer composition and most of its books deal with absolutely new matter. The chapters on the Polity and Governance, Fine Arts like Paintings, Sculptures and Terracottas, and Architecture, Economic Life, Education and Learning, etc. venture out on an untrodden ground. Certainly all literature bearing on the subject, as far as possible, has been utilized and acknowledged in due context. The date of Kālidāsa may perhaps now finally be accepted. In course of its discussion the evidence of the Gupta and Kuṣāna sculptures and terracottas which conclusively fix the age of the poet to the Gupta times has been utilized. A side issue, that of the extent of Puṣyamitra's Empire, has been occasioned by the reference of the poet to the Sindhu which has been identified with the frontier Indus on the authority of the new data furnished by the Yuga-purāṇa of the *Gārgī Samhitā*. A detailed discussion has been attempted in the same appendix on the same authority on the contemporaneity of Khāravela, Demetrios, Puṣyamitra and Menander. A discussion regarding the various readings in the text of Kālidāsa's works would mean a work of an independent character and would involve efforts wholly devoted to the editing of the text. But herein also, where necessary, an effort has been made to accept the sane readings. This has been done by accepting the standard editions of which a complete list is given at the end of this work. The Nirṇayasāgara edition has been cited for bringing about a uniformity in the references.

As the title—*India In Kālidāsa*—implies, the present work seeks to give a picture of the times in which the poet lived and wrote as also (which, as a matter of fact, has turned out naturally to be more extensive) of the beliefs and ideals of his age. These ideals were not necessarily to be fulfilled in instances of contemporary times. Most of what Kālidāsa portrays is traditional and conventional. This work seeks to describe both the contemporary as well as the ancient conditions, the historical as well as the traditional India, i.e. all that the poet has to say. An effort to give only the historical aspect would most necessarily be defeated, as such inferences are few and far between. The only thing that can be done in this regard is to give the composite picture of both the traditional and the historical India and to distinguish the one from the other. In this work an endeavour has been made to distinguish the traditional from the historical, at the end of the discussion of every topic. Lapses, however, may have been occasioned.

All pains have been taken to verify carefully the references of the footnotes and they have been read and re-read, yet there is every likelihood of mistakes—orthographical, diacritical and of typing—occurring in this work. There may also have been engendered mistakes of commission and omission by inadvertence, although no pains have been spared to eradicate them. The author, therefore, will most willingly and with deep gratitude correct any mistakes that may be pointed out.

A word may be added here with regard to the publication of this work. It should have seen the light of day as early as 1941 but due to some technical difficulties its printing was held up. Finding the plans of publication delayed, the author published a few hundred pages of its matter in research periodicals like the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, and the

Indian Culture. The contents, thus published, were cited at length, with or without acknowledgment, by scholars. The work, however, is at last being published as a result of the keen interest taken in it by Mr. G. D. Birla, who has been good enough to finance the venture and to whom I register my deep sense of gratitude.

I have further to acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon), Barrister-at-law, to Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., D.LITT., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University, and to Dr. R. S. Tripathi M.A. PH.D., Professor of History, Benares Hindu University, for a number of valuable suggestions. I thank my friend Mr. Brahmadata Dikshit, M.A., for doing the Index.

I cannot fail to express the deep sense of gratitude under which Dr. E. J. Thomas of Cambridge has laid me by writing a foreword to this volume despite his crowded engagements.

Benares,

15-8-1947.

FOREWORD

Professor Upadhyaya has here given us a vivid picture of India, not a merely imaginative impression, but a picture resting on a solid basis; for the India described by him is Bhāiatavarsa as seen through the eyes of one of her greatest poets.

In making this limitation there are obvious advantages. India has a continuous tradition stretching back into the dim regions of heroic adventure and primeval mythology. The author has wisely chosen to proceed from the known to the less known, and to start from the sure ground of a definite period of history illustrated by the genius of Kālidāsa. Even this is a wide survey, and it is all the more welcome at the present time, when so much detailed work on minute problems is being done. We can now pause and consider not merely the archaeological facts, but also the actual life of the people, into the history of which the results of so much specialised investigation have to be fitted. On the one hand the survey helps to interpret the details, and on the other hand the various details contribute to establishing the historical basis.

We are now far beyond the time when Western scholars could declare that India has no history, but it is true that the history has not yet been fully reconstructed. The material has so accumulated, and much of it is so recent, that its interpretation is not always beyond the reach of controversy. I say this with no wish to controvert any of Professor Upadhyaya's results, but to point out the additional interest in his treatment of some hitherto unsettled problems. This treatment, it is easy to see, is thoroughly scientific and carefully carried out, and I have much pleasure in being allowed to introduce a work which is both a store of information and a stimulus to further research.

FEBRUARY 3, 1947

EDWARD J. THOMAS
The Oriental Faculty Library
Downing Place, Cambridge

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BOOK I

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Difficulties in Discussing Geographical Data.

A discussion of the geographical data in Kālidāsa is beset with many difficulties. The chief of these is the conventional character of Kālidāsa's geography. The geographical uncertainty naturally leads to historical uncertainty. Geographical data of a particular work are difficult to be assigned to a particular historical period in the face of a faulty and uncertain chronology. References to the Hūnas, for example, are met with in documents so early as the *Mahābhārata*¹ and *Rāmāyaṇa*². The *Mahābhārata* must have been subject to additions till as late as the 5th century A. D.³. And so it would be wrong to say that the *Mahābhārata* reflects contemporaneous events in its pages. Another difficulty is the occurrence of the same names in respect of places, mountains and the like in various parts of the country. Kosala, for instance, which Kālidāsa mentions⁴, is a northern country in the Buddhist *Suttas*⁵ while a southern one in the *Dakṣiṇīkūmaracarita*⁶. The *Raghuvamśa* styles the northern nation as Uttarakosala; Kosala, however, occurs both for Uttarakosala and (once only⁷) as the name of some other country, the home of Kausalyā, the chief queen of Daśaratha and the mother of Rāma. Niṣadha⁸, in like manner, is both the name of a place to the south of Malwa⁹ as well as a mountain lying to the west of the Gandhamādana and north of the Kabul river, known by the Greeks as Paropamisos, and now called the Hindu Kush¹⁰. A third obstacle is the application of different names

¹ *Mahābhārata*, Ed. Calcutta 1834-39, I, 668; (Hūna); III, 1991 (Hūna); VI, 373 (Hūna).

² The *St. Petersburg Dictionary* records only one reference to the Hūnas in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, namely as a *varia lectio* in the Bengal recension (ed. Gorresio, Paris, 1845, IV, 40.25). Here instead of दण्डकूलश्च, one ms. has पल्लवगोत्रश्च.

³ First Hūna invasion was repulsed by Skanda Gupta about A. D. 455. Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 13 (Saidpur-Bhitari); M. A. Stein: *White Huns and Kindred Tribes—Indian Antiquary*, XXXIV, p. 80. ff.

⁴ *Raghu*, ix. 17.

⁵ Mark Collins: *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa and Dakṣiṇīkūmaracarita*, p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Raghu*, ix. 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xviii. 1.

⁹ Burgess: *Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kachha*, p. 131.

¹⁰ Lassen: *History traced from Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins* in *JASB.*, Vol. IX (1840), p. 469, note.

for the same place or people, for example, Kusumapura, Puṣpapura¹ and Pāṭali-putra used for the capital of Magadha, and Vaidarbha² and Krathakaisikas³ for the people of Berar (Vidarbha). This is sometimes done due to want of knowledge, as when Sāketa is used for Ayodhyā. In the *Raghuvaṃśa* the two names are synonymous and Mallinātha ratifies this identification⁴. But the fact that both names are found in Buddhist literature indubitably points to a distinction. Sāketa, it may be noted, was one of the six greatest cities of Buddha's time⁵. Ayodhyā (Ajojjhā) is met with but rarely. Sāketa occurs in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*⁶ where it is located on the banks of the Ganges. Then, there is the traditional and conventional element in Geography preponderating in the writings of Indian classical writers like Kālidāsa. Names are handed down from author to author and used without any regard to the existence of the places and peoples concerned; and "the geographical fancies of an early age are similarly propagated from generation to generation and sometimes find their way centuries later into the sober pages of technical literature⁷." Last but not the least is the disregard to the distinction between real and fabulous geography. Kailāsa, for instance, has been suggested by a fantastic name Kuberāśaila⁸ thus transferring the mountain to a fableland. Similarly peculiar and fabulous notions have been embodied in phrases like Siddhas⁹, Yakṣas¹⁰, Kinnaras¹¹, Aśvamu-khyas¹², Kimpuruṣas¹³ and Śarabhas¹⁴.

An attempt, however, will be made in the following pages to give an idea of the map of India from the writings of Kālidāsa. Here we shall first try to identify the various geographical names, traditional in many cases, mentioned by the poet and describe in as precise a way as possible the physical features, flora and fauna and other data.

Boundary of India.

"Far in the north Himālaya, the lord of the mountains, spanning the wide land from east to western sea¹⁵," is the northern boundary of India marked out by the poet. The Himālaya, the grand sentinel, is described as stretching along the entire northern boundary of India ultimately reaching the eastern and western seas. The mention of the western limit of the Himalayas is obviously tradi-

¹ *Raghu.*, VI. 24.

² *Ibid.*, V. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, V. 39, 61, VII. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V. 31 (Comment).

⁵ *SBE.*, XI, pp. 99, 247.

⁶ Ed. L. Feer. Pali Text Society, 1834-1904, Vol. III. p. 140.

⁷ Mark Collins: *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvaṃśa and Daśakumāracarita*, p. 8.

⁸ *Ku.*, VII, 30. also of एकपिंगलगिरौ *Ibid.*, VIII. 24.

⁹ *M.P.*, 14, 45.

¹⁰ *Ku.*, VI. 39; *M.P.*, 1, 5 (गुह्यक). 7, *M.U.*, 3.

¹¹ *Ku.*, VIII. 85; *M.U.*, 8.

¹² *Ku.*, I. 11.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VI. 39.

¹⁴ *M.P.*, 54.

¹⁵ *Ku.*, I. 1.

tional unless we accept the Hindu Kush and the Iranian plateau as forming part of the great range and thus touching the Arabian Sea. But this would be too far fetched for even the Hindu Kush, the Paropamisos of the Greeks, is considered outside the range of the Himalayas. In the far east lay the eastern sea¹ (*Pūrvasāgara*) which to-day bears the name of the Bay of Bengal. Its coast was bordered by the eastern peoples of the lower Ganges, the Suhmas² and the Vāṅgas³. It extended to the great Indian Ocean⁴ (*Mahodadhi*) which lay spread to the far south thus hemming in almost the three southern sides of the Indian continent and creating the great Indian peninsula. The ocean in the south-east and the extreme south was lined with extensive forests of palm trees⁵ and so looked jet black from a distance. The eastern coast-line running to the south was inhabited by some of the mightiest peoples of India, the Kāliṅgas, famous for their elephant forces⁶, and the Pāṇḍyas⁷, the lords of the south. Along the south-west coast of the ocean were settled the Kēralas⁸. The entire western coast was the region of Aparānta⁹ which also included the habitat of the Kēralas. In the north-west, i. e., Persia, in the valley of the Oxus and adjacent to them respectively dwelt the bearded Persian horsemen¹⁰, the Hūṅas¹¹ and the Kambojas¹². These foreign inhabitants we shall discuss and locate later.

Looking at the chart of India as furnished by Kālidāsa, we can see the country divided into three main parts, namely (1) the great mountain wall of the Himalayas, (2) the great lowlying plain of the midland formed by the valleys of three great rivers, the Sindhu, Gaṅgā and Brahmaputra, and (3) the great plateau of the peninsular India.

From the Pamir knot in the north the greatest range of mountains is that of the Himalayas known to Kālidāsa by phrases *Himādri*¹³ and *Himālaya*¹⁴ (the abode of snow) with many of the highest mountain peaks of the world. The great mountain wall formed by the Himalayas runs towards the east marked frequently with its sky-kissing peaks which have been alluded to by the poet with the following names, viz., Kailāsa¹⁵, Gaurīśikhara¹⁶, Gandhamādana¹⁷, Mandara¹⁸, and

¹ *Raghu.*, IV. 32.

² *Ibid.*, 35.

³ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴ प्रापतालीवनक्ष्याममुपकण्ठं महोदधेः *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 60-65.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 68.

¹² *Ibid.*, 69.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁴ *Ku.*, I. 1.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, II. 35; *M.P.*, 11, 58, *Vik.*, p. 87: पौलस्त्यतुलितस्यद्रे : *Raghu.*, IV. 80: कुबरसैल ; *Ku.*, VII. 30. एकपिगलगिरि VIII. 24.

¹⁶ *Ku.*, V. 7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VI. 46. VIII. 28, 29, 75, 86; *Vik.*, pp. 87, 118.

¹⁸ *Ku.*, VIII., 23, 59.

Meru¹ or Sumeru².

Kailāsa.

The Kailāsa mountain is probably the Khang-rin-poche of the Tibetans, situated about 25 miles to the north of Mānasa-sarovara beyond Gangotri which is also called Darchin, and to the east of Niti Pass³. It is a spur of the Gangri range. "In picturesque beauty Kailāsa", says Strachy, "far surpasses the big Gurla or any other of the Indian Himalaya that I have ever seen; it is full of majesty—a king of mountains⁴." The identification of the Kiunlun range with Kailāsa is a mistake⁵. The *Mahābhārata*⁶ and the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*⁷ include the mountains of Kumayun and Garhwal in the Kailāsa range which Kālidāsa seems to endorse⁸. Kailāsa was supposed to be the abode of Śiva and Pārvatī which fact has been frequently alluded to by the poet⁹. Kālidāsa refers to this as a mountain formed of crystals¹⁰. Its peak has been indirectly referred to as covered with perpetual snow¹¹ which served as a mirror for the celestial women¹². We find that convention and mythology enter almost naturally in the description of the poet and he associates with the mountain the Puranic tale which credits Rāvaṇa with lifting it and loosening all its joint-spots and thus striking terror in the hearts of creatures dwelling over it¹³. This mountain is known to have acquired one of the traditional Puranic names of *Kuberaśaila*¹⁴ and *Ekapiṅgalagiri*¹⁵ which thus fixed the abode of god Kubera over it. Kailāsa was also known by yet another name Hemakūṭa¹⁶. Nundo Lal Dey thinks that by Hemakūṭa was also understood the Bandarapuccha range of the Himālaya in which the rivers Alakānandā, Gaṅgā and Yamunā have got their source (*Varāha p.* Ch. 82.), but he further observes that the Kailāsa and Bandarapuccha ranges were called by the general name of Kailāsa¹⁷. Kālidāsa, however, makes Hemakūṭa identical with Kailāsa¹⁸.

Gaurīśikhara is the same as the *Gaurīśaṅkara* according to the *Varāha Purāṇa*¹⁹.

¹ *Raghu*, VII. 24; *Ku.*, 1, 2, 18, VII. 79, VIII. 22.

² *Raghu*, V. 30; *Ku.*, VI. 72.

³ Batten: Niti Pass: *J. A. S. B.*, 1835, p. 314.

⁴ H. Strachy: *J. A. S. B.*, 1948, p. 158.

⁵ Nundo Lal Dey: *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 83.

⁶ *Vana Parva*, Chs. 144, 156.

⁷ Ch. 51.

⁸ *Vik.*, p. 87. Fraser: *Himalaya Mountains*, p. 470.

⁹ *Raghu*, II. 30, IV. 80; *Ku.*, VII. 30, VIII. 24; *M.P.*, 52, 58, 60.

¹⁰ *M.P.*, 56.

¹¹ राशीभूतः प्रतिदिनमिव व्यम्बकस्याद्गृहासः *Ibid.*

¹² कैलासस्य त्रिदशवनितादर्पणस्य *M.P.*, 58.

¹³ *Ibid.*, *Ku.*, VIII. 24.

¹⁴ *Ku.*, VII. 30.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII. 24.

¹⁶ *Sak.*, p. 237; *Vik.*, I. 12; *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁷ *The Geog. Dic. of Anc. and Med. India*, p. 75.

¹⁸ *Sāk.*, VII.

¹⁹ Ch. 215.

Schlagintweit identifies it with Mount Everest¹ in Nepal, but this identification is evidently incorrect, firstly, because locally it is not known by that name, and, secondly, because its measurement by Captain Wood² has proved beyond doubt that Gaurīśikhara or Gaurīśāṅkara of the Nepālese cannot be Mount Everest. In modern maps the Mounts Gaurīśāṅkara and Everest are indicated separately.

Gandhamādāna according to the Hindu geographers is a part of the Kailāsa range³. The *Kālikā Purāṇa*⁴ locates it on the southern side of the Kailāsa mountain. The *Mahābhārata*⁵ and the *Nārāyaṇa Purāṇa*⁶ mention the site of the Badarikāśrama on this mountain. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya*⁷ and *Skanda Purāṇas*⁸ the portion of the mountains of Garhwal through which the Alakānandā flows is called Gandhamādāna. Kālidāsa, however, is explicit on this point and locates Gandhamādāna in the vicinity, or rather in the very range of Kailāsa⁹ (*Kailāsaśikharodeśam*). He mentions the Mandākinī and Jāhnavī (Ganges) flowing through and watering it¹⁰.

Mandara.

Mandara has been identified by Nundo Lal Dey on the authority of many Purāṇas with a hill situated in the Bānka subdivision of the district of Bhagalpur¹¹, but this identification in view of Kālidāsa's description is evidently wrong. Kālidāsa places this mountain in the Himalayas¹². And the *Mahābhārata*¹³, unlike most of the Purāṇas mentioned by Nundo Lal Dey, does not recognise any other Mandara except the Mandara of the Himālaya range. "In some Purāṇas," observes Dey, "the Badarikā-āśrama containing the temple of Nara and Nārāyaṇa is said to be situated on the Mandara mountain, but in the *Mahābhārata* (Vana, chs. 162, 164), Mandara mountain is placed to the east and perhaps a part of Gandhamādāna and on the north of Badarikāśrama¹⁴." In locating the Mandara mountain Kālidāsa seems to follow the tradition of the *Mahābhārata* and he places it in the vicinity of the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādāna¹⁵. Śiva first enjoys his honeymoon on the Meru¹⁶ from where he proceeds to the Mandara¹⁷

¹ Waddell: *Among the Himalayas*, p. 37.

² Waddell: *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 76.

³ *The Geo. Dict. of Anc. and Med. India*, p. 60. *Vik.*, p. 87.

⁴ Ch. 82.

⁵ Vana Parva, Chs. 145, 157; Śānti Parva, Ch. 335.

⁶ Ch. 48.

⁷ Ch. 57.

⁸ Viṣṇu Kh. III, 6.

⁹ कैलासशिखरोद्देशं गन्धमादनवनं *Vik.*, p. 87.

¹⁰ ततस्तत्रमन्दाकिनीतीरे सिकतापर्वतैः *Ibid.*, तत्र हंसवधलोत्तरच्छद जाह्नवीपुलिनचारुदर्शनम् *Ku.*, VIII, 82.

¹¹ *The Geo. Dict. of Anc. and Med. India*, p. 124.

¹² *Ku.*, VIII, 23, 59.

¹³ Anuśāsana Parva, Ch. 19; Vana Parva, Ch. 162.

¹⁴ *The Geo. Dict. of Anc. and Med. India*, p. 125.

¹⁵ *Ku.*, VIII, 23, 24, 29, 59.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

mountain. From the Mandara¹ he goes to the Kailāsa² and the Gandhamādana³. The description of Mandara in which the poet indirectly alludes to the churning of the ocean and acquisition of the nectar can not place it in the south although it shows that Kālidāsa has not been able to extricate himself from the traditional allusion of the Purāṇas⁴. And it is clear that although he locates it in the range of the Himālaya he indirectly refers to the mythology with respect to it. The description of the south wind blowing from the region of Malaya must not be confused and its evidence deduced in favour of locating Mandara in the south as this description refers to Kailāsa two verses after⁵ the verse in which the name of Mandara occurs⁶.

Meru.

Meru⁷ or Sumeru⁸ according to the *Mābhārata*⁹ is the Rudra Himālaya in Garhwal, where the river Ganges has got its source; it is near Badarikāśrama. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* the Sumeru mountain is bounded on the north by Uttarakuru, on the south by Bhāratavarṣa, on the west by Ketumālā and on the east by Bhāratavarṣa¹⁰. The *Padma Purāṇa* likewise says that the Ganges takes its rise from the Sumeru Parvata and flows to the ocean through Bhāratavarṣa¹¹. It may be noted that the Kedāranātha mountain in Garhwal is still traditionally known as the original Sumeru¹². Sherring holds that all local traditions fix Mount Meru direct to the north of the Almora district¹³. Nundo Lal Dey¹⁴ points out that the *Mābhārata*¹⁵ gives the name of Meru to a mountain in Śakadvīpa. He further observes: "It is the Mount Meros of Arrian near Mount Nysa of Neshadha of the *Brahmaṇḍa p.* (ch. 35); the Hindukush mountain (see Mc Crindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 180¹⁶)." This identification would place Meru or Sumeru somewhere in the Pamirs but Kālidāsa's description places it in the vicinity of the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādana. After his marriage Śiva enjoys his honeymoon on the Meru¹⁷, Mandara¹⁸, Kailāsa¹⁹ and the Gandhamādana²⁰ all of which are situated on or in the neighbourhood of the

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., 24.

³ Ibid., 29.

⁴ Ibid., 23.

⁵ Cf. Ibid., 23 and 25.

⁶ Ibid., 23.

⁷ *Raghu*, VII. 24; *Ku.*, I, 2, 18, VII. 79, VIII. 22.

⁸ *Raghu*, V. 30; *Ku.*, VI. 72.

⁹ Śānti Parva, Chs. 335-336.

¹⁰ Ch. 113.

¹¹ Ch. 128.

¹² *JASB.*, XVII., p. 361.

¹³ *Western Tibet*, p. 40.

¹⁴ *The Geo. Dic. of Anc. and Med. India.*, p. 197.

¹⁵ Bhīṣma Parva, Ch. 11.

¹⁶ *The Geo. Dic. of Anc. and Med. India*, p. 197.

¹⁷ *Ku.*, VIII. 22.

¹⁸ Ibid., 23, 59.

¹⁹ Ibid., 24.

²⁰ Ibid., 28, 29, 75, 86.

Rudra Himālaya in Garhwal. Sumeru has received a fabulous treatment at the hands of ancient Indian writers and Kālidāsa traditionally calls it a mountain of gold¹ and makes it the dwelling place of the supernatural beings² like the Kimpuruṣas and Vidyādhara.

The Himālayas have been beautifully described by Kālidāsa on several occasions. Dark clouds wandering round the mountain's zone cast cool shadows dear to the sylphs till they sought eternal sunshine on each loftier peak being frightened by the storm and rain³. In autumn the bands of the majestic swans flew back to the Ganges from the dry plains. Occasionally there arose a murmuring sound from the fallen leaves of the birch tree, and the wind passing through the holes of the wild bamboos generated melodious music, which along with the breezes, charged with the cool and fresh sprays of the water of the Ganges, attended upon the traveller⁴ and aided the Kinnaris, the fabulous songstresses of the Himalayas in their music.⁵ The nameru trees gave ample shade to the rocky boulders which were rendered fragrant with the touch of the navel (musk) of the recumbent deer.⁶ Friction of pine trunks produced conflagration⁷ and at night the whole scene was lit up in a moment by the phosphorescent herbs which served as lamps burning without oil.⁸ It is difficult to explain the nature of these herbs which the poet describes as shedding light. The Krauñcarandhra—the Niti Pass—stood in the mountain to proclaim the prowess of Paraśurāma⁹ who is said to have cut out this valley by his arrow to test his might and skill in archery.¹⁰ In the background of this valley there stood the snowclad mount of Kailāsa resembling a newly cut tusk¹¹ and serving as a mirror to celestial women.¹² The hoary head of the Himalayas was rendered all the more proud and stately by the majestic movements of the roaming Yaks¹³ whose white tails, remarks the poet, served as the flywhisks of a paramount sovereign. There was situated the Mānasa-sarovara lake in which grew the uncommon golden lotuses.¹⁴ By these Kālidāsa perhaps means the yellow species of the lotus. The caves of the mountain were infested with lions¹⁵ and forests were full of elephants.¹⁶ The mountain is said to be the cause of endless wealth.¹⁷ Herds of elephants roamed about rubbing against the sarala trees and filling the vicinity

¹ *Raghu*, V. 30; *Ku*, VI. 72.

² *Ku*, I. 7 (विद्याधर), 7 (किन्नर), 11 (अश्वमुख्यः), 14 (किंपुरुष).

³ *Ku*, I. 5.

⁴ *Raghu*, IV. 73.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 12; *Ku*, I. 8; *M.P.*, 56.

⁶ *Raghu*, IV. 74; *Ku*, I. 54; *M.P.*, 52.

⁷ *M.P.*, 53; *Raghu*, II. 14.

⁸ *Ku*, I. 10; *Raghu*, IV. 75.

⁹ *M.P.*, 57.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹² *Ibid.*, 58.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 53; *Ku*, I. 13.

¹⁴ *M.P.*, 62.

¹⁵ *Raghu*, IV. 72; *Ku*, I. 56.

¹⁶ *Raghu*, II. 37; *Ku*, I. 6, 7, 9.

¹⁷ *Ku*, I. 3, 2.

with the fragrance of the milk of those trees¹. This is a mountain of eternal snow² and glaciers.³ This great mountain wall of India is the subject of detailed description in several works of the poet. The entire story of the *Kumārasambhava* and the theme of the latter half of the *Meghadūta* are connected with Himālaya; the fourth act of the *Vikramorvaśi* and the seventh act of the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* have been laid in this very region and so also are parts of the first, second and fourth cantos of the *Raghuvamśa* descriptive of it.

Passes.

The poet speaks directly of only one pass, the Krauñcarandhra.⁴ It is the famous Niti Pass in the district of Kumaon which affords a passage to Tibet from India⁵ and through which much trade between the two countries is carried on. There is an indirect reference to another pass in the Malaya mountains, between the Anāmalaya and the Elāmalaya through which armies passed from the east to west. It was through this pass that the hosts of Raghu crossed⁶ to the western coast. It is perhaps the same as Palghat.

The Plain of Hindustan.

Inside the mountain wall, and forming a great curve from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, is one of the most important plains of the world. It occupies the greater part of northern India and is formed and watered by three great rivers and their tributaries. In the west and draining into the Arabian sea is the river Sindhu⁷ (Indus). Farther east is the river Gaṅgā⁸ (Ganges), which flows south-eastwards into the Bay of Bengal. Before the Ganges reaches the Bay of Bengal⁹ (Pūrvasāgara) it is joined by the third of the mighty rivers the Lauhitya¹⁰ (Brahmaputra) forming a great delta¹¹ with the Ganges.

The plain is almost free from the existence of rocky tracts of land except in a few cases where exclusive hills break the evenness of its vast expanse. Kālīdāsa mentions but one such hill bearing the famous name of Govardhana.¹² This is the little hill situated eighteen miles from Brindaban in the district of Muttra.

The Plateau.

Nearly the whole of India south of the great plain of Hindustan is occupied

¹ Ibid., I. 9.

² हिमालि *Raghu.*, IV., 79, *Ku.*, I. 54; शिलीभूतहिम *Ku.*, I. 11. तुषारसंचातशिला : 56, तुषार 6.

³ *Ku.*, I. 56.

⁴ *M.P.*, 57.

⁵ Dey: *The Geo. Dic. of Anc. and Med. India.*, p. 104.

⁶ *Raghu.*, IV, 51.

⁷ *Mal.*, p. 102.

⁸ *Raghu.*, IV. 73, VI. 48, VII. 36, VIII. 95, XIII. 57, XIV. 3; *Ku.*, I. 30, 54, VI. 36, 70; *M.P.*, 50, 63; जल्लवी; *Raghu.*, VIII. 95, X. 26, 69, भागीरथी, VII. 36.

⁹ *Raghu.*, IV. 32,

¹⁰ Ibid., 81.

¹¹ Ibid., 36.

¹² Ibid., 51.

by a plateau. At places the plateau rises into lofty mountains and hills like the Vindhya,¹ Vindhvapada,² Pāriyātra,³ Āmrakūta,⁴ Citrakūta,⁵ Mahendra,⁶ Devagiri,⁷ Mālyavān,⁸ Rāmagiri,⁹ Nicagiri,¹⁰ Sahya,¹¹ Rkṣavān¹² and Trikūta.¹³ The two mountains, Malaya¹⁴ and Dardura¹⁵ lay in far south.

The *Vindhyas* are the famous mountain range of that name which divide Bhāratavarṣa into two great parts, the north and the south. It is from here that the two highways of the Uttarāpātha and Dakṣiṇāpātha started respectively to north and south. Strictly speaking the eastern projection of the Pāriyātra from where Dhasan, the eastern feeder of the Betwa, takes its rise, was the Vindhya range. But now the southern Rkṣa, Pāriyātra and Vindhya proper together make up what we call the Vindhya range.¹⁶ It is one of the seven *Kulaparvatas*.¹⁷ The *Vindhvapada* is the great Satpura range from which rise the Tapti and other rivers. It has been called the 'foot of the Vindhyas' by Kālidāsa,¹⁸ and Hindhu geographers.¹⁹ It lies between the Narbada and the Tapti. It is the Mount Sardonys of Ptolemy²⁰ containing mines of cornelian, sardine being a species of cornelian. The *Pāriyātra* is the western part of the Vindhya range extending from the source of the Chambal and Betwa. It comprised the Aravali mountains and the hills of Rajputana including the Pathar range which is perhaps a contraction of Pāriyātra. According to Prof. Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra, the part from where all the rivers from the Parvati and Banas to Betwa take their rise was the Pāriyātra. It was one of the *Kulaparvatas*. The *Āmrakūta* has been identified with the Amarakantak which gives rise to many rivers including the Narbada or Revā. By Citrakūta is ordinarily understood the Kamtānathgiri in Bundelkhand. It is an isolated hill on a river called the Paisuni (*Payasvinī*) or Mandākinī, where Rāma dwelt for some time during his exile.²¹

¹ Ibid., VI. 61, XII. 31. XIV. 8; *Rtu*. II. 8, 27 *Māl.*, III. 21.

² *M.P.*, 19.

³ *Raghu*, XVIII. 16.

⁴ *M.P.*, 17-18.

⁵ *Raghu*, XIII. 47-48.

⁶ Ibid., IV. 39, VI. 54.

⁷ *M.P.*, 42.

⁸ *Raghu*, XIII. 26.

⁹ *M.P.*, I; *M.U.*, 38.

¹⁰ *M.P.*, 25.

¹¹ *Raghu*, IV. 52.

¹² Ibid., V. 44, XII. 25.

¹³ Ibid., IV. 59.

¹⁴ Ibid., IV. 46, 51, XIII. 2; *Ku.*, VIII. 25.

¹⁵ *Raghu*, IV. 51.

¹⁶ Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra: *Bhāratabhūmi aurā uske Nivāsi*, p. 63.

¹⁷ महेंद्रो मलयः सह्यः शुक्तिमान् ऋक्षपर्वतः ।

विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तैते कुलपर्वताः ॥ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57, 10-11.

¹⁸ *M.P.*, 19.

¹⁹ *Varāha Purāṇa*, Ch. 85.

²⁰ *McCrimble's Ptolemy* by S. N. Majumdar.

²¹ *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, Ch. 55.

It is about four miles from the Chitrakut station on the G.I.P. Railway. The Dandakāranya, however, is mentioned by Kālidāsa to have been entered¹ before the description of Citrakūṭa,² and so he would seem to place the Citrakūṭa south of the Vindhya chain. In the *Meghadūta* also Kālidāsa refers to a hill, to which the commentator Mallinātha gives the name Citrakūṭa,³ in such a context as to place it south of the Vindhya range. Thus if we agree with Mallinātha, the poet would seem to send the cloud first to Citrakūṭa⁴ and then to Āmrakūṭa,⁵ and it might then appear that a particular hill called Citrakūṭa lay to the south of the Amarakantak. But Mallinātha is hardly justified in identifying the hill referred to in the phrase *amum tungam* with the famous Citrakūṭ hill. Again the verse in the *Meghadūta* which is supposed by Mallinātha to embody a reference to this hill has been declared spurious by Mr. K. B. Pathak in his edition of that work.⁶ This looks likely. In that case the verse XII. 15 of the *Raghuvamśa* may be properly interpreted to show that this hilly tract was situated within the area known as Dandakāranya which is described in verse XII. 9 of the same work before Citrakūṭa has been referred to in verse II. 15. It cannot be supposed that Dandakāranya is altogether a different tract of land since it has been named explicitly and apart from Citrakūṭa. In fact, it has not been described at all. The scene opens in this region of the forest and the first description is given of the Citrakūṭavanasthalī. The stretch of Dandakāranya commences from the north of the mountain chain of the Vindhya (i.e. the southern portion of Bundelkhand) and extends on the south to the region of the river Godāvarī. Thus Dandakāranya lay partly north and partly south of the Vindhya and may thus have well included the forest region of Citrakūṭa on its northern limit. Kālidāsa describes the mount "Citrakūṭa with its mouths echoing with the sound of rivulets, and with clouds resting on its peaks and caves hence appearing like a wild bull playfully butting against a rock or mound."⁷ Close to the mount, according to the poet, flows the Mandākinī.⁸ This would easily identify the mount with the hill which is ordinarily understood by the Citrakūṭa hill, i.e., the Kamtanathgiri in Bundelkhand.

Rāmagiri is the modern Ramteg (Ramtak), twenty-four miles north of Nagpur in the Central Provinces. Kālidāsa places the opening scene of his *Meghadūta* at Rāmagiri.⁹ He refers to it to have been rendered sacred by the residence of Sītā and Rāma. There were situated hermitages in the shade of the big nameru (*Elacocarpus*) trees otherwise known as "shadow-trees" (*chāyātaru*) on account of the shade provided by their luxuriant foliage. Rāmagiri has been referred to as a high hill rendered sacred by the footprints of Rāma. Kālidāsa describes

¹ *Raghu.*, XII. 9.

² *Ibid.*, 15.

³ अमुं शैलं चित्रकूटं—Comment on *M.P.*, 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

⁶ *Meghadūta*.

⁷ *Raghu.*, XIII. 47.

⁸ मन्दाकिनीभाति तपोपकण्ठे *Ibid.*, 48.

⁹ रामगिर्याश्रमेषु *M.P.*, 1.

the lowlying region about Rāmāgiri as covered by nīcula reeds.¹ *Nītagiri* is identified² with the low range of hills in the kingdom of Bhopal that lies near Bhilsa as far as Bhojapur. But this identification seems to be incorrect. It is probably the ancient name of the Udayagiri hill. This hill lies in the State of Gwalior and contains some caves with inscriptions and sculptures of the Gupta age. Kālidāsa mentions the caves as *silāveśma* in the *Meghadūta*, v. 25. Mahendra is the whole range of hills extending from Orissa to the district of Madura and was known by the name of Mahendra-parvata. It included the Eastern Ghats and the range extending from the Northern Circars to Gondwana,³ part of which near Ganjam is still called Mahendra Malae or the hills of Mahendra. This portion alone has been referred to by Kālidāsa as he locates it in Kalinga⁴.

The *Raghuvamśa* places it in Kalinga.⁵ The name is principally applied to the range of hills separating Ganjam from the valley of the Mahānadī. It is one of the seven principal mountain chains (*Kulaparvatas*) of India.⁶ Kālidāsa styles the king of Kalinga as the "Lord of Mahendra," and Kalinga was not limited to the country about Ganjam but extended down to the Godāvarī. South of the Mahendra mountain and along the sea-shore the entire strip of land was covered with rows of forests of fruit bearing pūga trees.⁸ *Rkṣavān*, one of the *Kulaparvatas*,⁹ has been identified with the mountains of Gondwana.¹⁰ But more properly it should be identified with the Satpura mountain as Aja had to cross it on his way to Kuṇḍinapura. According to Prof. Jayachandra Vidyā-lankāra it "lies stretched to the south of the Vindhya proper and Pāriyātra and all the rivers from the Tapti and Venagaṅgā to the Vaitaraṇī in Orissa wash its foot. (*Vāyu Purāṇa*. Prathama Khanda, 45, 97-103; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Dvitiya Khanda, 3, 10-11; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57, 19-25. In these references there is much difficulty occasioned by the difference of texts: the text of the *Vāyu* is more extensive and correct, that of the *Viṣṇu* briefer. But in the *Vāyu*, *Kūrma* and *Varāha Purāṇas* the eastern part of this range is named as *Rkṣa* and the western one as *Vindhya*, whereas the *Viṣṇu* has a text reading just the opposite and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* gives *Skandha* as the name of the eastern part and *Vindhya* as that of the southern. In truth, the text of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is correct because 'Bindhachal' is still near Mirzapur and *Rkṣa* has been given the name of the southern range in the *Nalopākhyāna*.¹¹") "In the northern part of this double mountain range are situated the Pāriyātra in the west and Vindhya proper in the east, while the entire southern part is the *Rkṣa* which is separated from the Pāriyātra by the valley of the Narmadā and from the Vindhya proper by that of

¹ M.P., 14.

² Dey: *The Geo. Dic. of Anc. and Med. India*, p. 140; Cunningham: *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 327.

³ Dey: *The Geo. Dic.*, p. 119.

⁴ *Raghu*, IV. 43, VI. 54.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 39, VI. 54.

⁶ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57, 10-11.

⁷ *Raghu*, IV. 43, VI. 54.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV. 44.

⁹ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57, 10-11.

¹⁰ Dey: *The Geo. Dic.*, pp. 168-69.

¹¹ *Bhāratabhūmi aurā uske Nivāsī*, p. 63.

the Sone. To-day we call this whole chain formed by these three mountains by the name of the Vindhya range.¹ In ancient geography of India the stream of Vaitaraṇī was supposed to flow in the mountains of R̥kṣa which fact may imply that the hills of Mayurabhanj and Kendujhar were considered to be the parts of the R̥kṣavān.² It ran uninterruptedly towards the east from the northern end of the Sahyādri, and then to the north of its eastern end lay the Vindhya proper and Pāriyātra³. According to Prof. V. V. Mirashi R̥kṣavān should be identified with the Satpura mountain as Aja had to cross it on his way to Kuṇḍinapura.

The *Mālyavān* is identified by Mr. Nando Lal Dey with the Anagundi hill on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra⁴. According to the *Hemakośa* it is identical with Praśravaṇa-giri but Bhavabhūti⁵ refers to them as two distinct hills. Mr. Dey gives its present name as 'Phatika (Sphatika) Silā, where Rāmachandra resided for four months after his alliance with Sugrīva (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Aranya, ch. 51.⁶)' Pargiter, however, thinks Mālyavān and Praśravaṇa to be identical with the only difference that Praśravaṇa is the name of the chain and Mālyavān that of the peak.⁷ *Devagiri* has been placed by Kālidāsa⁸ between Ujjain and Mandasor near Chambal. It has been correctly identified by Prof. Wilson with Devagarh situated in the centre of the province of Malwa on the south of the Chambal.⁹ *Sabya* is one of the seven *Kulapārvatas* of India.¹⁰ It is still known as the Sahyādri and is the same as the Western Ghats, as far as their junction with the Nilgiris north of the Malaya. *Trikūṭa* has been identified with the hills near Junnar.¹¹ But more probably it was the name of a hill to the west of Nasik. An inscription found at Anjeneri near Nasik (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV., pp. 225 ff.) mentions Eastern Trikūṭa Viṣaya.

The *Malaya* is the southern part of the Western Ghats, south of the river Cauvery, called the Travancore Hills, including the Cardamom mountains, extending from the Koimbatore gap to Cape Comorin where it touches the ocean¹². It is also called the Agastikūṭa mountain being the southern most peak of the Anāmalai mountains where the river Tāmraparṇī has its source. "Anāmalai and Elāmalai (Anāmalai lies beyond Palghat to the south of which there runs right to Cape Comorin the chain of the Elāmalai mountains) together make up the famous Malaya mountain of ancient India¹³." Bhavabhūti tells us that the slopes of the

¹ Ibid., p. 64.

² Ibid., p. 87.

³ Ibid., p. 91.

⁴ *The Geo. Dic.*, p. 123.

⁵ *Uttara Rāmcarita*, Act. 1.

⁶ *The Geo. Dic.*, p. 123.

⁷ *The Geography of Rāma's Exile*, JRAS., 1894, pp. 256-57.

⁸ M.P., 42.

⁹ Quoted by Dey in his *Geo. Dic.*, p. 54.

¹⁰ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57, 10-11.

¹¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. p. 75, Vol. VII, p. 103; cf. Bhagavanlal Indraji's *Early History of Gujarat*, p. 51.

¹² वैदेहि पश्यामलयाद्विभक्तं मत्सेतुना फेनिलमम्बुराशिम् । *Raghu*, VIII. 2.

¹³ Vidyālaṅkāra: *Bhāratabbhūmi*, p. 90.

Malaya mountain are encircled by the river Cauvery¹. The Malaya abounds in sandal trees and is proverbially famous for its cool breezes.² The Malaya includes the mountains bordering Malabar abounding in aloe trees. The *rāja-tāli* forests being shaken by the cool breezes have been noted by Kālidāsa³. The sting-mouthed black bees abounded among the punnāga flowers and the date trees grew around in abundance⁴. "The dates of the Malaya mountain overspread with tamāla leaves, where the sandal trees were encircled with cardamom creepers, and where the betel-nut trees were enclosed within a ring of tāmbūla creepers⁵." The valley of the Malaya mountain was covered with the black-pepper forests, where flocks of green parrots flew about⁶, and the dust of clā(cardamom) rose up and clung to the sweating temples of elephants⁷. The Malaya is also one of the *Kulaparratas* of India⁸. Dardura is the Nilgiri hills in the Madras Presidency⁹. Kālidāsa describes the Malaya and Dardura as the breasts of the southern region¹⁰. The two mountains have been mentioned together in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*¹¹ also. Dardura, therefore, must be that portion of the Ghats which forms the south-eastern boundary of Mysore. The sources of four rivers, namely Kṛttamālā, Tāmraparṇī, Puspajā and Ūtpalāvati are placed in the chain which includes both the Malaya and the Dardura mountains.

Mainaka.

The *Mainaka* mountain has been referred to by the poet in a mythological and fabulous sense¹². Nundo Lal Dey identifies this mountain alternatively with (1) the Siwalik range (*Kūrma P.*, Uparibhāga, ch. 36; *Mbb.*, Vana, ch. 135), extending from the Ganges to the Bias; (2) the group of hills near the eastern source of the Ganges in the north of the Almora district (Pargiter's *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57, p. 288); (3) a fabulous mountain situated in the sea, midway between India and Ceylon (*Rāmāyaṇa* Sundara K., ch. VII); and (4) a mountain on the west of India in or near Guzerat (*Mbb.*, Vana, ch. 89¹³). That Kālidāsa's reference to the *Mainaka* is conventional is positively proved by the unmistakable language which he employs in its description¹⁴. Therefore Nundo Lal Dey's identification No. 3 which alludes to a fabulous mountain situated in the sea, midway between India and Ceylon, may be taken as correct.

The surface of the plateau in the Deccan and far south was furrowed by the

¹ *Mahāvīracarita*, V. 3.

² *Ku.*, VIII. 25.

³ *Raghu.*, IV. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI. 64.

⁶ *Ibid.* 46.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁸ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57. 10-11.

⁹ *JRAS.* 1894, p. 262; cf. *Bṛhatsambhitā*, Ch. 14.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, IV. 51.

¹¹ Ch. 57.

¹² *Ku.*, I. 20.

¹³ *Geo. Dict.* p. 121.

¹⁴ *Ku.*, I. 20.

river valleys of Revā, Godāvarī, Cauvery and the Tāmraparṇī as we shall see below.

The Rivers of India.

The great rivers of the plain of Hindustan take their rise either from the mountain wall or from beyond it. A few come from the plateau also. Those rising in the Himalayas are fed with water from the gradual melting of the snow which lies in its home—the Himālaya. These great rivers do not depend for their water entirely on the monsoon rains; they depend on the snow and rain which fall in the mountains at other times of the year. That is why they are never dry. In mountains they are roaring, rushing torrents, pouring through gorges of narrow valleys, over waterfalls like the *Gangāprapāta*¹ and the *Mahākośīprapāta*², and amongst great boulders. When they reach the plain of Hindustan they become slow, broad rivers wandering lazily across the plain.

The three great river systems of northern India mentioned by Kālidāsa are as follows:—

1. Sindhu³ or the Indus.

2. Gaṅgā⁴ with its tributaries and subtributaries, the Yamunā⁵, Sarayū⁶, Sarasvatī⁷, Soṇa⁸, Mahākośī⁹, Mālīnī¹⁰, Mandākinī¹¹, Tamasā¹², Surabhitanayā¹³, Vetravati¹⁴, Sindhu¹⁵, Nirvindhya¹⁶, Gandhavati¹⁷, Gambhīrā¹⁸, and Siprā¹⁹.

3. Lauhitya²⁰ or the Brahmaputra.

Besides some of the rivers flowing in northern and central India, Kālidāsa names the following ones of Orissa and southern India, viz., Narmadā²¹, Revā²² or Gautamī(?)²³, Varadā²⁴, Godāvarī²⁵, Kaverī²⁶, Tāmraparṇī²⁷ and Muralā²⁸.

¹ *Raghu.*, II. 26.

² *Ku.*, VI. 33.

³ *Māl.*, p. 102.

⁴ *Raghu.*, IV. 73, VI. 48, VII. 36, VIII. 95, XIII. 57, XIV. 3; *Ku.*, I. 30, 54, VII. 36, 70; *M.P.*, 50, 63, *जालुवी Raghu.*, VIII. 95, X. 26, 69; *भागीरथी Ibid.*, VII. 36.

⁵ *Raghu.*, VI. 49, XIII. 57, *कलिन्दकन्या Ibid.*, VI. 48.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII. 95, IX. 20, XIII. 60-63, XIX. 40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III. 9; *M.P.*, 49.

⁸ *Raghu.*, VII. 36.

⁹ *Ku.*, VI. 33.

¹⁰ *Śāk.*, pp. 21, 87; *Act.* III. 4.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, XIII. 48, *Ku.*, I. 29, II. 44, III. 65; *M.U.*, 4; *Vik.*, p. 87.

¹² *Raghu.*, IX. 20, 72, XIV. 76.

¹³ *M.P.*, 45.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁹ *Raghu.*, VI. 35; *M.P.*, 31.

²⁰ *Raghu.*, IV. 81.

²¹ *Raghu.*, VI. 42-46; *Māl.*, p. 9.

²² *Raghu.*, VI. 43; *M.P.*, 19.

²³ *Śāk.*, p. 42.

²⁴ *Māl.*, V. 1 and 13.

²⁵ *Raghu.*, XIII. 33.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 45.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

Some of these rivers are known by their ancient names but the point may need a little elucidation and hence below is given their identification.

Gaṅgā otherwise referred to as *Jāmnakanyā*¹, *Jāmnā*² and *Bhāgīrathī*³, is the Ganges rising from the Gaṅgotrī in the Himalayas and falling into the sea after making a delta⁴ with the Brahmaputra. Yamunā is the Jumna river which takes its rise from Kāṇḍāgiri, a portion of the Bandarapucchā mountain whence it is called *Kāṇḍakanyā*⁵. It falls into the Ganges at Allahabad and a bath at the confluence⁶ is considered very meritorious. The poet has gone into raptures in his descriptions of the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Prayāga⁷. He has reiterated the old traditions that a dip in the joint current of the two holy rivers where the dark and placid channels flow together (*sītāsīte sarīte yatra saṅgate*) brought great merit. *Sarayū* is the Gogra in Oudh. The town of Ayodhyā, as now, was situated on the bank of this river⁸. It rises in the mountains of Kumaon and after its junction with Kāṇḍādi it is called the Sarayū or Sarju, the Gogra or Dewa. Kālidāsa eloquently dwells upon the merits acquired through a bath at the confluence of this river with the Ganges near Chupra in Bihar⁹. *Sarasvatī* rises in the hills of Sirmur in the Himalayan range called the Siwalik and emerges into the plains at Adī Badrī in Ambala and is lost again in the southern sand. It is reckoned as one of the most sacred rivers of the Hindus. It falls after appearing and disappearing several times in the sand into the Gulf of Kutch. It is supposed by poets to flow under the surface of the Earth, and join ultimately the ocean. The *R̥gveda* represents it as flowing into the sea¹⁰, but later legends make it disappear under ground and join the Ganges and Jumna at Allahabad. It was to the bank of this river, Kālidāsa observes following the tradition of the *Mahābhārata*, that Balarāma repaired at the commencement of the Bhārata war¹¹

Sona.

The Sone, rises from the tableland of Amarkantak, about five miles east of the source of Narbada, and running northerly and then easterly for five hundred miles falls into the Ganges above Patna. The confluence has been referred to by Kālidāsa¹² as also Puṣpapura¹³ (Pāṭaliputra or Patna), the metropolis of Magadha, which once stood at the confluence. *Mahākoṣī* is the joint stream formed by the seven Kosis of Nepal, which are the Milamchi, the Sona Kosi or the Bhoṭea Kosi, the Tamba Kosi, the Likhu Kosi, the Dudha Kosi, the Arun (*Padma Purāṇa*, Svarga, ch. 19; *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, ch. 84) and the Tamar¹⁴. Of the

¹ Ibid., VIII. 95. ² Ibid., X. 26, 69, XIV. 3.

³ Ibid., VII. 36. ⁴ गंगास्रोतोत्तरेषु Ibid., IV. 36.

⁵ Ibid., VI. 48.

⁶ Ibid., VI. 48, XIII. 54-57; M.P., 51; Vik., II. 14.

⁷ *Raghu.*, XIII. 54-57.

⁸ Ibid., 61, XIV. 30.

⁹ Ibid., VIII. 95.

¹⁰ Max Müller: *R̥gveda Samhitā*, p. 46, Commentary.

¹¹ M.P., 49.

¹² भागीरथीशोणइवोत्तरंगः *Raghu.*, VII. 36.

¹³ Ibid., VI. 24.

¹⁴ Tāmra of the *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, Ch. 84.

seven Kosis, the Tamba or Tamar, and Likhu are lost in the Sona Kosi and the Barun in the Arun¹. The river *Mālīnī* flows through the district of Saharanpur and Oudh and falls into the Gogra about fifty miles above Ayodhyā. It is the Erineses of Megasthenes. The hermitage of Kanva, the adoptive father of Sakuntalā was situated on the bank of this river², about thirty miles to the west of Hardwar and called Nadapit in the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*³. According to Lassen⁴ the present name of the Mālīnī is Chuka, the western tributary of the Sarayū⁵.

Mandākinī was originally the name of an arm of the Ganges in one of the valleys of the Himalayas; afterwards it became like many natural objects situated within the geographical limits of the Himalayan range, the name of a heavenly river, or rather of the Ganges itself before it descended from svarga upon the Earth. *Mandākinī* is a name that usually signifies 'the river of the air or heaven' (the Ganges or a feeder of it before it reaches the plains); but it is also the name of an actual river which is otherwise known as the Kaliganga or the Western Kali or Mandagin, which rises in the mountains of Kēdāra in Garhwal. It is a tributary of the Alakānandā and thus a subtributary of the Ganges itself. The river *Mandākinī* has been referred to at several places, namely the *Raghuvamśa*⁶, the *Kumārāsambhava*⁷, the *Vikramorvaśī*⁸ (flowing through the Gandhamādāna mountain), the *Mālavikāgnimitra*⁹, and the *Meghadūta*¹⁰. The *Mandākinī*s of the *Vikramorvaśī* and the *Meghadūta* are evidently the same, i.e., either the Ganges before it descends on the plain¹¹ or more probably, the Kaliganga, otherwise known as Mandagin, a tributary of the Alakānandā. The *Mandākinī* of the *Raghuvamśa* is assuredly the Mandakin, a small tributary of the Paisuni (Payasvinī) in Bundelkhand which flows past the Mount Citrakut. Kālidāsa also refers to it as flowing by the Citrakūṭa hill (*Mandākinī bhāti nagopakāṇṭhe*). From the Puṣpakavimāna the *Mandākinī* with its limpid and serene currents of water, appearing thin on account of the intervention of a long distance, looked like a pearl necklace hanging from the neck of the Earth near the mountain¹². (Citrakūṭa). The *Manadākinī* of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is undoubtedly a different (a third) river, perhaps one of the Deccan. It is very probable that it may here stand for the Narbada, in conformity with a practice, still very common all over India, of designating any sacred river by the most sacred river name. This suggestion is strongly corroborated by the fact that the Nirṇayasāgara edition of this work actually reads *ṇammadātīre*¹³ for *mandāinīdīre*¹⁴.

¹ JASB., XVII, p. 644, note.

² *Sāk.*, pp. 21, 87; III, 4.

³ XIII, 5, 4, 13 (SBE., XLIV, p. 399).

⁴ *Ind., Ant.*, II, p. 524; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyakāṇḍa, ch. 68.

⁵ *Ibid.*,

⁶ XIII, 48.

⁷ I, 29, II, 44, III, 65.

⁸ मन्दाकिनीतीरे Act IV. p. 87.

⁹ Kale's edition, Act I.

¹⁰ Uttara, verse 4.

¹¹ It seems to have been so used at least once in the *Ku.*, II, 44.

¹² *Raghv.*, XIII, 48.

¹³ *Māl.*, p. 9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Kale's edition.

Tamasā has been mentioned by the poet in three contexts, twice in canto IX (20,72) and once in canto XIV (76) of the *Raghuvamśa*. The first two allusions are made evidently to the same river as they refer to almost the same context. In the first is preserved a panegyric record of Daśaratha who had decorated the banks of the Sarayū and *Tamasā* by erecting myriads of golden sacrificial posts¹. The second alludes to the same king entering the neighbouring forests for hunting, obviously proceeding parallel to the river and emerging on the bank of *Tamasā* crowded with ascetics². This *Tamasā* is no other than the river Tonse, a branch of the Sarayū (Gogra) in Oudh, which flowing through Azamgarh, falls into the Ganges near Ballia (U.P.). It flows twelve miles to the west of the Sarayū and is itself called by that name (Sarju) at Ballia and in the neighbouring locality. The bank of the *Tamasā* is associated with the early life of Vālmiki³. The third reference to this river is made in connection with Sītā's exile⁴. The difficulty presents itself when we proceed to identify this river. It is evidently a river distinct from the Tonse we have discussed above inasmuch as it is reached after crossing the Ganges⁵. Now it cannot be the above one as it lies between Ayodhyā and the Ganges and flows at a little distance from Ayodhyā and the distant Ganges need not be crossed to reach it. Then we know only three Tonse, viz. (1) one we have already referred to; (2) the river Tonse⁶ in Rewa in Central India; and (3) the Tonse in Garhwal and Dehradun⁷. The junction of this last named river with the Jumna near the Sirmur frontier was a sacred place where Ekavīra, called also Haihaya, the progenitor of the Haihaya race and the grandfather of Kārtavīryārjuna was born⁸. The possibility of the first of these rivers is already discarded. The third Tonse, the western feeder (in Garhwal) of the Jumna flows in too distant a place where Sītā could have been sent, in view, firstly, of her advanced stage of pregnancy⁹; secondly, of her going on a mere pleasure trip, thirdly, of the absence of night-fall during the drive, the journey to that distance being expected to be completed in several months; and, finally, because we have to locate the hermitage of Vālmiki on its bank (the Ganges intervening between it and Ayodhyā) which we know from the *Rāmāyana*¹⁰, and probably also from the *Raghuvamśa* (which places this hermitage on the way of Satrugna proceeding to kill the demon Lavana from Ayodhyā to Madhupaghna¹¹, identified by Growse¹² with Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the present town of Muttra, the city of Lavana, whom he kills¹³ and whose

¹ *Raghu*, IX. 20.

² तपस्विगाढां तमसा Ibid., 72.

³ *Rāmāyana*, Bāla. K. ch. 2.

⁴ *Raghu*, XIV. 76.

⁵ Ganges crossed in the *Raghu*, XIV. 52. Tamsā reached in Ibid., 76.

⁶ *Matsya* P. ch. 114: *Rāmāyana*, Ayodhyā K. ch. 46.

⁷ *Calcutta Review*, LVIII (1874), p. 193.

⁸ *Devī Bhāgavata*, VI, chs. 18-33.

⁹ *Raghu*, XIV. 26, 27, 45, 71.

¹⁰ Uttara K., ch. 58.

¹¹ *Raghu*, XV. 15. मार्गवशाद् . . . वाल्मीकितपोवने Ibid., 11.

¹² Mathura, pp. 32, 54.

¹³ *Raghu*, XV, 24-25.

city he demolishes and builds instead Madhurā¹, i. e., Mathurā, modern Muttra), to be no other than Bithur, fourteen miles from Cawnpour where "Sītā, the wife of Ramachandra, lived....." and "..... gave birth to the twin sons, Lava and Kusa. The temple erected in honour of Vālmīki at the hermitage is situated on the bank of the Ganges (*Rāmāyaṇa*. Uttara, ch. 58)²." So it cannot be the Tamasā which is meant here because Mathurā, which is reached in the story after the hermitage of Valmiki, is left farther on this side of Ayodhyā than the Tamasā of Garhwal whereas it should have lain beyond the river! Now the second river alone remains which should have been identified with the Tamasā of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, XIV.76 but for a few difficulties. Even if we concede, in spite of the great distance from Ayodhyā to the Ganges in view of the fact that Sītā is in an advanced state of pregnancy and there occurs no night-fall during the drive, that Lakṣmaṇa with Sītā crossed the Ganges at some point near Allahabad or Benares to reach either the vicinity of Chitrakūt or that of Mirzapur, we must take into account the facts that firstly, there was no hermitage of Vālmīki in the neighbourhood of either and secondly, Śatrughna would have to take an unusually circuitous route to reach Madhupāghna visiting Sītā on his way. From Ayodhyā to Mathurā the route would be direct. And Śatrughna would indeed go by the shortest cut for his mission was an urgent one, that of saving the lives of sages from the ravages of Lavaṇa³, the act of protection being considered the principal duty of a king. Therefore this Tonse also could not be the river Tamasā of our reference. Is it possible that Kālidāsa's knowledge of geography was inaccurate on this point, or is it that this Tamasā was some other stream close beyond Bithur and the neighbouring Ganges the ancient name of which has been forgotten? But in this latter case also the point of distance stands in the way of a proper identification of this river.

Surabhitānāyā, is the Chambal. It has its source in a very elevated point of the Vindhya amongst a cluster of hills called Janapava⁴. The river is said to have been formed by the 'juice of skin' (blood) of the cows sacrificed at the *yajña* of Rantideva⁵. The poet's reference to this river embodies the tradition of the *Mahābhārata*⁶. The river *Vetravati* is the Betwa in Bhopal, an affluent of the Jumna, on which stands Bhilsa, the ancient Vidiśā⁷. *Sindhu* is the river Kali-Sindh in Malwa called Dakṣiṇa Sindhu in the *Mahābhārata*⁸. Nirvindhya is a tributary of the Chambal between the rivers Betwa⁹ and Sindh¹⁰ in Malwa. It has been identified with the Kali-Sindh¹¹ in Malwa but this identification does not seem to be correct as Kālidāsa's *Sindhu* appears to be the Kali-Sindh. There-

¹ Ibid., 28.

² Dey: *The Geo. Dic.* p. 20.

³ *Raghu.*, XV. 2.

⁴ Dey: *The Geo. Dic.*, pp. 48.

⁵ *M.P.*, 45.

⁶ Droṇa Parva, ch. 67.

⁷ *M.P.*, 24.

⁸ Vana Parva, ch. 82.

⁹ *M.P.*, 24.

¹⁰ Ibid., 29.

¹¹ *Journal of the Buddhistic Text Society*, Vol. V, p. 46.

fore the Nirvindhya should be identified with the Newuj, another tributary of the Chambal between Betwa and Kali-Sindh. *Gambhīrā* is a tributary of the Siprā in Malwa. The *Gandhavatī* is a small branch of the Siprā on which the temple of Mahākālā is situated.¹ *Siprā* is a river in Malwa on the bank of which Ujjain stands. It is a tributary of the Chambal and is still known by its ancient name.

Lauhitya is the Brahmaputra, which, according to Kālidāsa², formed the western boundary of the kingdom of Prāgyotiṣa, modern Assam.

*Kapiśā*³ has been correctly identified by Pargiter with the river Kasai (Cossya) which flows through the district of Midnapur in Bengal. It formed, during the time of Kālidāsa⁴, the northern boundary of Utkala and Kalinga. Tamruk is situated on the bank of this river.

The above mentioned rivers with the exception of the Sindhu and the Lauhitya, are either main streams or tributaries to main streams or affluents to such tributaries, all watering the Gangetic plain as also a great part of Central India and the Central Provinces.

The rivers of peninsular India, unlike those of northern India, rise in the hills of the great plateau and are fed by the monsoon rains. Owing to the general slope of the plateau, the rivers rise from the Western Ghats and flow towards the Bay of Bengal and the eastern sea. The poet mentions the following peninsular rivers, namely the Narmadā, Revā or Gautamī, Varadā, Godāvarī, Kāverī, Tāmrāparṇī and Mutālā.

The Revā, otherwise called *Narmadā*⁵ and *Gautamī*⁶ (and even *Mandākinī* as we have already seen above), is the Narbada which rises in the Amarakantak mountain and falls into the gulf of Cambay. Kālidāsa makes it flow through the forests of the jambū⁷ and naktamālā⁸ trees. The *Varadā* is the Wardha in the Central Provinces and a tributary of the Godāvarī. Agnimitra fixed this river as the boundary of the two kingdoms parted out of Vidarbha⁹. The river *Godāvarī* has its source in Brahmagiri, situated on the side of a village called Tryambaka about twenty miles from Nasik. *Kāverī* is the river Cauvery of south India which rises from a spring called Candratīrtha in the Brahmagiri mountain in Coorg. Bhavabhūti tells us that the slopes of the Malaya mountain are encircled by the river Kāverī¹⁰. The *Tāmrāparṇī*, locally called Tambaravari, is the united stream of the Tambaravari and the Chittar in Tinnevely which rise in the Agastakūṭa mountain. It is celebrated for its pearl-fishery which has been referred to by Kālidāsa¹¹ while describing its junction with the sea. It is a small but well-known river flowing past Pallamcotta and falling into the Gulf of Manar near the small

¹ M.P., 33.

² *Raghu*, IV. 81.

³ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, V. 42-46.

⁶ *Śāk.*, p. 42.

⁷ M.P., 20.

⁸ *Raghu*, V. 42.

⁹ *Māh.*, V. 13.

¹⁰ *Mahāvīracarita*, V. 3.

¹¹ *Raghu*, IV. 50.

town of Punakail. Here the poet speaks of the union of the sea and the river, his wife, leading to the production of the pearl treasures which constitute the glory of the land¹. The river *Muralā* is difficult to identify. Nundo Lal Dey identifies it with the river Mula-mutha, which, he says, rises near Poona and is a tributary of the Bhīmā.² But this identification appears to be untenable as this river flows through Kerala which is more or less the coast of Malabar. The entire western strip of the south is divided into three parts, viz. the northern part from Daman to Goa called Konkan, the southern part, Kerala, and the coast of Karnatak lying between the two³. Thus the river must be traced somewhere in the region of Malabar, which is Kerala, for assuredly this is a river flowing in Kerala⁴. Kerala comprised Malabar, Travancore, and Kanara⁵ terminating at Cape Camorin on the south and Goa on the north. It is the country of the Nairs. It is some times used as synonymous with Chera⁶. In fact, Kerala is the Kanarese dialectal form of the more ancient name of Chera⁷. The *Muralā* therefore cannot be the same as the Mula-mutha and must be looked for in the region of Malabar.

Vaṅkṣu.

The only non-Indian river which is referred to by Kālidāsa is *Vaṅkṣu* which has been identified by K. B. Pathak⁸ and S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar⁹ with the Oxus. The verse in which the name of the river occurs is the following:—

Vinītādhvaśramas tasya Vaṅkṣutīraviceṣṭanaiḥ
Dudhuvur vājināḥ skandhān lagnakuṅkumakesarān. *Raghu.*, IV. 67.

“His horses relieved of the fatigue of the journey by rolling on the banks of the *Vaṅkṣu*, shook their bodies which had saffron flowers clinging to their manes.”

Now the principal difficulty in the identification of this river has arisen by the fact that Mallinātha, the most brilliant commentator on the works of Kālidāsa has chosen to read *Sindhu* for *Vaṅkṣu*. But in view of some very important reasons, given below, Mallinātha's reading is evidently erroneous. It is to be borne in mind that six manuscripts of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, out of nine, with their commentaries read *vaṅkṣu* (four of these) or *vaṅkṣū* (two). There hardly seems an occasion for Mallinātha to adopt the reading *Sindhu*. This reading has landed him in obvious difficulties which he has sought to explain away. The unsuitability of his reading is so patent in his own explanation that, thinking that his readers would easily confuse *Sindhu* with the great river Indus, which, he is sure, is not the one meant by the poet, he seeks to defend himself by calling it a certain diffe-

¹ Ibid.

² *The Geo. Dic.*, p. 134.

³ Vidyālaṅkāra: *Bhāratabhūmi*, p. 84.

⁴ *Raghu.*, IV. 54-55.

⁵ *Rāmāyana*, Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, ch. 41.

⁶ Rapson: *Ancient India*, p. 164. *Indian Coins*, p. 36; Bhandarkar: *History of the Deccan*, Sec. III.

⁷ Hunter: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 5. V. Chera.

⁸ *I.A.*, 1912, pp. 265, ff; *Meghadūta*, Introduction, p. VIII.

⁹ *I.A.*, 1919, pp. 65, ff.

rent river flowing through Kashmir, *Sindburnāma Kaśmīradeśeṣu kaścinnadaviśeṣaḥ*. Obviously this mistake has been occasioned by the occurrence in the same verse of the phrase *kuṅkumakesarān*. Perhaps being unaware of the fact that there was another locality in the vicinity of Kashmir which produced excellent saffron, and being a native of south India, he had, it is apparent, known only of Kashmir to be a land yielding saffron. He has quoted the Amarakośa—"atha kuṅkuman Kaśmīrajanma' ityamaraḥ" and has easily become oblivious of the error due to the occurrence of the name of Kashmir in that admirable lexicon. Although, if he had cared, he could have found in the commentary on the same *Amarakośa* by Kṣīrasvāmī (the second half of the eleventh century) another word for saffron—*vāhlikam*—signifying the product of a country called Vahlika, i.e., Bactria. Kṣīrasvāmī while explaining the word in his commentary illustrates it by alluding to the conquest of Raghu as follows: *Vāhlikadeśajam (vāhlikam), yadraghoruttara-digvījaye—dudhuvurvājīnaḥ skandhānllagnakuṅkumakesarān*¹. This commentator writing about three hundred years before Mallinātha was nearer the event and its tradition than one who flourished about a millennium after them. Vahlikadeśa or Bactria was rightly supposed by Kṣīrasvāmī to be watered by Vaṅkṣū or Vakṣū of which *Vaṅkū* or *Vakkū*, according to Prof. Pathak, are but Prākṛta or corrupt variants. All these four words are the names of the self-same river. Vallabha, who flourished in the 1st half of the twelfth century, i.e. about two hundred years earlier than the celebrated Mallinātha, and who was a native of Kashmir, had no such ambiguity in this regard and he readily accepted the usual readings of *Vaṅkṣū* or *Vaṅkū*. He knew too well that close to his own home in the basin of the Oxus there was cultivated the saffron plant the yellow pigments of which stuck to the manes of the horses of Raghu's cavalry. He explains *Vaṅkū* or *Vaṅkṣū* as *Vaṅkūnāmniṇādi tasyāstire*². Thus the conclusion from the cumulative evidence of both Kṣīrasvāmī and Vallabha is that Raghu encountered and defeated the Hūnas in Bactria, the valley of the Oxus.

The word *Oxus* is the Greek variant of the name of the river. Now considering that in Greek the letter *s* at the end of a word is superfluous and *o* corresponds to *va* we easily get the word *Vakṣū* in Sanskrit and *Vakkū* in Prākṛta. Here Prof. Pathak suggests that the sign for doubling being mistaken for *anusvāra* the word would be pronounced *Vaṅkū*. The Sanskrit form with a superfluous nasal would be pronounced *Vaṅkṣū*. The Chinese evidence also points to the same conclusion for the word Pochu or Fochu for Oxus, only phonetic transcription of *Vakṣū*, presupposes the Indian original *Vakṣu* or *Vakkū* mispronounced *Vaṅkṣū* or *Vaṅkū*. Besides, it may be noted, that in both the St. Petersburg Lexicon and the Dictionary of Sir Monier Williams *Vaṅkṣū* or *Vakṣū* has been equated with the name of the Oxus. Here we may also note that a scribe is more likely to mistake an inland stream for a foreign one and is obviously therefore less apt to bring in a Central Asian river if it were not meant by the poet.

Now having identified *Vaṅkṣū* with the river Oxus we must proceed to locate it more precisely, for the Oxus is a tremendously big river which rises near the

¹ K. G. Oka. Edition of the *Kṣīrasvāmī*, p. 110.

² *Raghuvaṃśa* by S. S. Pandit, notes, p. III.

Pamirs and lazily winding its course through Central Asia reaches the Aral Sea. Our Vāṅksū we must identify with one of the several feeders of the Oxus, probably with one of the two—Wakṣāb and Aṅksāb—in the upper reaches of the Oxus. Between these two streams lay Khuttal of the Arab geographers, which Tabari calls Haital¹. This Wakṣāb of the Arabs is apparently the Vāṅksū of Kālidāsa which is by far the greatest tributary of the Oxus². To its east in the semicircular bend of the Oxus lay Wakh-khan on the frontiers of Kashmir but on the farther side of Karakoram. "There is but a narrow strip of country at the foot of the Pamir between the upper course of the Indus, the sources of the Oxus and those of the Yarkand river, which in mediaeval times formed the road of communication between Turkistan and Tibet. The junction of the Wakshab is reached from Balkh by a road going into the territory of Khuttal, a little to the east of the junction³, and if Kālidāsa had any roadway in this region in his mind, Raghu's march must have taken the road that Alexander took, up to Balkh and then turned north-eastward from Balkh, through Badakshan and Wakh-khan to the frontier of Kamboja, instead of the slightly north-western road which led into Sugd, the Sogdiana of the Greeks⁴."

The river of the text having been identified with the 'Wakshab' of the Arabs another point, that of the location of the Hūṇas in the valley of the Oxus and their occupation of Bactria naturally comes in for discussion, but this may be dealt with in its proper place.

Confluences.

Kālidāsa gives several vivid descriptions of the confluences of a few rivers which we have already referred to above. They may be enumerated below again for the sake of clarity. The poet has shown particular partiality in describing the confluence of the Ganges with the Jumna at Prayāga. First he makes a metaphorical reference to it in his *Raghuvamśa*⁵, VI. 48, and then he goes in raptures over its sight at the Trivenī while giving its description later in canto XIII, 54-75. The poet asserts that a bath at this confluence results in enormous merit and that there is no more birth for the bather even without the attainment of *tattvajñāna*⁶. Further reference to this confluence has been made in the *Meghadūta*⁷ and the *Vikramorvaśī*⁸ and in the latter case there is an allusion also to a city⁹ standing at the confluence. This city can be easily identified with Pratiṣṭhāna, i. e., modern Jhansi, the capital of Purūravā. The poet sees in the meeting of the armies of Aja and those of his adversaries the confluence of the Ganges with Soṇa now about twenty miles above Patna where the turbulent waters of the latter rush furiously

¹ Tabari pur Zolenberg, II. p. 128.

² The Hun Problem in Indian History, I. A., 1919, p. 69.

³ L. Strange: *The Land of the Eastern Caliphate*, ch. 'The Oxus.

⁴ The Hun Problem in Indian History, I. A., 1919, p. 69.

⁵ गङ्गोर्मिसंसक्तजलेव

⁶ Ibid., XIII. 58.

⁷ यमुनासंगम M.P., 51.

⁸ II. 14; Ibid, p. 211.

⁹ प्रविश्य नगर . . . गङ्गायमुन्नयोः संगमे Ibid., p. 121.

against and are calmly received by those of the former¹. The importance of the confluence of the Ganges with the Sarayū (Gogra) near Chupra, Bihar, has been brought out in a verse² which says that the death at this spot could win for a man the rank of the gods and Aja's case has been illustrated to bear out the point.

We read of waterfalls³ in the similes of the poet and in actual descriptions of streams flowing in mountains. The Himalayas⁴ abounded in such waterfalls and the *Rtusambhāra* records mountains and hills as full of them.⁵

Waterfalls.

The poet seems to allude specifically to two great waterfalls, namely, the *Gangāprapāta*⁶ and *Mahākosīprapāta*.⁷ It is difficult to identify them with any measure of accuracy. Of course, they lay respectively in the courses of the Ganges and the Mahākosī in the Himalayas. The poet locates the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha in the Himalayas⁸ and does not seem to follow the tradition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in this respect. But it is difficult to identify this hermitage in the Himalayas. Likewise it is not possible to identify the Mahākosīprapāta. The river Mahākosī is the joint stream of the seven Kosis of Nepal. The seven rivulets are united first into three streams which meet together in their later course and form a Trivenī of the Tamar, Arun and the Sona Kosi. Trivenī is immediately above Varāha-kṣetra in Purnea above Nathpur at a point where or close to which the united Kosis issue into the plains.⁹ The Mahākosī should thus fall somewhere near about the Trivenī but Kālidāsa would seem to place it in the Kailāsa range as in his description it is by this fall that Śiva awaits the return of the Seven Sages who went to Himālaya, the father of Pārvatī to negotiate for the marriage of Śiva with his daughter.¹⁰ And since the Sages had first approached Śiva on the Kailāsa where they left him, the Mahākosīprapāta may be expected to fall near the Kailāsa itself; but it is difficult, however, to identify it precisely.

The hill of Citrakūṭa was noted for its waterfalls.¹¹

Lakes.

The country abounded in inside lakes and in those lying on the mountains. The poet makes frequent references to them¹² describing them as crowded with birds and full of lotuses¹³ and aquatic creatures.¹⁴ They are called by various

¹ *Raghu*, VII. 36.

² *Ibid.*, VIII. 95. XIV. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 13, 26; VI. 60, XIII. 47, XIV. 3; *Ku*, I. 15, VI. 33, CVIII. 31, *Rtu*, II. 16.

⁴ *Raghu*, II. 13, 26, XIV. 3; *Ku*, I. 15, VI. 33.

⁵ *Rtu* II. 16.

⁶ *Raghu*, II. 26.

⁷ *Ku*, VI. 33.

⁸ cf. *Raghu*, II. 26. The entire scene is laid in the Himalayas.

⁹ *J. S. A. B.*, XVII, pp. 638, 647, map at p. 761.

¹⁰ *Ku*, VI. 33.

¹¹ धारास्वनोद्गारि *Raghu*, XIII. 47.

¹² *Ibid.*, I. 43, 73, II. 16, 16, III. 3, VI. 26, 86, VII. 30, IX. 59, XI. 11, XIII. 27, 30, 40, 60, XIX. 51, *Ku*, IV. 39, VIII. 32, 35, *M.P.*, II. 62.

¹³ *Raghu*, VI. 86, XIII. 60, *M.P.*, 62.

¹⁴ *Raghu*, VII. 30.

names, for example, sara,¹ sarasī,² hrada³ and palvala⁴ (ponds). Three lakes have been specifically mentioned by name. They are: the Mānasa,⁵ otherwise named Brāhmasara,⁶ Pampā⁷ and the Pañcāpsara.⁸

The Mānasa is the celebrated lake, better known as the *Mansarovara*, in the Kailāsa range of the Himalayas. It is said to be the favourite haunt of flamingoes emigrating to its shores at the commencement of the monsoons.⁹ "Those birds," says Moorecroft, "find in the rocks bordering on the lake an agreeable and safe asylum when the swell of the rivers in the rains and the inundations of the plains conceal their usual food."¹⁰ This lake is mythologically supposed to grow golden lotuses which fact has been twice¹¹ stressed by Kālidāsa. In like manner the poet fancies that the Yakṣas of Alakā used gems¹² for lamps and the children of the Vidhyādhara played with the golden¹³ sand of the Mandākinī. It is, therefore, quite fitting that the poet's imagination should refer to uncommon flowers to which birds of the uncommon species like the rājahamsas¹⁴ and rājahamsīs,¹⁵ their female counterparts, should flock. But it is not improbable that the poet here alludes to a rare species of the lotus bearing the golden yellow colour.

The Pampā is situated in the district of Bellari on the north of the town of Hampi and close to the river of that name,¹⁶ which is a tributary of the Tuṅga-bhadra and rises in the Rṣyamukha mountain, some eight miles from the Anagandi hills.¹⁷ The water of the Pampā is described as covered with the thickets of cane plants growing on its banks and the brisk cranes discernible through them.¹⁸ The lake Pañcāpsara is difficult to identify accurately. *The List of Ancient Monuments in the Chota-Nagpur Division* locates it in the district of Udayapur, one of the tributary states in Chota-Nagpur. Kapu, Bandhanpur, Banjiamba and Ponri, according to this list, are supposed to be on the site of this lake. But this identification seems hardly correct. It should lie somewhere to the north-east of Pañcavaṭī at a considerable distance from Agastyāśrama. Pañcavaṭī is generally identified with Nasik and, according to Kālidāsa, the her-

¹ Ibid., VI. 86, XIII. 40, 60.

² Ibid., I. 43, XI. 11, Ku., VIII. 32.

³ *Raghu.*, I. 73, VII. 30, Ku., IV. 39.

⁴ *Raghu.*, II. 16, III. 3, IX. 59, XIII. 27, XIX. 51, Ku., VIII. 35.

⁵ *Raghu.*, VI. 26.

⁶ Ibid., XIII. 60.

⁷ Ibid., 30.

⁸ Ibid., 38-40.

⁹ *M.P.*, 11.

¹⁰ Journey to Mansarovara, *The Asiatic Researches*, XII. p. 466.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, XIII. 60; *M.P.*, 62.

¹² रत्नप्रदीपा: *M.U.*, 5.

¹³ कनकसिक्ता *M.U.*, 4.

¹⁴ *M.P.*, 11.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, VI. 26.

¹⁶ Wilson: *Uttararāmacarita, Rāmāyaṇa Kiskindha K.* ch. 1.

¹⁷ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. pp. II. p. 369—Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*.

¹⁸ *Raghu.*, XIII. 30.

mitage was situated within the Pañcavaṭī itself¹ and must be either Agastipurī, twenty-four miles to the south-east of Nasik,² or Akolha to the east of Nasik.³ Next to the Agastyāśrama but at a considerable distance so as to appear like the full moon through the clouds⁴ lay the lake Pañcāpsara. It must lie somewhere between the Pañcavaṭī, i.e. Nasik and the Citrakūṭa hill⁵ nearer to the former than to the latter as there were certain other localities⁶ lying between this lake and the Citrakūṭa hill according to the description of the poet. We must also remember that it lay at a *visible* distance from about Nasik (Agastyāśrama) and so must not have been situated *very far* from there. The identification of the *List of Ancient Monuments in the Chota-Nagpur Division* cannot hold ground in view of the fact that through its location the lake would not lie between the Pañcavaṭī and Citrakūṭa, or rather the latter would lie between the Pañcavaṭī and itself! And it would be an unnecessarily circuitous way to take from Nasik to Ayodhyā via Chota-Nagpur even for a possible aircraft. The *Bhāgavata*⁷ places it in southern India and the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*⁸ at Gokarna, while Śrīdharaśvāmī⁹ would locate it near Phālguna or Anantapura in the Madras Presidency, fifty-six miles to the south-east of Bellary, but none of these identifications seems to be correct as they all lie to the south of the river Godāvarī whereas the lake Pañcāpsara must be placed somewhere to the north of the Godāvarī as the aerial car has taken a north-easterly direction from Nasik.¹⁰ The lake has been described by the poet, following the tradition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as the pleasure-lake of the sage Sātakarṇi,¹¹ who, while living on the *darbha* grass, was enticed into the snare of nymphs by Indra.¹² The sage was supposed to live in a palace under the water of the lake from where the sound of singing and tabor always emanated and was audible outside.¹³ This obviously is a traditional reference.

Seas and Oceans.

India skirted on the south, west and east by the sea, was isolated by it on the south as by the mountains on the north. References to the sea and the precious marine products¹⁴ are too many to mention. Similes abound in allusions to the sea and the poet uses several synonyms for it which may imply much marine activity in the land during his time. Without specifically distinguishing the

¹ *Raghu*, XIII. 35-37.

² Dey: *The Geo. Dic.*, p. 2.

³ *Rāmāyaṇa*, Araṇya K. ch. 11.

⁴ *Raghu*, XIII. 38.

⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, 34-47.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 41. शरभं . . . तपोवनं, 46.

⁷ Book X. ch. 79.

⁸ Quoted by Dey in his *Geo. Dic.*, p. 147.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Raghu*, XIII. 34-47.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XIII. 36.

¹² *Ibid.*, 39.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁴ निष्पानगर्भा *Ibid.*, XIII. 9.

extent or nature of the seas he uses terms like *śamudra*,¹ *sāgara*,² *arṇava*,³ *mahodadhi*,⁴ *amburāṣi*,⁵ *toyanidhi*,⁶ *ratnākara*,⁷ *payodhi*⁸ and many more. The creatures living in the sea and the marine conflagration have been mentioned.⁹ Everywhere while touching the sea the coast-line is described as lined with the forests of palms¹⁰ of various kinds, date,¹¹ betel-nut¹² and cocoanut¹³ trees. The tidal rise of the sea on the appearance of the full moon¹⁴ is recorded.

We find mention of the eastern¹⁵ and western¹⁶ seas referring respectively to the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. The great Indian Ocean of the south, the northern waters of which form the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea, has been vividly described. This is preserved in the thirteenth canto of the *Raghu-vaṃśa* (1-18) and may be quoted in full.

Whales on account of their mouths being open having taken in the water at the mouth of rivers, together with the aquatic creatures in it, toss upwards by closing their jaws the streams of water through their perforated heads.¹⁷ The foam of the ocean severed into two parts by the hippopotamuses that jump up all of a sudden above the surface of water—the foams that on account of their gliding by their cheeks become their flywhisks for a time.¹⁸ The shoals of conchshells with their heads transfixed at their jutting points, being dashed at once by the force of the billows against the reefs of corals glide way with great difficulty.¹⁹ The strand of the briny ocean resembling an iron wheel which is dark on account of the row of *tamāla* and *tālī* forests, and which appears like a slender line owing to distance, looks like a thin coating of rust formed on the edge of a steel wheel.²⁰ On the coast of the ocean heaps of pearls are lying scattered being thrown out by the oysters, that have opened their shells on the strand and there the rows of betel-nut trees are bent down under the weight of their fruits.²¹

The last verse evidently seems to refer to the mouth of the *Tāmraparṇī*,

¹ *Raghu*, II. 3, III. 28, XIII. 14; *Ku*, VIII. 91; *Śāk*, p. 237, etc.

² *Raghu*, I. 2, III. 9, IV. 32.

³ *Ibid.*, IV. 5, 3, VI. 56, 63.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI. 57, XIII. 2.

⁶ *Ku*, I. 1.

⁷ *Raghu*, XIII. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁹ *Ku*, VIII. 91; ch., *Raghu*, CIII. 4.

¹⁰ *Raghu*, IV. 56, XIII. 15.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, IV. 57.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV. 44, XIII. 17.

¹³ *Ibid.*, IV. 42.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, III. 17.

¹⁵ पूर्वसागर *Raghu*, IV. 32; पूर्वपरोतोयनिधी *Ku*, I. 1; cf. *Śāk*, p. 237.

¹⁶ *Ku*, I. 1, *Śāk*, p. 237, सह्यलग्नद्वार्णवः *Raghu*, IV. 53.

¹⁷ *Raghu*, XIII. 10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XIII. 13.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

celebrated for its pearl-fishery. The graphic description of the marine creatures and their characteristics obviously bespeaks of the poet's own experience of the sea.

Seasons (climate and rainfall).

Here we may refer briefly to the poet's treatment of nature, his description of the seasons, climate and rainfall. In the *Ṛtusambhāra* a description of the six seasons of India occurs. The description is vivid and graphic. The poet seems to be in direct communication and loving sympathy with nature, which opens to him, as though, in the minutest details its secrets and pleasures. There is a human touch, a living sentiment in his regard to nature. "The seasons are of course," says Dr. Keith, "the Indian seasons and especially of Hindustan proper. The scenes are all such as may be seen in the patriarchal life, which the learned Brāhmaṇas of the time led, all belonging to the forest such as those described in the *Sākuntala*. The poet does not like the English poet Thomson, wander into the Frigid and Torrid zones to describe the chill severity of the one or the horrors of the other, but sticks to his own native seasons.¹" The description of the poet also incidentally gives an idea of the climate, winds and rainfall of the country. The following are the names of the seasons, six in number:—

1. Nidāgha Kāla,² the hot season consisting of the Jyēṣṭha and Āṣāḍha, corresponding roughly to June and July.

2. Varṣā Kāla,³ the rainy season consisting of the months of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada, corresponding roughly to August and September.

3. Sarat,⁴ the Autumn season, the months of Āśvin and Kārtika, running roughly over October and November.

4. Hemanta,⁵ the cold season, the months of Mārgaśīrṣa and Pauṣa, corresponding roughly to those of December and January.

5. Śiśira,⁶ the cool or dewy season, comprises the months of Māgha and Phālguna, corresponding roughly to February and March.

6. Vasanta,⁷ the spring season, the months of Caitra and Vaiśākha, corresponding roughly to April and May.

The following is a succinct account of the various seasons as gathered from the works of the poet mainly the *Ṛtusambhāra* :—

The Hot Season.

In the hot season the sun grows hot⁸ generating fierce heat, the moon

¹ *A History of Sanskrit Literature.*

² *Ṛtu.*, I. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, V. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VI. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 1.

pleasant,¹ and the evenings turn delightful.² People cool themselves by means of fountains,³ various jewels,⁴ flower wreaths⁵ and sandal-wood paste⁶ in the nights of summer wherein "the masses of darkness are dispelled by the moon."⁷ Excessive perspiration necessitates a change from the heavy garments to thin silk.⁸ The heat is sought to be further allayed by the use of fans wetted with sandal water.⁹ Columns of dust are constantly raised by the strong gusts of wind.¹⁰ Water is mostly dried up.¹¹ Although this description is applicable to almost all parts of India except places on high altitudes, yet the picture is most suited to the central Indian plateau.

The Rainy Season.

The rainy season is conspicuous with dark clouds rumbling with thunder and dazzling with lightning¹² and hanging low with the weight of water.¹³ Pastures grow up¹⁴, and the *indragopa*¹⁵ insects cover up patches of ground. The forest regions are full of fresh verdure.¹⁶ Those of the Vindhya are decked with the trees bearing new foliage and full of numerous kinds of dark-green grasses which have put forth tender shoots.¹⁷ Lotus plants drop off their leaves and flowers.¹⁸ Mountains are covered all over with waterfalls;¹⁹ and swelling rivers, regularly fed with heavy torrents of rain, rush forth in sharp currents.²⁰ The *hamsas* fly along with the tendrils of lotus for their food to the Mānasa lake in the Kailāsa²¹

The following plants and flowers are in abundance in the rainy season: ketaki,²² kandali,²³ bakula,²⁴ mālati,²⁵ yūthikā,²⁶ kadamba,²⁷ sarja²⁸ and arjuna.²⁹

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 2.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 4.

⁹ Ibid., 8.

¹⁰ Ibid., 10.

¹¹ Ibid., 22, 23, etc.

¹² Ibid., II. 1.

¹³ Ibid., 3, 19.

¹⁴ Ibid., 8.

¹⁵ Ibid., 5.

¹⁶ Ibid., 5, 8.

¹⁷ Ibid., 8.

¹⁸ Ibid., 14.

¹⁹ Ibid., 16.

²⁰ Ibid., 7.

²¹ Ibid., 23.

²² Ibid., 17, 20.

²³ Ibid., 5.

²⁴ Ibid., 24.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 17, 20.

²⁸ Ibid., 17.

²⁹ Ibid.

The picture is conspicuously of Central India.¹

The Autumn.

With the advent of the autumn season the breeze blows cool, the quarters look beautiful because of the disappearance of clouds, the water loses its turbidity, mud dries up, the sky has the clear-rayed moon, and is beautiful with the stars.² The sky during the day is grey blue,³ the few clouds get white like silver⁴ and the night having the innumerable stars, the moon free from the obscuring clouds, and the bright moonshine, grows longer daily.⁵ The forest regions are covered with the flowering saptacchada trees,⁶ the gardens with the mālati⁷ and fields with the ripening paddy.⁸ Lakes look lovely by the presence of the infatuated pairs of swans and the bright blooming white and blue lotuses.⁹ Dew falls.¹⁰

The autumn, says the poet, holds out peculiar facilities for carrying on a military campaign and thus actuates a conqueror to undertake an expedition. The beasts of burden, the bulls especially, are now in full spirits, the war elephants in their ruttish condition are eminently fitted for fighting, the rivers become fordable and the roads being dried up afford easy passage to troops.¹¹

The following have been noted by the poet as the companions of this season: saptacchada,¹² kovidāra,¹³ bandhujīva,¹⁴ bandhūka,¹⁵ kaṅkeli,¹⁶ kāśa,¹⁷ sephālikā,¹⁸ śyāmā,¹⁹ mālati²⁰, kalamā²¹ and śāli²² lotuses²³ of various kinds and the cranes.²⁴

Hemanta.

The cold season approaches with the appearance of new sprouts and the ripening of corn.²⁵ Lotuses perish. Snow falls²⁶ on the altitudes of mountains

¹ Several references to the Vindhya—cf. *Rtu.*, II.

² *Rtu.*, III, 22, 23.

³ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, I.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, IV, 22-23.

¹² *Rtu.*, III, 2, 13.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 5, 25.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 2, 26.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2, 18, 19.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

²² *Ibid.*, I, 19, 16.

²³ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 1.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

and dew drops in profusion¹ in the plains. This season has mostly the flowering lodhra,² priyaṅgu,³ kadamba,⁴ rice-crops⁵ and krauñca.⁶

Sisira.

In the cool or dewy season the earth is covered with clusters of paddy and sugarcane, and resounds with the cries of krauñca birds.⁷ People resort to the use of the interior of the house with the windows closed, of fire, of the sun's rays, and of thick garments.⁸

Vasanta.

The spring comes with young mango blossoms and swarms of bees.⁹ Everything gains added beauty in this season. Trees put forth flowers, waters grow lotuses, winds blow fragrant, evenings are pleasant and days delightful¹⁰ The falling of dew stops.¹¹ Numerous rocks are covered with thick śaileya.¹² "The male cuckoo, intoxicated with the liquor of the juice of mango-blossoms kisses with passionate joy his mate; the humming bee, too does agreeable things for his beloved.¹³" The priyāla¹⁴ and kimsuka¹⁵ flower and the atimukta creeper¹⁶ puts on a new robe of blossoms in this season. The characteristic features of the spring are 'the notes of the cuckoo, the southern wind, the fragrant mango blossoms, the red asoka's splendour, the kurabaka flowers, darkish and white red, the tilaka flowers and the bees.¹⁷' The mādhavī, also called Vāsantī, is the spring creeper which flowers and bears sweet floral juice in summer. Its bower is in full bloom in this season. Its bunches look like so many bouquets.¹⁸ By alluding to the love of the cuckoo and the bee the poet shows that not only the mankind but the whole creation is under the influence of love in this season.¹⁹ It brings to all nature new life and joy.

From the above description of the seasons it will be evident that the summers were fiercely hot and winters excessively cold and that the rainfall was abundant. There were occasional hail storms²⁰ in the plains and snow-falls²¹ on the mountains.

¹ Ibid., 7.

² Ibid., 1.

³ Ibid., 10.

⁴ Ibid., 9.

⁵ Ibid., IV, 1, 8.

⁶ Ibid., 8, 18.

⁷ Ibid., V, 1.

⁸ Ibid., 2.

⁹ Ibid., VI, 1.

¹⁰ Ibid., 2.

¹¹ Ibid., 22.

¹² Ibid., 25.

¹³ Ibid., VI, 14.

¹⁴ *Ku.*, III, 31.

¹⁵ *Rtu.*, VI, 19, 20, 28.

¹⁶ Ibid., 17.

¹⁷ Ibid., 28; *Mal.*, III, 5.

¹⁸ *Śāke.*, p. 200.

¹⁹ *Rtu.*, VI, 2, 14.

²⁰ कर्काद्वष्टिपात *M.P.*, 44.

²¹ *Rtu.*, IV, 1, 18.

Clouds.

Kālidāsa alludes frequently to clouds. In the *Meghadūta* the cloud is made the bearer of a message from the hero of the theme to his wife. The cloud has been defined as a 'compact mass of smoke, light, water and air.'¹ It has been supposed to be of many kinds one of which—the class of the *Puskara* and *Āvartaka*—has been entrusted in the *Meghadūta*,² with the affectionate message of the Yakṣa. Besides, we read of certain phenomena connected with the clouds. The appearance of the rainbow,³ the rumble of the thunder⁴ and the flash of lightning⁵ have been noted and so have been mentioned the hail-storm⁶ and the snow-fall.⁷

¹ वृमज्ज्योति सलिलमस्तं सक्षिपात् *MP*, 5.

² *Ibid.*, 6

³ *Ibid.*, 15, *Rtu*, II 4

⁴ *MP*, 9. *U.*, 1

⁵ *MU*, 1, II. 1, 4, 11.

⁶ *MP*, 54.

⁷ *Rtu*, IV 1, 18.

FLORA AND FAUNA

Flora.

Now, when the population of India has grown enormously and has settled over a large area of land, the natural vegetation has been removed by man to a great extent. There are, for example, few left in the Gangetic plain which was once full of primeval forests. But in the hilly regions, and in the less thickly populated parts, much of the natural jungle still survives. The impression that a study of the works of Kālidāsa gives is that the country was covered with large belts of forests (*vanas*¹). The plants that vegetated in these forests and in the well-kept parks and flower gardens² may be discussed below.

Plant life may be divided among several classes, namely trees³, both tall and small, shrubs, *Oṣadhis*⁴, climbers (*latā*⁵, *vallī*⁶), or creepers spreading on the ground (*pratāna*⁷), grasses⁸, both lofty and short, and aquatic plants floating on the surface of water or growing in reeds along the banks of rivers or swamps of lakes and ponds.

Trees have been referred to as belonging to various territorial parts and climes. They may be classed as those vegetating on the highlands of the Himalayas, those growing on the dry uplands, mountains and in the alluvial soil of the plains, those lining the seacoasts and those wildy inhabiting the Malaya region of the south.

The term *Oṣadhi* has been used both in a general⁹ sense for lower plants and in a specialized bearing. This latter class represents firstly, those herbs which are supposed by the poet to be phosphorescent and which illumine their neighbourhood with their oilless light¹⁰, and, secondly, those herbaceous plants which possessed medicinal properties, whether curative¹¹ (*sañjivani*) or destructive. *Visa-vallī*¹² is a poisonous climber; *Mahāṣadhi*¹³, which means *sañjivani*, revitalizing, is such a herb and was supposed to restore life; *Aparājita*¹⁴, again, was a particular

¹ *Raghu.*, I, II, IV, V, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI; *Ku.* I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, *M. P.*, and *V*; *Rtu.*, *Śāk.* I, II, III, VII; *Vik.*, *Māl.*, V.

² *M. P.*, 8, *M. P.* 23. *Ku.*, II, 35, 36; *Raghu.*, XIV, 30.

³ *Raghu.*, I, 45, V. 69.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 75, VIII. 54, IX. 70, X. 66, XII. 61, XIV. 80; *Ku.*, I. 10, 30, VI. 38, 43.

⁵ *Raghu.*, II. 8, III. 7, VI. 64, *Śāk.*, I. 15, *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶ *Raghu.*, VI. 64, XII. 61.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II. 8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 5. V. 9; *Rtu.*, I. 25.

⁹ *Raghu.*, IV. 75, VIII. 54, I. 70, X. 66; *Ku.*, I. 10.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, IV. 75; *Ku.* 10.

¹¹ महोषधि *Raghu.*, XII. 61.

¹² *Ibid.* (विषवल्ली)

¹³ *Ibid.*, ¹⁴ *Śāk.*, p. 249.

herb worn on the wrist or arm as a charm to save oneself from danger¹. These must have been included in the second class. Oṣadhis have been defined by Suśruta as those herbs that wither after fructification². They are, in the ordinary sense, the herbaceous plants bearing fruits with or without flowers, and dying or withering away after fructification. The oṣadhis, according to Cakrapāṇi, the commentator on Caraka, are subdivided into (1) annuals or perennials bearing fruits, and (2) plants that wither away after maturing and without fructification, like the *dūrva*³.

We have several references to *lata*⁴ and one to *pratāna*⁵. Creepers, plants with herbaceous stems, are of two kinds—those turning and voluble and those others creeping on the ground. According to the *Manusamhitā*⁶ the creepers twining round and climbing a tree or a support are called *vallis*, while those spreading on the ground—proscumbent and document—*pratanas*. Suśruta⁷ adds a third, *gulmiṇī*, succulent.

Of the trees growing over mountain altitudes the poet mentions the deva-dāru⁸, sarala⁹ and the bhūrja¹⁰. *Devadāru*, *Cedrus libani*, variety *deodara*, is the gigantic pine of the Himalayas. "At this same elevation," says F. C. Ford Robertson, Deputy Conservator of Forests, United Provinces, "roughly between 5,000 and 8,500 feet you will find the graceful deodar, holy tree of the Himalayas along with its humbler companion, the Kail or blue pine, both, but particularly the more durable deodar, prized for their timber. Unfortunately they grow only in quite small areas to the north-west (chiefly Chakrata side¹¹)." It is interesting to note that Mr. Ford Robertson quotes Kālidāsa while referring to the deodars: "See yonder deodar, the adopted child of Shiva. As from her breast was nurtured the war god Skanda, so hath she tended it with nectar welling from a deep-bosomed pitcher of gold¹²." According to the poet this tree grew also on, and in the vicinity of, the Kailāsa mountain, as he depicts Siva sitting in contemplation under it.¹³ But it looks like a conventional description and Kālidāsa does not appear to be geographically correct on this point because deodar grows at an elevation roughly between 5,000 and 8,500 feet¹⁴ whereas the Mount Kailāsa is over 23,000 feet high and remains perpetually snow-coated where little vegetation is possible. Below is mostly the region of the birch which grows at an altitude between 10,000 and 14,000 feet¹⁵. *Sarala*, *Pinus deodara*, is

¹ Ibid.

² *Sūtrasthāna*, I. 36-37; cf. Ibid. 23.

³ Majumdar: *Upavana Vinoda*, p. 11.

⁴ *Raghu*, II. 8, III. 7, VI. 64; *Śāk*, I. 15, ibid. p. 27.

⁵ *Raghu*, II. 8.

⁶ I. 46-48.

⁷ Majumdar: *Upavana Vinoda*, p. 12.

⁸ *Raghu*, II. 36, IV. 76; *Ku*, I. 15, 54, III. 44, VI. 51.

⁹ *Raghu*, IV. 75; *Ku*, I. 9; *M. P.* 53.

¹⁰ *Raghu*, IV. 73; *Ki*, I. 7. 55; *Vik*, pp. 44, 51, 52.

¹¹ *Our Forests*, p. 37.

¹² Ibid., p. 37 (cf. *Raghu*, II. 36.)

¹³ *Ku*, III. 44.

¹⁴ Robertson: *Our Forests*, p. 10.

¹⁵ Ibid.

another variety of the Himalayan pine whose resin has been noted by the poet as producing fragrance¹ in the locality and whose branches rubbing against one another have been supposed to cause forest conflagration². *Bhūrja*, *Betula* species, is the birch tree growing at an altitude of about 13,500 feet³. "With these two conifers", observes Mr. Ford Robertson, "are associated chestnuts and maples, and towards the tree limit (13,000 feet to 14,000 feet), birch, rhododendron and willows, the whole finally yielding to bleak Alpine pasture (bugial) in the shadow of the eternal snow⁴." Thus above the ground slopes growing the pines there lined the birch trees and above them there shone the eternal snow. The birch trees, imagines the poet, furnished the Vidyādhara *belles* with their leaves to write their love-letters on⁵. The leaves of this tree were extensively used in ancient India for writing purposes and even to-day we come across hundreds of manuscripts finished on them. *Priyāla*, explained by Mallinātha⁶ as *rājādāna* on the authority of the *Amarakośa*⁷ has been located in the Himālaya region, and so also *Nameru*⁸ as we shall see below.

The lower slopes of the Himalayas, the deccan plateau and the Indian plains grew endless varieties of trees of which those mentioned by the poet may be noted below. Of these the bigger variety may be dealt with first. The first in order of girth come the *Caitya*⁹ trees. The poet does not specifically mention which trees came under the class of the *Caitya* trees, but the *Sāroddhārīṇī*, *Sumativijaya*, and others think the term *Caitya* to signify 'sacred trees like the pipal¹⁰.' This class may have included the *vaṭa* and the *plakṣa* trees, besides the *aśvattha* or the pipal, to which references have been made elsewhere. The *aśvattha*, *Ficus religiosa* or the religious fig tree, is a mighty tree which bears a species of fig fruits and serves many religious purposes of the Hindus. *Vaṭa*¹¹ *Ficus indica*, and *plakṣa*¹² are the varieties of the banyan tree which bear a kind of the fig fruits and yield a resinous milky juice from their bark. They afford abundant shade. In the Hindi vernacular they are respectively known as *baṭa* and *pākara*. Another species of the fig tree has been mentioned by the name *Udumbara*¹³. This tree has been alluded to as covering the Devagiri hill between Ujjaini and the Chambal¹⁴. *Sālmali*¹⁵, *Bombax malabaricum*, is commonly known as the silk-cotton tree, which produces a kind of cotton generally used in India for stuffing purposes. "You

¹ *Ku.* I. 9.

² *M. P.*, 53.

³ Robertson: *Our Forests*, p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ ग्रन्तगलेखक्रिययोपयोगम् *Ku.*, I. 7.

⁶ प्रियालद्रुमा राजादनदृक्षा *Ku.*, III. 31. (Commentary).

⁷ राजादनः प्रियालः स्यात् *Ibid.*

⁸ *Raghu.*, IV. 74; *Ku.*, I. 55, III. 43.

⁹ *M. P.*, 23.

¹⁰ पञ्चपादपाः पिप्पलादयो

¹¹ *Raghu.*, XIII. 53.

¹² *Ibid.*, VIII. 93. XIII. 71.

¹³ *M. P.*, 42.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, cf. before and after.

¹⁵ *Rtu.*, I. 26.

who read this", remarks Mr. Ford Robertson, "may possibly be unable to recognise a sal or chir tree. But you will undoubtedly know that common desi way-farer, the semal or 'cotton' tree, if only by the buttresses supporting its smooth grey bole, its stiffy-angled branches, and the crimson fleshy flowers and cottony seed pods it scatters so freely along the spring roads. At maturity a large and stately tree, it can grow almost 200 feet high with a girth of 15 feet at a point 30 feet above ground (Coorg)—you can readily imagine what magnificent beams its long clean stem must furnish. And you would be quite wrong. It is not just that the wood, one of the lightest and softest in India, lacks the necessary strength and durability, because large planks are made of it, serviceable packing cases and even 'dug-out' canoes¹." Another variety of this tree called *kṛṣṇaśālmali*² has been alluded to. It is supposed to be the weapon of Yama³, the god of death. *Saptacchada*⁴ or *saptaparna*⁵, *Echites scholaris*, is a tree having seven leaves on its stalk. It sends forth a strong rutlike scent from its flowers⁶. It is a big tree providing ample shade⁷. It grew wildly in forest regions⁸ and flowered in the autumn season⁹. *Nameru*¹⁰ is likewise a large umbrageous tree affording abundant shade. It has won the name of *chāyātaru*¹¹ because of its dense shade. Kālidāsa generally¹² makes it an inhabitant of the higher altitudes of the Himalayas and places it in the vicinity of the birch and sarala trees¹³ and on the Kāilāsa mountain¹⁴ but the word *chāyātaru* has been explained by Mallinātha¹⁵ on the authority of the *Sabdārṇava*¹⁶ as the *nameru* tree, which would place it even in the plateau of Deccan. *Sāla*¹⁷, *Shorea robusta*, is very tall and stately¹⁸ and the strong smell of its exudations overpowers that of other flowers¹⁹. It was otherwise called *sarja*²⁰ and has been prominently mentioned as growing on the way from Ayodhyā to the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha in the Himalayas²¹. They grew, as now, in the Gangetic plain. *Sariṣa*²², *Mimosa sirisso*, is a tall tree which blossoms in summer. Its flowers were a great favourite of Indian women of the poet's time.

¹ Robertson: *Our Forests*, p. 37.

² *Raghu.*, XII. 95.

³ *Ibid.*, cf. also Mallinātha's comment on it.

⁴ *Raghu.*, V. 48; *Rtu.*, II. 2, 13.

⁵ *Raghu.*, IV. 23; *Śāk.*, p. 38.

⁶ *Raghu.*, IV. 23, V. 48.

⁷ *Śāk.*, p. 38.

⁸ *Rtu.*, III. 2, 13; *Raghu.*, V. 48.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, IV. 74; *Ku.*, I. 55, III. 43.

¹¹ M. P., I. Vide Mallinātha's comment: छायावृक्षो नमेरुः स्यात्—*Sabdārṇava*.

¹² *Raghu.*, IV. 24; *Ku.*, I. 155, III. 43.

¹³ Cf. *Raghu.*, IV. 73-75.

¹⁴ *Ku.*, I. 55, III. 43.

¹⁵ M. P., I. comment.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, I. 13, 38, XV. 78.

¹⁸ शालप्रांशु *Ibid.*, I. 13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁰ *Rtu.*, II. 17, III. 13.

²¹ Vide *Raghu.*, I. and II.

²² *Ibid.*, XVIII. 45; *Ku.*, I. 41; *Śāk.*, I. 4.

Āmra¹, also called *cūta*² and *sahakāra*³, *Mangifera Indica*, is the well-known mango tree which produces the sweet mango pickles. It is a favourite of Kālidāsa as of all Sanskrit poets and he dwells very frequently on the romance of the lovers being enhanced by the advent of the bees and the cuckoos in the spring which make their haunt in the flowering mango tree which intoxicates them. Although this tree must have been a common sight everywhere its existence has been particularly noted on the summit of the Āmrakūṭa (Āmarakantak) mountain. The top of the mountain is mentioned as covered with ripe fruits of the tree⁴. It may be added that the mountain derives its name from its association with the mango tree. Jambū⁵, *Eugenia jambolana* is the big rose-apple tree commonly known as the Jaman. It grew wildly in the Central region of Malwa and to the south of it. The Narbada flew through a grove⁶ of this tree and the entire border of forests in the Daśārṇa country looked black due to its ripened fruits⁷ at the advent of the rains. *Madhūka*⁸ *Bassia latifolia*, is the common mahua with its strong smelling flowers with which wine was scented⁹. *Tintiḍi*¹⁰, *Rindus Indica*, is the big tamarind tree with its sour fruit. It takes thirty years from the day of its planting to bear fruit.

*Naktamāla*¹¹, *Caesalpinia bonducalla*, grew in abundance, says the poet, along the course of the Narbada. It is the same as *karanja*, a vigorous tree of the Deccan and Chota-Nagpur. *Sami*¹², *Mimosa suma* (*Prosopis spicigera*), is supposed by the Sanskrit writers to contain latent fire in its wood. Kālidāsa reiterates this belief in his expression, *agnigarbhāsami*¹³. The story as to how this tree came to be endowed with hidden fire is narrated in the Purāṇas. *Asoka*¹⁴, *Saraca Indica* (*Jonesia asoka*), otherwise known as *kaṅkeli*¹⁵ is another favourite of Kālidāsa. This with its species of *raktāśoka*¹⁶, the red-asoka, is a slender, tall and graceful tree. Sir William Jones observes that "the vegetable world scarce exhibits a richer sight than an Asoka tree in full bloom. It is about as high as an ordinary cherry-tree. The flowers are very large, and beautifully diversified with tints of orange scarlet, of pale yellow, and of bright orange, which form a variety of shades according to the age of the blossom¹⁷."

¹ *Rtu.*, VI. 23; *M. P.*, 18.

² *Raghu.*, VII. 21; *Rtu.*, VI. 1, 3, 15, 30.

³ *Raghu.*, VI. 69; *Rtu.*, VI. 22, 26, 27, 34.

⁴ *M. P.*, 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20, 23; *Vik.*, p. 97.

⁶ *M. P.*, 20.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁸ *Raghu.*, VI. 25.

⁹ Vide Mallihātha's comment on *Ku.*, III. 38.

¹⁰ *Śāk.*, p. 70.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, V. 42.

¹² *Ibid.*, VI. 26; *Śāk.*, IV. 3.

¹³ *Śāk.*, IV. 3. अग्निगर्भा शमी

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, VII. 62; *Māl.*, pp. 43, 46; III. 12; *Rtu.*, VI. 5, 16.

¹⁵ *Rtu.*, III. 18, vide comment.

¹⁶ *M. U.* 15, *Māl.*, III. 5.

¹⁷ *Works*, Vol. V.

It was a poetical belief that the aśoka tree blossomed only when struck by the foot of a lady with jingling anklets which is borne out by the poet's description of several *dohadas*¹ or the acts of striking the tree in order to put forth flowers. This *dohada* is a favourite theme of the sculptors of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods of which many instances carved in high relief may be witnessed among the exhibits of the Muttra Museum. The tree blossoms from the root and all over its body². *Asana*³, *Terminalia tomentosa*, is a most adaptable and therefore a wide-spread tree growing gigantic in rich valley alluvium but squat and stunted on hill clays. "Despite uncertain durability and a proneness to splitting," observes Mr. Ford Robertson, "it has a considerable market for building purposes, and more recently, for floor-boards of railway waggons, and over three lakhs of cubic feet are exported every year⁴." *Arjuna*⁵, *Terminalia arjuna*, otherwise known as *kakubha*⁶, is a species of the teak tree. *Sallakī*⁷ (*śallakī*⁸), *Boswellia serrata*, is also called *gajabhakṣa* in Sanskrit as elephants are very fond⁹ of it. Its juice is sweet like liquor¹⁰. It is found plentifully in Khandesh and other parts of the Bombay Presidency. *Lodhra*¹¹, *Symplocos crataegoides*, is the lodh tree. It blossoms in winter and has red or white flowers. That with white ones is a rare variety. The dust of the red flowers of this tree was used by women of ancient India to render their lips reddish pale¹². The *tilaka*¹³ tree was celebrated for its beautiful fragrant flowers appearing in the spring. It has been frequently alluded to by the poet. *Kadamba*¹⁴, *Anthocephalus kadamba*, is supposed to put forth buds on the roaring of thunder clouds¹⁵. Thus it blooms in the rainy season and bears fruit as large as the small apple. The fruit is ripe in the rains. A red variety of it was called *raktakadamba*¹⁶. *Nīpa*,¹⁷ ordinarily supposed to be the same as kadamba, is *Nauclea kadamba* and slightly different from the common kadamba. It is a species of the same tree but is surely not the same as is evident from Kālidāsa's referring to it in the same line with the kadamba¹⁸. *Akṣa*¹⁹, *Terminalia balcrica*, is a tree of the seeds of whose fruits rosaries are made. *Aguru*²⁰ is the fragrant

¹ *Raghu.*, VIII. 62, *M. U.*, 15; *Māl.*, III (entire Act).

² *Rtu.*, VI. 16.

³ *Raghu.*, IX. 63.

⁴ Our Forests., p. 39.

⁵ *Raghu.*, XIX. 39; *Rtu.*, II. 17, III. 13.

⁶ *M. P.*, 22; *Rtu.*, II. 12.

⁷ *Ku.*, VIII. 33.

⁸ *Vik.*, IV. 44.

⁹ *Ku.*, VIII. 33.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*,

¹¹ *Raghu.*, II. 29; *M. U.*, 2; *Rtu.*, IV. I. VI. 33.

¹² *M. U.*, 2.

¹³ *Raghu.*, IX. 41, 44; *Ku.*, III. 38, VIII. 40; *Māl.*, III. 5.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, IX. 44, XIII. 27, XV. 99; *M. P.* 25, *Rtu.*, II. 17, 20, 23, 24. III. 8, 13, IV. 9.

¹⁵ *M. P.*, 25.

¹⁶ *Vik.*, IV. 60.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, XIX. 37; *M. P.* 21; *Rtu.*, II. 17, VII. 13.

¹⁸ *Rtu.*, III. 13.

¹⁹ *Raghu.*, XIII. 43; *Ku.*, III. 46.

²⁰ *Rtu.*, V. 12.

aloe tree and *kālāguru*¹ a black variety of the same. The latter grew in abundance in the country of Kāmarūpa². *Kālīyaka*³, like sandal, is a fragrant wood. *Kura baka*⁴, *Barleria Cristata*, is a species of amaranth. This plant blossoms in the spring⁵, and has richly coloured flowers that take long in withering. Its crimson species is the *raktakurabaka*⁶. *Akṣoṭa*⁷ is the walnut tree bearing an oily nut called *akbrot*. It abounded in the country of the Kambojas⁸. *Ingudi*⁹, *Ximenia aegyptiaca* (*Terminalia catappa*), is a wild tree commonly called *ingna*, from the fruit of which oil was extracted, which ascetics in hermitages used for their lamps¹⁰ and ointment¹¹. It was otherwise known as *tāpasataru*, the anchorites' tree. It is a medicinal tree and its fruits are supposed to possess prolific efficacy and necklaces made from them are used as a charm for children. *Vijapūraka*¹², the same as *mātulungaka*, *Citrus medica*, is a citron tree. The bark of the fruit was chewed to undo the smell of liquor. Its fruit was considered auspicious and worthy of presentation¹³; it may be seen held in the palm by some of the images of the Muttra Museum as an auspicious object.

A smaller variety of trees and flower plants were the following, namely, *ketaja*¹⁴, *vikaṅkata*¹⁵, *sindhuwāra*¹⁶, *bandhujīva*¹⁷ or *bandhūka*¹⁸, *karnikāra*¹⁹, *kevidāra*²⁰, *kalpadruma*²¹, *pārijāta*²², *mandāra*²³, *sanānaka*²⁴, *bakula*²⁵ or *kesara*²⁶, *kuśumbha*²⁷, *kiṃśuka*²⁸ or *palāśa*²⁹, *kadali*³⁰ and *kandali*³¹.

¹ *Raghu.*, IV. 81, XIII. 55. XIV. 12; *M. U.* 44; *Rtu.*, II. 21, IV. 5, V. 5, VI. 13.

² *Raghu.*, IV. 81.

³ *Rtu.*, IV. 5, VI. 12.

⁴ *Raghu.*, IX. 29, *M. U.*, 15; *Rtu.*, III. 10, VI. 13; *Śāk.* p. 192.

⁵ *Rtu.*, VI. 18.

⁶ *Māl.* p. 39.

⁷ *Raghu.*, IV. 69.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, XIV. 81, *Śāk.* I. 13, IV. 13, p. 73.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XIV. 81.

¹¹ *Śāk.* p. 73.

¹² *Māl.* pp. 35, 36.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, XIX. 37; *M. P.*, 4, *Rtu.*, III. 13.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, XI. 25.

¹⁶ *Ku.*, III. 53.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, XI. 25; *Ku.*, VIII. 40; *Rtu.*, III. 24.

¹⁸ *Rtu.*, III. 5, 25.

¹⁹ *Ku.*, III. 28, 53; *Rtu.*, VI. 5, 20, 27.

²⁰ *Rtu.*, III. 6.

²¹ *Raghu.*, I. 75, VI. 6; *Ku.*, VII. 39, VI. 41, II. 26.

²² *Raghu.*, VI. 6; *Ku.*, VIII. 27; *Vik.*, II. 12.

²³ *Raghu.*, VI. 23; *M. U.* 4.

²⁴ *Raghu.*, X. 77; *Ku.*, VI. 46, VII. 3.

²⁵ *Raghu.*, VIII. 64, IX. 30, XIX. 12; *Rtu.*, II. 24.

²⁶ *Raghu.*, IX. 36; *M. U.* 15, *Śāk.* p. 30.

²⁷ *Rtu.*, I. 24, VI. 4.

²⁸ *Raghu.*, IX. 31; *Rtu.*, VI. 19, 20, 28.

²⁹ *Raghu.*, IX. 51; *Ku.*, III. 29.

³⁰ *Raghu.*, XII. 96; *Ku.*, I. 36; *M. P.* 33.

³¹ *Raghu.*, XIII. 29; *M. P.*, 21; *Rtu.*, II. 5; *Vik.*, IV. 5.

Of these *kuṭaja*, *Holarrhena antidysenterica* (*Wrightea antidysenterica*) blossoms in the rainy season. *Vikāṅkata* is a sacred tree of the wood of which ladles were made¹. *Sindhuvāra*, *Vitex trifolia*, is the same as *nirguṇḍī*². *Ban-dhūka* or *bandhujiva*, *Pentapetes phonicea* (*Ixora coccinea*), yields red flowers. *Karṇikāra*, *Hibiscus mutabilis*, flowers in the spring. It bears red flowers of excellent hue but without smell. *Kovidāra*, *Bauhinia* species, is a tree with delicate branches flowering in autumn. *Kalpadrūma* or *kalpataru* was an imaginary tree of Indra's heaven yielding everything desired. Three of the five classes of this tree—*pārijāta*, *mandāra* and *santānaka*—are alluded to by the poet. *Pārijāta*, *Erythrina Indica*, is the same as *hariśṭṅgāra*; *mandāra*, *Erythrina fulgeus*, is the same as *manar*. *Bakula* or *kesara*, *Mimusops elengi*, bears a strong smelling flower and is very ornamental in pleasure gardens. *Kusumbha*, *Carthamus tinctorius*, yields red flowers used in colouring. *Kimśuka* or *Palāśa*, *Butea frondosa*, is ordinarily the common *palāśa*, but *palāśa* proper is the redder species. Both the varieties bear beautiful flowers but without smell. They are a common sight growing wild in the vicinity of Fyzabad and they abound all over the Gangetic plain. *Kadalī*, *Musa sapientum*, is the common plantain tree. *Kandalī* is a plant, whose leaves are green, which dries up in the hot season and then all at once makes its appearance at the beginning of the rains. An imaginary tree, *asipatra*³ (with leaves like swords), has been referred to as growing in the *pātāla*, the nether-world.

Trees growing in saltish soil in belts of forests lining the sea-coast were *tālī*,⁴ *ekatāla*⁵, *rājatālī*⁶, *pūga*⁷, *punnāga*⁸, *kharjūra*⁹, *kharjūrī*¹⁰ and *nārikela*¹¹. These are the different species of the palm tree. *Tālī*, talipot palm, is a species of the mountain palm, which lined the sea-coast of Kalinga¹² and the Cape Comorin¹³; *ekatāla*, *Borossus flabelliformis*, is the palmyra tree; *rājatālī* is perhaps the same as *pūga*, *Areca catechu*, and bears areca or betel nut chewed with betel leaves. This has been described as growing on the east coast, in the Malaya region¹⁴ and along the Cape Comorin¹⁵. *Kharjūra* or *kharjūrī*, *Phoenix sylvestris*, is the date tree located by Kālidāsa on the west coast along Kerala and Aparānta¹⁶. *Punnāga*, *Catophyllum inophyllum*, is ordinarily supposed to be the same as the *nāgakesara*¹⁷ but botanically the latter is known by a different name, *Mesua fer-*

¹ *Raghu.*, XI. 25. (23). Vide comment of Mallinātha on *Ku.*, III. 53.

² *Raghu.*, XIV. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, IV. 34. XIII. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XV. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 56.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 44. VI. 64. XIII. 17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IV. 57.

⁸ *Śāk.*, p. 70.

⁹ *Raghu.*, IV. 57.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹² *Ibid.*, XIII. 15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VI. 64.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII. 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 57.

¹⁶ पुन्नागेश्वरी नागकेशरः Comment by Mallinātha on *Raghu.*, IV. 57.

rea. Kālidāsa has mentioned the locality of this tree to be the coast of Malabar¹. Dr. Roxburgh, however, thinks that it is a native of the Coromandal coast. *Nāri-kela* is the cocoa-nut tree which has been mentioned as abundantly growing along the coast of Kalinga². It may be noted here that the *Amarakośa* classes the Palmaceae (including the cocoa-nut, date, areca and other palms) as tree-grasses, probably because, like the grasses, they are endogens characterized by spikes and parallel veins (*irṇadrumāḥ*).³

The Malaya region abounded in the fragrant sandal wood. *Candana*⁴ *Sirium myrtifolium*, is a kind of large myrtle with pointed leaves. Its paste was much used in toilet in ancient India⁵. Its fragrance is supposed to harbour snakes among the roots and on the trunk of the tree⁶. It grew wildly in the Malayasthali along with 'the tāmbūla creeper, the cardamom plant and the pūga and tamāla trees'⁷. The sandal tree had a red variety called *raktacandana*⁸. *Lavaṅga*⁹ is the clove tree and it grew, besides the area of Malaya, in the neighbouring islands¹⁰ of India. *Tamāla*¹¹ is another tree with big leaves. This region also produced the cardamom, *Alpinia cardamomum* (*elā*¹²), and the black-pepper (*marīci*¹³) plants. It may be noted that cloves, cardamom and black-pepper were used as food spices as now.

Plants and Creepers

Besides the above flower-bearing trees, the poet mentions the *pātala*¹⁴, *Stereospermum suaveolnes*, which bears a wild trumpet flower and the *ketaka*¹⁵ or *ketakī*¹⁶, *Pandanus odoratissimus*, which is a green plant with needle-pointed blades for leaves, bears a strong smelling flower and is otherwise known as *keora*. Jasmine which comes under the *gulma* (shrubs) class of Suśruta's classification¹⁷, had several kinds, both shrubs and creepers, many of which have been mentioned by the poet. *Kunda*¹⁸, one of the *Jasminum* species, is a similar shrub, white and delicate, while *Kaundī*¹⁹, otherwise known as *Maghī* and flowering two months before the spring, is a creeper. Other species of Jasmine are the following,

¹ *Raghu*. IV. 57.

² *Ibid.*, IV. 42.

³ *cf. Amarakośa*

⁴ *Raghu*, IV. 48, 51, VI. 64; *Rtu*, I. 4, 6, 8, II. 21, III. 20, V. 3, VI. 6, 12, 32.

⁵ *Raghu*, IV. 48.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI. 64.

⁷ *Māl.*, p. 65.

⁸ *Raghu*, VI. 57, VIII. 25.

⁹ द्वीपान्तरालीतलवंगपुष्पैः *Ibid.*, VI. 51.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VI. 64, XIII. 15, 49.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, IV. 47; VI. 64.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV. 46.

¹³ *Rtu*, I. 28, *Śāk.*, I. 3.

¹⁴ *Raghu*, VI. 57; *M. P.* 23.

¹⁵ *Rtu*, II. 17, 20, 23, 26; *Māl.*, p. 82.

¹⁶ Girija Prasanna Majumdar: *Upavana Vinoda*, p. 12.

¹⁷ *Rtu*, IV. 2, VI. 23, 31.

¹⁸ *Vik.*, II. 4.

viz., *yūthikā*¹ or *jūthikā*², *mallikā*³, or *navamallikā*⁴ or *vanajyotsnā*⁵ and *mālatī*⁶. *Syāmā*⁷, *Echnocarpus frutescens*, otherwise known as *phalini*⁸, and *priyāngu*, *Aglaia Roxburghiana*, is a creeper much favoured by Sanskrit poets. It has been compared with the body of a woman⁹ on account of its delicacy and thinness. It bears white flowers and is supposed to blossom at the touch of a woman¹⁰. *Mādhavī*¹¹, *Gaerthera racemosa* (*Hiptage madhavalata*), bearing white flowers, is a spring creeper to which constant allusion has been made by Sanskrit poets. It flowers and bears sweet floral juice in summer. Of all these creepers the *atimuktalatā*¹², *Aganosma caryophyllu*, has received the highest attention and praise from Sanskrit poets. Sir William Jones has aptly observed: "The beauty and fragrance of the flowers of this creeper give them a title to all the praises which Kālidāsa and Jayadeva bestow on them. It is a gigantic and luxuriant climber; but when it meets with nothing to grasp, it assumes the form of a sturdy tree, the highest branches of which display, however, in the air their natural flexibility and inclination to climb¹³." The *śyāmā*, *mādhavī* and *atimukta* creepers furnished beautiful bowers. Another class of creepers is represented by one called *lavalī*¹⁴. *Tāmbūlavallī*¹⁵ is the betel creeper the leaves of which with the areca nut, catechu, caustic lime and spices were chewed as a carminative and antacid tonic, especially after meals, and for undoing the bad odour of liquor. It grew wildly in the Malaya region¹⁶. *Drākṣā*¹⁷ was the vine creeper which spread itself on ground and covered the land of the Pārasīkas¹⁸. Much wine was prepared from it¹⁹. Besides the above ones the poet speaks of a few imaginary creepers like the *elālatā*²⁰, *asokalatā*²¹, and *saṃillatā*²² due to the delicate bole of the trees they indirectly represent. Kālidāsa incidentally hints at a distinction between the two varieties of creepers, namely, the *udyānalatā*²³ and the *vanalatā*²⁴,

¹ Ibid., IV, 46; *M. P.* 26.

² *Rtu.*, II. 24.

³ *Rtu.*, III. 18, VI. 5.

⁴ *Śāk.*, p. 31.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 31, 137.

⁶ *Rtu.*, II. 24. III. 2, 19; *Māl.* p. 36.

⁷ *Rtu.*, III. 18; *M. U.* 41.

⁸ *Raghu.*, VIII. 61.

⁹ *Rtu.*, IV. 10, VI. 12; *Māl.* p. 48, II. 6.

¹⁰ *M. U.*, 41; *Rtu.*, IV. 10; *Māl.*, II. 6.

¹¹ *Śāk.*, III. 7; *Māl.* III. 5.

¹² *Rtu.*, VI. 17, *Māl.* IV. 13; *Śāk.*, p. 95.

¹³ Sir William Jones: *Works*, Vol. V. p. 124.

¹⁴ *Vik.*, V. 8.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, VI. 64; *Rtu.*, V. 5.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, VI. 64.

¹⁷ Ibid., IV. 65.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., IV. 65, 61.

²⁰ Ibid., VI. 64.

²¹ Ibid., VII. 21.

²² *Śāk.*, p. 27.

²³ Ibid., I. 15.

²⁴ Ibid.

the garden and forest creepers respectively. The creepers like *śyāmā*, *mādhavī* and the *atimukta* would appear to belong to the former class as we learn of their bowers being furnished with sitting slabs¹ while the *tāmbūlavallī* and the like to the latter. There are a few more plants to which a brief reference may be made. They are the *arka*², *campaka*³, *śephalikā*⁴, *śilindbra*⁵, *japāpuspa*⁶, and the *kuṅkuma*⁷. *Arka*, Gigantic *Asclepias*, *Calootopis gigantea*, is a large and vigorous shrub. *Campaka*, *Michelia champaca*, is a plant bearing yellow fragrant flowers. *Śephalikā*, *Nyctanthes arbortistis*, is a shrub having white flowers. *Śilindbra* is a mushroom, fenuel, a fril plant much resembling an umbrella and growing and withering in the rainy season. *Japā*, *Hibiscus rosasinsenses*, is the flower plant called the China rose. *Kuṅkuma* is the saffron. The *Rtusambhāra* tells us how ladies used to besmear their breasts with the saffron paint in the months of Hemanta, Śiśira and Vasanta⁸.

We shall now make a reference to the kind of grasses mentioned. There are allusions to *trṇas*⁹ or grasses, *śaspa*¹⁰ or young grass, *śādvala*¹¹ or tract abounding in grass, *stamba*¹² or a clump of grass and to *kaṇḍagara*¹³ or straw. Of grasses there are several varieties on record. The most important of them is *kīcaka*¹⁴ or *vaṁśa*¹⁵, *Dendrocalamus strictus*, the common bamboo. It is a sort of giant grass which is actually so considered (*trṇadhvajab*) by ancient writers¹⁶. Kālīdāsa locates *kīcaka* mostly in the mountaneous regions like the Himalayas¹⁷, where wind passing through their holes produces melodious music. But the *vaṁśa*, or bans, is essentially a foothill species and so the best of it comes from the forests west of the Sarda river, the submontane tract round Kotdwara having the finest bamboo in the United Provinces¹⁸. *Kāśa*¹⁹, *Saccharum cylindricum*, is a kind of tall grass which blossoms in the autumn season and bears white flowers *Bhadramustā*²⁰ or *mustā*²¹, *Cyperus rotundus*, is the common grass plant called nag-armoṭha a great favourite of the wild boars²². *Kuśa*²³ or *darbhā*²⁴, *Poa Cynosuroides*,

¹ मणिशिलापट्टसनाथो *ibid.*, p. 200.

² *Śāk.*, II. 8.

³ *Rtu.*, VI. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III. 14.

⁵ *M. P.*, II.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁷ *Raghu.*, IV. 67; *Rtu.*, V. 9, vi. 4, 12.

⁸ *Ku.*, V. 9, VI. 4, 12.

⁹ *Raghu.*, II. 5; *Rtu.*, I. 25, II. 8, IV. 7.

¹⁰ *Rtu.*, V. 1, 22; *Vik.*, IV. 57.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, II. 51; *Vik.*, p. 95.

¹² *Raghu.*, V. 15, XV. 19.

¹³ *Ibid.*, V. 9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 12, IV. 13; *Ku.*, I. 8; *M. P.* 56.

¹⁵ *Rtu.*, I. 25.

¹⁶ Mazumdar; *Upavana Vinoda*, p. 12.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, II. 12, IV. 13; *Ku.*, I. 8; *M. P.* 56.

¹⁸ Robertson, *Our Forests*, p. 41.

¹⁹ *Ku.*, VII. II; *Rtu.*, III. 1, 2, 26.

²⁰ *Rtu.*, I. 17.

²¹ *Raghu.*, IX. 59, XV. 19.

²² *Ibid.*, IX. 59; cf. *Rtu.*, I. 17.

²³ *Raghu.*, I. 49, 95, V. 4, 7, XIII. 43, XIV. 70, *Ku.*, I. 60.

²⁴ *Śāk.*, II. 12, p. 34.

is held sacred and is abundantly used in religious ceremonies. Its leaves are very long, tapering to a sharp needle-point, of which the extreme acuteness was proverbial. Another kind of grass was *uśīra*¹, *Andropogon laniger* (*Andropogon citrurum*: *Andropogon muricatum*), from the fragrant root of which a cooling ointment was made². *Dūrvā*³, the bent panic grass, has fine blades and was used for several sacred purposes. *Saileya*⁴ is a particular kind of fragrant grassy moss growing on rocks.

The poet has made several references to crops and cereals which will be noted in their due context. Here only a mention of their names may be made. They are barley⁵ (*yava*), rice⁶ (*dhānya*), and sugarcane⁷, (*iksu*). Of the rice, he knows three varieties, *śālī*⁸, *kalamā*⁹ and *nivāra*¹⁰. The cultivation of saffron¹¹ in the Oxus basin has also been referred to.

Let us now pass on to the references to aquatic plants. Of flowers and plants growing in inland waters the lotus, *nalini*¹², was most important and Kālidāsa does not seem tired of giving its description. Its several varieties were known. For the common lotus the poet employs several names, viz. *aravinda*¹³, *pañkaja*¹⁴, *sarasija*¹⁵, *utpala*¹⁶, *Ymphæo stellata*, *kamala*¹⁷, *ambuja*¹⁸, and *ambhoruba*¹⁹. There were *padmas*²⁰ (also *padmini*²¹) opening at the touch of the sun's rays and *kumudas*²², water lilies. Of the latter class we know two varieties, namely the ordinary white kind and *kewalaya*²³ the blue one. Of the former there were several species, namely the white, red, blue and yellow; *sitapañkaja*²⁴ and *puṇḍarika*²⁵ refer to the white variety, *tāmarasa*²⁶, *kahlāra*²⁷ and *raktakamala*²⁸ to the red, *indīvara*²⁹ and *nīlotpala*³⁰

¹ Ibid., p. 84.

² उशीरानुलेपनं Ibid.,

³ Raghu., VI. 25.

⁴ Rtu., VI. 25.

⁵ Raghu., VII. 27, X. 43, XIII. 49; Ku., VII. 17.

⁶ Raghu., IV. 20, 37; Rtu., III. 1, 10, 16, IV. 1, 7, 18, V. 1. 18.

⁷ Raghu., IV. 20; Rtu., V. 1, 16.

⁸ Raghu., IV. 20; Rtu. III. 1, 10, 16, IV. 1, 17, 18, V. 1, 16.

⁹ Raghu., IV. 37.

¹⁰ Ibid., I. 50; Śāk., I. B.

¹¹ Raghu., IV. 67.

¹² Ibid., VI. 44; Rtu., II. 14; Śāk., pp. 84, 89.

¹³ Raghu., I. 43.

¹⁴ Ibid., III. 8. Rtu., III. 10, 23.

¹⁵ Raghu., V. 69.

¹⁶ Rtu., II. 2, 14. III. 24, V. 10; Raghu., III. 36, XII. 86; M. P., 26; Śāk., I. 18.

¹⁷ Rtu., I. 28, III. 5, 8, 26, V. 13, VI. 32.

¹⁸ Ibid., IV. 4, VI. 14.

¹⁹ Ibid., III. 17.

²⁰ Ibid., III. 1, 15, IV. 1, VI. 2; Vik., IV. 40.

²¹ Māl., II. 12.

²² Raghu., IV. 19, VI. 36; Rtu., III. 2, 15, 21, 23, 26.

²³ Rtu., II. 22.

²⁴ Raghu., XIII. 54.

²⁵ Ibid., VI. 17, X. 9; Ku., VIII. 26, 32.

²⁶ Raghu., IV. 17, X. 9; Māl., IV. 7.

²⁷ Raghu., VI. 65; Rtu., II. 12.

²⁷ Rtu., III. 15.

²⁸ Vik., IV. 12.

³⁰ Rtu., III. 17, 19, 26, IV. 9.

(*uṣṭra*¹) and the mule (*vāmī*²). There were domesticated big dogs (*śvāgaṇi*³) kept by the fowlers for purposes of sport⁴. A reference to an ape⁵ is made in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* as kept in the royal garden of the King. There were the common domestic cat (*vidālī*⁶) and the mouse (*mūṣika*⁷).

Kālidāsa makes no reference to the ox or the domestic buffalo, but an allusion to the former may have been implied in the word *dhuryas* (*Raghu.*, XVII, 19) which may have included oxen as beast of draught.

Serpents (*phaṇī*⁸, and *bhogī*⁹) are on record, as also a few other insects. The *Meghadūta* refers to white ants (*valmī*¹⁰) and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* to ants (*pīpīlikāḥ*¹¹). *Indragopa*¹² or *Indragopakāḥ*¹³, mentioned in the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Rtusambhāra*, is a red and fleshy insect of the size of a pea seed. It looks velvety and its touch is very soft. It is gregarious and generally appears in groups in the beginning of the rainy season and the ground where it swarms in hundreds looks like red patches. A favourite of the Sanskrit poets, it is frequently described by them as a companion of the rainy season.

Many aquatic creatures have found mention in the works of the poet. The Indian ocean abounded in huge crocodiles and alligators and serpentine creatures (*bhujāṅgāḥ*¹⁴), whales with huge slits for mouths throwing upwards streams of water through their perforated heads (*timayaḥ*¹⁵) hippopotamuses (*mātāṅganakrāḥ*) jumping up all of a sudden above the surface of water¹⁶, shoals of conchshells (*śaṅkhayūtham*) with their heads transfixed at their jutting points¹⁷ and oysters opening their shells (*śukṭi*) on the strand¹⁸. There were crocodiles (*nakrāḥ*) and sharks (*godhā*¹⁹) in lakes²⁰ and rivers²¹. Then there were fishes (*mīna*²²) of several kinds big (*matsya*²³) and small, like the *robīta*²⁴ and *śapharī*²⁵ respectively. The

¹ *Raghu.*, V. 32.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, IX, 53.

⁴ *Ibid.*,

⁵ *Māl.*, p. 85.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁷ *Śāk.*, pp. 226.

⁸ *Rtu.*, I. 13, 20.

⁹ *Raghu.*, II. 32, IV. 38, XI., 27; *Rtu.*, I. 16, 18.

¹⁰ *M. P.* 15.

¹¹ *Māl.*, p. 48.

¹² *Raghu.*, XI. 42; *Vik.*, p. 95.

¹³ *Rtu.*, II. 5.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, XIII. 12.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁹ *Śāk.*, p. 184.

²⁰ *Raghu.*, VII. 30.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XII. 55.

²² *Ibid.*, I. 73, XVI. 61; *Rtu.*, I. 19.

²³ *Raghu.*, VII. 40.

²⁴ *Śāk.*, pp. 186-206.

²⁵ *Ku.*, IV. 39; *M.P.* 40; *Rtu.*, III. 3.

rohita (*robi*-red) fish were a kind of carp found in lakes and ponds in the neighbourhood of the Ganges. They grow to the length of three feet, are very voracious, and their flesh, though it often has a muddy taste, is edible. Their back is olive coloured, their belly of golden hue, their fins and eyes red. These fish, of the weight of twenty-five and thirty pounds, are often caught in tanks in lower Bengal¹. *Sapbari* is a kind of small glittering fish which is commonly found in all river streams of India. Besides fish, everywhere in shallow water could be seen the jumping frogs (*bheka*², *maṇḍūka*³).

Birds

Birds play an important part in the description of Kālidāsa. They may be described below. Peacock has been very frequently mentioned with its different names of *mayūra*⁴, *barhi*⁵, *śikhaṇḍī*⁶, *kalāpi*⁷ and *śikhi*⁸. The Indian peacock is very restless, especially at the approach of rains. Its circular movements have been often likened to dancing. It was mostly wild (*vanabarhi*⁹) but was occasionally tamed¹⁰, (*bhavanasikhi*¹¹) for pleasure's sake (*krīḍāmayūra*¹²). *Cakora*¹³ is the Greek partridge of the genus *Tetraoerdis* of which there were several varieties. It is a smart bird with a well-set head and prominent reddish eyes and legs. In the tropics it is generally found in the new green swards in pairs after the rains. It is said to feed on moon beams and its eyes are supposed to grow turbid at the sight of poison. *Cātaka*¹⁴, *Cuculus melanoleucus*, is a kind of cuckoo supposed to drink only the water of the clouds¹⁵. "It is not a fabulous bird," Mr. S. P. Pandit¹⁶ assures us, "but a small bird, smaller than the smallest dove, has a long tail, and combines in itself the black, yellow and white. Long crest on its head, of the shape of a bow with an arrow stretched on it, which is supposed to prevent it from bending its head by coming opposite the beak and thereby to prevent it from drinking water lying on the ground—or any water to drink which the beak is to be lowered, and which crest village mythology says it obtained as a punishment for having in a former life cruelly prevented his daughter-in-law from drinking water because of a trivial mistake." If the identification of Mr. Pandit is correct then the bird is no other than one

¹ Monier Williams: *Sakuntalā*, Notes.

² *Rtu.*, I. 18, II. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, I. 20.

⁴ *Raghu.*, III. 56, IX. 67, XIII. 27, XIV. 69, XVI. 14; *Rtu.*, I. 13., III. 12.

⁵ *Raghu.*, II. 16, XVI. 14; *Rtu.*, II. 6.

⁶ *Raghu.*, I. 39.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VI. 51; *Rtu.*, I. 16.

⁸ *M. P.* 32; *Rtu.*, II. 14, 16, III. 13.

⁹ *Raghu.*, XVI. 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *M. P.*, 32.

¹² *Raghu.* XIV. 14.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VI. 59, VII. 25.

¹⁴ *Rtu.*, II. 3; *Raghu.*, V. 17, *M. P.* 9, *U.* 51.

¹⁵ *Rtu.*, II. 3.

¹⁶ *Vikramorvaśī*, II. Notes.

to the blue and *kanakakamala*¹, *śātakumbhakamala*² and *hemāmbhoja*³ to the yellow one of a golden hue. This last kind has been mentioned as growing exclusively in the Mānasa lake⁴ of the Kailāsa range. Lotus and lilies covering at places the entire surface of the water make the expression *kamalavana*⁵ literally true, and one may see many an Indian lake growing lotuses in uninterrupted stretches of several miles together and giving the impression of a forest through which it becomes difficult for a cutter or canoe to make way. A different variety of lotus, the *sthalakamalini*⁶, *Hibiscus mutabilis*, has been described as growing on land. The stalk of the lotus, it is said, served⁷ as food (*pāṭhaya*) for the flamingoes flying to the Manasasarovara. Besides, there were some other aquatic plants and reeds growing in the swamps of lakes and lowlands and in shallow river-beds. Such was *śaivala*⁸, *vallisneria*, a vigorous growth of moss, which spreads itself over ponds, and interweaves with the lotus. *Nicula*⁹, perhaps the same as the *vetasa*¹⁰ and *vānira*¹¹, *Calamus viminalis*, (*Calamus tenuis*) is the cane reed which grew near about Rāmagiri¹², on the banks of the Tamasā¹³, Gambhīrā¹⁴ and Mālinī¹⁵, and perhaps also in the Suhma country, to which an indirect reference is given¹⁶.

Under this section may be discussed the data regarding the animal life including the creatures living on land and water and birds and other winged beings.

Fauna

We may study animals under two heads, viz., the wild and domestic.

Wild Animals.

Just as the primeval forests have mostly disappeared from the plains of India so also have vanished several of the wild animals to a great extent. During the time of Kālidāsa forests abounded in which animals flourished. Of these the following have been noted: the lion (*mṛgendra*¹⁷, *mṛgeśvara*¹⁸, *rikṣa*¹⁹, *simha*²⁰), the

¹ Ibid., V. 13.

² *Ku.*, VIII. 85.

³ *M. P.*, 62, हेमाम्बुज *Raghu.*, XIII. 60.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *Rtu.*, I. 26.

⁶ *M. U.* 27.

⁷ *M. P.* 11.

⁸ *Raghu.*, V. 46; *Śāk.*, I. 17.

⁹ *M. P.*, 14; *Vik.*, IV. 13.

¹⁰ *Śāk.*, p. 60; III, 23.

¹¹ *M. P.*, 41.

¹² Ibid., 14.

¹³ *Raghu.*, IX. 75.

¹⁴ *M. P.* 41.

¹⁵ *Śāk.*, p. 60, III. 23.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, IV. 35, वैतसी वृत्ति

¹⁷ Ibid., II. 30; *Rtu.*, I. 27.

¹⁸ *Rtu.*, I. 14.

¹⁹ *Raghu.*, II. 29; *Rtu.*, I. 25.

²⁰ *Raghu.*, II. 27, IX. 64; *Ku.*, I. 56.

king of the animal kingdom, the elephant (*kari*¹, *danti*², *dvīpa*³, *ibha*⁴, *gaja*⁵ *kuñjara*⁶) and its young one (*kalabha*⁷), the tiger (*vyāghra*⁸) and tigress (*vyāghri*⁹), the boar (*varāha*¹⁰), the rhinoceros (*khaṇḍa*¹¹), the bison (*mahiṣa*¹², *vanya*), and buffaloes (*mahiṣa*¹³), the yak (*camari*¹⁴) roaming among the Himalayas, a kind of ox (*gavaya*¹⁵), the deer (*mṛga*¹⁶), both buck and doe (*mṛgi*¹⁷), including two kinds of them, namely, the musk-deer (*mṛganābhi*¹⁸); (Wilson observes that this animal is what is called the Tibet Musk-deer; "but it is found among the lofty Himalaya mountains, which divide Tartary from Hindustan" cf. *Ku.*, 154; *R.* IV. 74), and the spotted one (*ruru*¹⁹ or *kṛṣṇasāra* whose skin was considered sacred), the jackal, the female species of it (*śivā*²⁰), the monkey (*vānara*, *kapi*²¹) and ape (*piṅgala vānara*²²), the wild cat, the male species (*viḍāla*²³) and a fabulous animal of great strength *śarabha*²⁴ said to be living in the Himalayas.

Of the domesticated animals we read of elephants, caught as a state monopoly²⁵, and serving in the army²⁶, and probably abounding in the forests of Kalinga²⁷ and Kāmarūpa²⁸, horses (*vāha*²⁹ *aśva*³⁰, *turaga*³¹), cow (*go*)³² (*dhenu*³³), and calf (*vaṭsa*³⁴), the beasts of burden like the bull (*vṛṣa*³⁵, *kakudman*³⁶, *balivarda*³⁷) the camel

¹ *Raghu.*, III. 3.

² *Ibid.*, I. 71; *Ṛtu.*, I. 27.

³ *Raghu.*, II. 37, 38, V. 43, IX. 65; *Ku.*, VIII. 33; *Ṛtu.*, II. 15.

⁴ *Ṛtu.*, VI. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 14, 15, 19; *Raghu.*, IX. 15.

⁶ *Ṛtu.*, II. 1.

⁷ *Raghu.*, III. 31.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IX. 63, XVI. 15.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XII. 37.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 16, IX. 59; *Ku.*, VIII. 35; *Śāk.*, II. 6, p. 55; *Ṛtu.*, I. 17.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, IX. 62.

¹² *Ibid.*, IX. 61, XVI. 13; *Ṛtu.*, I. 21.

¹³ *Śāk.*, II. 6.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, IX. 66, *Ku.*, I. 13, 48, *M. P.* 53.

¹⁵ *Ku.*, I. 56, *Ṛtu.*, I. 23, 27.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, IV. 74, IX. 53, 55, 64; *Śāk.*, II. 6; *Ṛtu.*, I. 11, 25, II. 9, IV. 8.

¹⁷ *हरिणी Raghu.*, IX. 55, *मृगी Ibid.*, XII. 37; *Ṛtu.*, III. 14.

¹⁸ *Raghu.*, IV. 74, XVII. 24; *M. P.* 52; *Ku.*, I. 54; *Ṛtu.*, VI. 12.

¹⁹ *Raghu.*, III. 31, IX. 51, XIII. 34; *Ku.*, III. 36; *Vik.*, IV. 57.

²⁰ *Raghu.*, XI. 61, XVI. 12.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XII. 59, 71, XVI. 79; *Ṛtu.*, I. 23.

²² *Māl.*, p. 85.

²³ *Śāk.*, p. 226; *Māl.*, p. 62.

²⁴ *M. P.* 54; *Ṛtu.*, I. 23.

²⁵ *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 40, 75, V. 72.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, IV. 40.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 83.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, V. 73.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, III. 65; *Ku.*, VI. 39.

³¹ *Raghu.*, I. 42, 54.

³² *Ibid.*, I. 88, II. 23, 49.

³³ *Ibid.*, II. 1, 4, 15, 26, 49, पयस्विनी 21, etc.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 22, 66. ³⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 35.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 22. *महोक्ष Ibid.*

³⁷ *Māl.*, p. 80.

(*uṣtra*¹) and the mule (*vāmī*²). There were domesticated big dogs (*śvāgani*³) kept by the fowlers for purposes of sport⁴. A reference to an ape⁵ is made in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* as kept in the royal garden of the King. There were the common domestic cat (*viḍāli*⁶) and the mouse (*mūṣika*⁷).

Kalidāsa makes no reference to the ox or the domestic buffalo, but an allusion to the former may have been implied in the word *dhuryas* (*Raghu.*, XVII, 19) which may have included oxen as beast of draught.

Serpents (*phaṇī*⁸, and *bhogī*⁹) are on record, as also a few other insects. The *Meghadūta* refers to white ants (*valmī*¹⁰) and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* to ants (*pīpīlikāḥ*¹¹). *Indragopa*¹² or *Indragopakāḥ*¹³, mentioned in the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Rtusambhāra*, is a red and fleshy insect of the size of a pea seed. It looks velvety and its touch is very soft. It is gregarious and generally appears in groups in the beginning of the rainy season and the ground where it swarms in hundreds looks like red patches. A favourite of the Sanskrit poets, it is frequently described by them as a companion of the rainy season.

Many aquatic creatures have found mention in the works of the poet. The Indian ocean abounded in huge crocodiles and alligators and serpentine creatures (*bhujāṅgāḥ*¹⁴), whales with huge slits for mouths throwing upwards streams of water through their perforated heads (*timayaḥ*¹⁵) hippopotamuses (*mātāṅganakrāḥ*) jumping up all of a sudden above the surface of water¹⁶, shoals of conchshells (*śaṅkha-yūtham*) with their heads transfixed at their jutting points¹⁷ and oysters opening their shells (*sukṭi*) on the strand¹⁸. There were crocodiles (*nakrāḥ*) and sharks (*godhā*¹⁹) in lakes²⁰ and rivers²¹. Then there were fishes (*mīna*²²) of several kinds big (*matsya*²³) and small, like the *robhita*²⁴ and *śaphari*²⁵ respectively. The

¹ *Raghu.*, V. 32.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, IX, 53.

⁴ *Ibid.*,

⁵ *Māl.*, p. 85.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁷ *Śāk.*, pp. 226.

⁸ *Rtu.*, I. 13, 20.

⁹ *Raghu.*, II. 32, IV. 38, XI., 27; *Rtu.*, I. 16, 18.

¹⁰ *M. P.* 15.

¹¹ *Māl.*, p. 48.

¹² *Raghu.*, XI. 42; *Vik.*, p. 95.

¹³ *Rtu.*, II. 5.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, XIII. 12.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁹ *Śāk.*, p. 184.

²⁰ *Raghu.*, VII. 30.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XII. 55.

²² *Ibid.*, I. 73, XVI. 61; *Rtu.*, I. 19.

²³ *Raghu.*, VII. 40.

²⁴ *Śāk.*, pp. 186-206.

²⁵ *Ku.*, IV. 39; *M.P.* 40; *Rtu.*, III. 3.

rohita (*rohi*-red) fish were a kind of carp found in lakes and ponds in the neighbourhood of the Ganges. They grow to the length of three feet, are very voracious, and their flesh, though it often has a muddy taste, is edible. Their back is olive coloured, their belly of golden hue, their fins and eyes red. These fish, of the weight of twenty-five and thirty pounds, are often caught in tanks in lower Bengal¹. *Saphari* is a kind of small glittering fish which is commonly found in all river streams of India. Besides fish, everywhere in shallow water could be seen the jumping frogs (*bbeka*², *maṇḍūka*³).

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² *Rtu.*, I. 18, II. 13.

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⁵ *Raghu.*, II. 16, XVI. 14; *Rtu.*, II. 6.

⁶ *Raghu.*, I. 39.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VI. 51; *Rtu.*, I. 16.

⁸ *M. P.* 32; *Rtu.*, II. 14, 16, III. 13.

⁹ *Raghu.*, XVI. 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *M. P.*, 32.

¹² *Raghu.* XIV. 14.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VI. 59, VII. 25.

¹⁴ *Rtu.*, II. 3; *Raghu.*, V. 17, *M. P.* 9, *U.* 51

¹⁵ *Rtu.*, II. 3.

¹⁶ *Vikramorvasi*, II. Notes.

known in the vernacular of eastern U. P. as Nain (lit, a she-barber). *Gṛdhra*¹ is the vulture while *garuḍa*², a fabulous bird supposed to be the king of birds and an inveterate enemy of snakes, is said to be the vehicle of Viṣṇu. *Syena*³ is the Indian falcon. *Sārikā*⁴, *Garcula religiosa*, is one of the most common hill birds of India. It is the falking maina. *Śuka*⁵ is the common parrot. *Hārīta*⁶ has been explained by some⁷ as a kind of pigeon, but, in fact, it is a kind of parrot feeding on the leaves of the black pepper⁸. *Pārānatas*⁹ and *kapotas*¹⁰ are pigeons, perhaps two kinds of them, more probably the former signifying the turtle-dove while the latter denoting pigeons in general. *Kokila*¹¹ is the Indian cuckoo also known as *syāmā*¹² because of its black colour. Its male species is called *puṁsko-kila*¹³. This bird has for its epithets *anyapūṣṭa*¹⁴ and *parabhṛta*¹⁵, nourished by another, because the female is imagined to leave her eggs in the nest of the crow to be hatched. The bird is as great a favourite with Indian poets as the nightingale is with the European. Its note is a constant subject of allusion and is described as very sweet. Of these birds, the *śuka*¹⁶, *sārikā*¹⁷ and *kapota*¹⁸ were domesticated and kept in cages.

Besides, there were aquatic birds, *nīrapatatrīṇa*¹⁹ which may now be noticed. *Hamṣa*²⁰ or *rājahamṣa*²¹ is the swan, a sort of white goose with red legs and bill. It has been attributed several supernatural qualities and is supposed to be a native of the Mānasa lake²². Its female kind is known as *rājahamṣī*²³. *Balāka*²⁴ or *sārasa*²⁵ is a crane while *karaṇḍava*²⁶, a duck, is perhaps a different species of the same. *Cakravāka*²⁷, otherwise known as *rathāṅga*²⁸, is called *dvandvacara pata-*

¹ *Rghu.*, XI. 26, XII. 50; *Śāk.*, p. 186.

² *Raghu.*, XI. 27, 59.

³ *Ibid.*, XI. 60.

⁴ *M. U.*, 22.

⁵ *Vik.*, p. 74, *ibid.*, II. 22; *Śāk.*, I. 13.

⁶ *Raghu.*, IV. 46.

⁷ Apte: *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Students' Edition), p. 639, C. 1.

⁸ *Raghu.*, IV. 46.

⁹ *M. P.* 38, *Vik.*, III. 2.

¹⁰ *Māl.*, p. 84.

¹¹ *Vik.*, IV. 56; *Ṛtu.*, VI. 14, 20, 21, 22, 27.

¹² *M. U.*, 41.

¹³ *Ku.*, III. 32, IV. 14; *Śāk.*, VI. 4.

¹⁴ *Ṛtu.* VI. 25.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, VI. 28; अन्वयभूत *Raghu.*, VIII. 59, IX. 34, 43, 47.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, V. 74; *Vik.*, II. 22.

¹⁷ *M. U.*, 22.

¹⁸ *Māl.*, p. 34.

¹⁹ *Raghu.*, IX. 27.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, IV. 19, *Ku.*, VIII. 82; *M. P.* 23; *Ṛtu.*, I. 5, III. 1, 2, 8, 10, 13, 16, 17, 24, 25. IV. 4.

²¹ *Raghu.*, V. 75; *M. P.* II. *Ṛtu.*, III. 21.

²² *M. P.*, II.

²³ *Raghu.*, VI. 26. VIII. 59.

²⁴ *M. P.*, 9; *Ṛtu.*, III. 12.

²⁵ *Raghu.*, XIII. 30, 33; *M. P.* 31; *Ṛtu.*, I. 19, III. 8, 16.

²⁶ *Ṛtu.*, III. 8; *Vik.*, II. 22.

²⁷ *Ku.*, VII. 15. VIII. 32; *Śāk.*, p. 110.

²⁸ *Raghu.*, III. 24, XIII. 31.

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS IDENTIFIED

We shall now proceed to identify the territorial divisions—*Janapadas*¹—which Kālidāsa mentions. We may, at the first instance, discuss those place-names which occur in the 4th canto of the *Raghuvamśa* in course of the conquest of *Raghu*. It must at the very outset be borne in mind that since *Raghu* was attempting a conquest of unconquered realms acquiring the yet unacquired as enjoined on a king elsewhere²—naturally these countries, which he passed through, lay beyond his possessions. They were, in a way, territories lying on the frontiers of *Raghu*'s dominions and our poet, while describing the progress of the conqueror's army through foreign lands, actually indirectly attempts to give an *ideal* boundary of India. In course of this conquest Kālidāsa does not touch the inland countries, but he refers to the natural frontiers of India. Thus directly from the most powerful middle kingdom of Ayodhyā he makes the king take a far easterly route and reaches him to the very eastern confines of India bordering on the Bay of Bengal.³ Among the peoples inhabiting the eastern *Janapadas*⁴ he recounts the *Suhmas*,⁵ the *Vaṅgas* equipped with a fighting fleet of boats,⁶ the *Utkalas*⁷ who accepted *Raghu*'s supremacy without an arrow being shot at them and who even volunteered to show him the way to *Kaliṅga* noted for its army of elephants.⁸

Suhma

Suhma was situated to the west of *Vaṅga*.⁹ It has been identified by Nīlakaṇṭha, the celebrated commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, with *Rādhā* and was, therefore, that part of Bengal which lay to the west of the Ganges¹⁰ including *Tamluk*, *Midnapur*¹¹ and also perhaps the districts of *Hugli* and *Burdwan*. It is placed between *Vaṅga* and *Kaliṅga* in the *Brhatsamhitā*¹² which is almost

¹ *Raghu*, IV. 34, V. 9, 41, IX. 4, XV. 42; *M.P.*, 48.

² अजिताधिगमाय *Raghu*, VIII. 17.

³ पूर्वसागरगामिनी IV., 32.

⁴ पौरस्त्यान् Ibid., 34.

⁵ Ibid., 35.

⁶ वंगान् . . . नौसाधनोद्यतान् Ibid., 36.

⁷ Ibid., 38.

⁸ Ibid., 40.

⁹ *Suhma* is described in verse 35 before verse 36, in which the *Vaṅgas* are referred to as being on the Ganges.

¹⁰ *Ānandabhaṭṭa's Ballālacaritam*, pt., II. ch. 1.

¹¹ Wilson: *Introduction to Mackenzie Collection*, chs. 138, 139.

¹² Ch. 16.

exactly the spot where Kālidāsa places it,¹ with the only difference that a small tract inhabited by the Utkalas which, though politically distinct² from Kāliṅga nevertheless geographically only the northern part of it, intervened.³ The country of the Suhmas is placed to the west of the Vaṅgas living to the east of the Ganges and in the delta formed by the Ganges⁴ and the Brahmaputra. Ptolemy seems to refer to parts of Suhma and Vaṅga in his 'Gangaridai'⁵ to which the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* also appears to allude.⁶ It is the first⁷ *janapada* encountered by Raghū in his march towards the east. Next to it comes the land of the Vaṅgas. The poet points out indirectly that the Suhmas lived in a country abounding in cane-plants and they got everyday an opportunity to see how big trees resisting the force of the current were borne down by the river while the supple cane was spared, and to learn thereby the safest course of action (*vaitasim vrttim*⁸) in case of an invasion by a powerful enemy.

Vaṅga

The country of the *Vaṅgas*⁹ lay to the west of Tipperah. It must not be confounded with Gauḍa or north Bengal for, in the *Mādhavacampū* the two countries are clearly distinguished and Vaṅga is described as that 'country through which the Padmā and the Brahmaputra flow.' The fact that the main channel of the Brahmaputra flowed through Mymensing will make it further clear. Pargiter identifies Vaṅga with the modern districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, Parts of Rajshahi, Patna and Faridpur¹⁰. This would have been almost correct but for the inclusion of Murshidabad in the list which would be perhaps a little far too west. Kālidāsa places the Vaṅgas in the delta formed by the Ganges and the Brahmaputra (*Gaṅgāśrotāntareṣu*)¹¹ and makes them almost a sea-faring people with their marine forces.¹² Strabo¹³ and the *Periplus*¹⁴ both seem to know only one mouth of the Ganges.

Utkala

Next came the Utkalas.¹⁵ Utkala is a corruption of Utkaliṅga which means the northern (*Uṭ*) part of Kāliṅga. The country of Utkala or Oḍra (Orissa) lay to the south of Tāmralipta, and the context in which it is referred to would

¹ Cf. vs. 35-38 of *Raghū*, IV.

² *Raghū*, IV. 38.

³ Cf. vs., 36-38 *ibid*.

⁴ *Ibid*, 36.

⁵ S. N. Majumdar: *Ancient India by McCrindle*, p. 173.

⁶ Translated by Wilfred H. Schoff, p. 47, p. 63.

⁷ *Raghū*, IV. 35.

⁸ *Ibid*,

⁹ *Ibid*, 36.

¹⁰ Ancient Countries in Eastern India: *J. A. S. B.*, 1897, p. 85.

¹¹ *Raghū*, IV. 36.

¹² नौसाधनोद्यतान् *Ibid*.

¹³ XV. I. 13.

¹⁴ Schoff's Translation, p. 47

¹⁵ *Raghū*, IV. 38.

seem to limit its northern frontier by the river Kapiśā identified with the Kasai flowing through Midnapur in Bengal.¹ At the time of the *Mahābhārata*, Utkala formed part of Kalinga, the river Vaitaraṇi being its northern boundary² but the *Brahma Purāṇa* treats them as two separate kingdoms³ and Kālidāsa appears to be distinctly in agreement with the latter tradition⁴. Thus Utkala extended in the north to the Kasai in Midnapur, Bengal, and bordered on Kalinga in the south. The country of Kalinga⁵ stretched along the coast of the Bay of Bengal⁶ from Utkala in the north to the mouth of the Godavari in the south.

Kalinga

General Cunningham places it between the Gaolia branch of the Indravati river on the north-west and the Godavari in the south-west,⁷ while Rapson between the Mahanadi in the north and the Godavari in the south.⁸ Godavari may thus be taken as the commonly accepted southern boundary of Kalinga. As to the north it was conterminous with Utkala for which we have the authority of Kālidāsa himself.⁹ But we are not sure as to the exact boundary between Utkala and Kalinga. Perhaps Cunningham's idea of the Gaolia as boundary may be taken as correct. The Mahendra,¹⁰ of which the Kālinga King is said to be the lord,¹¹ is a mountain lying in Kalinga and slightly butting in Utkala which makes our task of the exact identification of this boundary line more difficult. Roughly the Gaolia branch of the Indravati may be taken to be the northern limit of Kalinga.

Then the conqueror proceeds southwards along the coast covered with the betel-nut trees.¹² He crosses the Cauvery,¹³ swoops over the spice producing Malaya region¹⁴ and encounters the Pāṇḍyas¹⁵ of the far south of considerable strength¹⁶, foils their resistance and receives from them as tribute their entire horde of pearls fished from the Tāmrāparṇī and the Indian Ocean.¹⁷ The *Periplus*,¹⁸ Pliny,¹⁹ Ptolemy²⁰ and almost all the classical writers are replete with references to the pearl-fisheries of the Indian Ocean. Then Raghu of indomit-

¹ *Pargiter: Ancient Countries in Eastern India, J. A. S. B., Vol. LXVI. pt. I, 1377, p. 85.*

² *Vana Parva, ch. 114.*

³ *Ch., 47, Verse 7.*

⁴ *Raghu., IV. 38.*

⁵ *Ibid., 38, 40.*

⁶ *Ibid., VI. 56, 57.*

⁷ *Ancient Geography, p. 516.*

⁸ *Ancient India, p. 164.*

⁹ *Raghu., IV. 38.*

¹⁰ *Ibid., IV. 39, VI. 54.*

¹¹ *Ibid., IV. 40, 54.*

¹² *Ibid., 44.*

¹³ *Ibid., 45.*

¹⁴ *Ibid., 46.*

¹⁵ *Ibid., 49.*

¹⁶ *दिशि मन्दायते तेजो दक्षिणस्यां रवेरपि Ibid. 17 Ibid., 50. 18 Schoff's Translation, p. 46, 59.*

¹⁹ *IX. 54-58.*

²⁰ *Majumdar : Ptolemy by McCrindle, pp. 58-60.*

able valour crossed the Western Ghats (Sahya)¹ through the Palghat gap between the Malaya (Cardamom Hills) and the Dardura² (Nilgiri Hills) mountains, the wonted way of the armies crossing from the eastern to the western coast.³

Pāṇdyas

There is another reference to these Pāṇdyas in the *Raghuvaṃśa*. VI 59-65. Their capital is said to be Urāgapura.⁴ Vaidya thinks that it was the Pāṇḍya capital Urāgapura of the time of Karikāla Cola and earlier, for it was in the first century A.D. that Karikāla Cola overthrew the supremacy of the Pāṇdyas and made Kāveripattanam his capital neglecting Uraiyur. Therefore Vaidya thinks that this Urāgapura really refers to Uraiyur of the Pāṇdyas prior to their overthrow by Karikāla Cola, and consequently he places Kālidāsa in the 1st century B.C.⁵ But this argument is hardly tenable, because of the following points. The time of Karikāla Cola itself is not yet settled. Then there is another point. We know that the Pāṇḍya power was re-established at Madura in the third century A.D. by Selyan or Nedun Selm Pāṇḍyo⁶ when the best Tamil poets flourished. Of the two references⁷ to the Pāṇdyas, the first is made when they were supposed yet unassailable⁸ but the second one alludes to them in a general way.⁹ In the first case they were defeated and reinstated by Raghu when they paid tribute. But in the second reference they reappear during the time of one of his successors although with no particular importance attaching to them. Is it possible that the poet may be hinting at the Pāṇdyas' twice appearance on the scene of the south, once prior to their overthrow by Karikāla, re-placed in the story by Raghu, and next posterior to their re-establishment in the third century? We must bear in mind the fact that they flourished again in the south from the third century down to the fifth when they were again overthrown by the Pallavas. And Kālidāsa, therefore, must have their reappearance in mind when he speaks of them in the second instance with their capital at Urāgapura. This Urāgapura may have been Madura itself for the Tamil name of Madura is Alavay,¹⁰ snake, *uraga*. Mallinātha's identification of this capital of the Pāṇdyas with Nāgapura on the river Kānyakubjā¹¹ (Coleeroon), which is evidently Nāgapatam standing on that river, is nothing but the outcome of a lure for the hunt of a synonym of Urāgapura. The Pāṇḍya country was in the extreme south of India lying to the south-west of

¹ *Raghu.*, IV. 52.

² *Ibid.*, 51.

³ Vidyālaṅkāra: *Bhāratbhūmi*, p. 101.

⁴ अथोरगाव्यस्यप्रस्यनाय *Ibid.*, VI. 59.

⁵ C. V. Vaidya: The Pandyas and the Date of Kālidāsa. *The Annals of Bhandarkar Institute*, II. pp. 63-68.

⁶ Krishnaswamy Ayangar: *The Beginning of South Indian History*, ch. VI.

⁷ *Raghu.*, IV. 49-50 and VI. 59-65.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV. 49.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VI. 54-65.

¹⁰ K. G. Sankara: *The Annals of Bhandarkar Institute*, II. pp. 189-191.

¹¹ कान्यकुब्जर्तारवर्तितनागपुरस्य Comment on *Raghu.*, VI. 59.

Coladeśa. The mountain Malaya¹ and the river Tāmraparnī² fix its position indubitably. Its northern boundary seems to have reached the Cauvery³ whence it extended in the south right up to the Indian Ocean.⁴

Aparānta—Kerala

The armies of Raghu then venture forth on the west coast with a design to conquer the entire western sea-board of India (Aparānta).⁵ Bhaṭṭasvāmī in his commentary on Kāṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*⁶ identifies Aparānta with Koṅkaṇa, while the *Brahma Purāṇa*⁷ includes Sūrpāraka also. But with neither of these identifications would the description of Kālidāsa agree. According to his description when Raghu has conquered the eastern coast he desires naturally to annex the entire western strip of the sea coast, and Aparānta, therefore, has been referred to in a general sense indicating the whole of the western border. N. L. Dey's supposition that Kālidāsa places Aparānta to the south of Muralā⁸, the river Mula-Mutha,⁹ a tributary of the Bhīma, is wrong. Because Muralā is a river of Kerala as its name occurs in the description of the Keralas,¹⁰ as also because if we take Aparānta to be a country lying to the south of the Muralā, we shall have inadvertently to place it even to the south of Kerala, i.e., Malabar, a reference to which it precedes! But if we take Aparānta to refer to the entire strip of land lying between Sahya (the Western Ghats) and the sea (*Sahyalagna inārṇavaḥ*)¹¹ our difficulty will be solved as Kerala then would form a country in the stretch of Aparānta. The description of Aparānta starts with verse 53 and ends with verse 58, while that of Kerala is given in verses 54-55. This Kerala, where the fear of approach of Raghu's forces made the women cast off their ornaments¹², was Malabar. The entire western coast, our Aparānta of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, included within its geographical limits the three divisions of Koṅkaṇa from Daman to Goa, in the north, the coast of Kārnataka in the middle and Kerala in the south.¹³ Kerala was thus Malabar.

The conquest of Aparānta is completed at Trikūṭa, the three peaks of the mountain serving as three pillars of victory.¹⁴ Trikūṭa seems to have been a place from where the sea was situated not at too far a distance. Kālidāsa implies that it was Tīkrūṭa from where the land and the sea routes for the country of the

¹ Ibid., IV. 46.

² Ibid., 50.

³ Ibid., 45.

⁴ ताम्रसर्पसमेतस्य मुक्तासारं महोदधे: Ibid., 50.

⁵ अपरांतजयोद्धतै: Ibid., 53.

⁶ Kośādhyaṅga, Book II.

⁷ Ch. 27.

⁸ *Geo. Dic.*, p. 9 (Aparānta).

⁹ Ibid., p. 134.

¹⁰ *Raghu*, IV. 54-55.

¹¹ Ibid., 53.

¹² Ibid., IV. 54.

¹³ Vidyālaṅkāra: *Bhārataḥbūmi*. p. 84.

¹⁴ *Raghu*, IV. 59.

Persians bifurcated.¹ It was probably the name of a hill to the west of Nasik. An inscription found at Anjaneri near Nasik (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 225 II.) mentions Eastern Trikūṭa Viṣaya.

Next vanquished were the *Pārasikas*², Trikūṭa, the last northern point in the extreme west of India, having already been captured. And here Kālidāsa refers to two routes leading to the country of the *Pārasikas*, namely, the land route and a possible sea route suggested by his expression *pratasthe sthalavartmanā*.³ In the vicinity of Trikūṭa, there ended the land route for the common wayfarer and the usual sea route started for Persia. The expression is very significant and suggests that the land of the *Pārasikas* was no other than Fars, ancient Persia. It seems that from here usually the traveller to Persia took one of the many sea ports, Kalyāṇa being the nearest. It must be remembered that *Kalyāṇa*,⁴ modern *Kalyani* (19° 14' N., 73°, 10' E.) on the eastern shore of the harbour of Bombay, *Sūrpāṇaka*,⁵ modern Sopara (19°, 15' N., 72°, 41' E.) and *Bhṛgukaccha*,⁶ Barygaza of Ptolemy, modern Broach (21°, 42' N., 72°, 59' E.), were all busy ports from where Persia was reached. So the easy access by sea and the troublous journey through the Thar made Raghu, as though, reflect a while and he preferred the land route to the waterway. Mallinātha suggests that the preference was due to religious considerations⁷ which hardly deserves credence in view of the fact that it was about Kālidāsa's time that the intrepid Indian mariners kept sea communication with the western world and soon, after about a century and a half, conquered and colonized many of the islands spotted over the Indian Ocean. We read of several references to the marine activities of the Indian people in the works of the poet himself.⁸ Is it then because Raghu had no fleet to carry his men, horses and elephants? Surely *Aparānta*, with its capital at *Sūrpāraka*,⁹ which he had already captured, or *Kalyāṇa* itself could have furnished him with one. Then there is only one point which appears to suggest the reason of Raghu's preference for the land route: the display of valour by courting a perilous journey. If the *Pāṇḍyas*, could not stay his march, surely the desert could by no means stop him. It seems, however, to make him pause and reflect a while and then 'to resolve' on the perilous alternative of the land route. The expression *pratasthe*¹⁰ of the poet smacks of two suggestive implications, namely, firstly, that it was a long way to the *Pārasikas* and he had to make almost a new start, and,

¹ Ibid., 60.

² Ibid., IV. 60.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Calliena, *The Periplus of the Aerythrean Sea*, Schoff's trans. § 52.

⁵ Suppara, Ibid., cf Smith: *Asoka*, 129; *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV. p. 272, Bhagawan Lal Indrajī: *Antiquarian Remains at Sopara and Padana*; Burgess: *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, p. 131.

⁶ Majumdar: *McCrindle's Ptolemy*, pp. 38, 40, 49, 77, 152, 153; also Schoff's Translation of the *Periplus*, pp. 27, 30, 32, 34-38 on each page.

⁷ समुद्रयानस्यनिषिद्धत्वादितिभावः On *Raghu*, IV. 60.

⁸ Cf. समुद्रव्यवहारीसार्थवाहो *Sāk.*, p. 219, नौव्यसने (shipwreck) विपन्नः ibid; marine description in *Raghu*, XIII. 2-18.

⁹ Bhandarkar: *History of the Deccan*, Sec. III, p. 9.

¹⁰ *Raghu*, IV. 60.

secondly, which is a consequence of the first implication, that he had to effect a determined push. The situation did demand an iron resolve after making which the conqueror crossed the Thar and Sukkar. Then through the Bolan Pass he emerged on the foot of the Kojak Amran Mountains and winding round to Girishka he rushed across to southern Persia. It was here that he was met by the bearded Persian horsemen whom he crushed and made to supplicate for his mercy by removing their turbans, a distinct manner of the inhabitants of Fars. There is another indication proving the same conclusion. Suppose Raghu had preferred the sea-route. Where would he have landed? Surely on the coast of Makran or Persia in which case again the Pārasikas would have to be subdued in their home, Fars, for, it cannot be accepted, as some suggest, that in order to conquer the Pārasikas residing on the north-west frontier of India, Raghu would land first on the Persian soil and then turn back to the north-east, i.e., India again.

Here we must explain why it is that Kālidāsa does not speak of the countries between Aparānta and the habitat of Pārasikas. In this connection we have to bear in mind a few important points. As we have noted already above, Kālidāsa is attempting in the conquest of Raghu to rebuild the natural and ideal frontiers of India. Ptolemy included within India the regions which lay immediately to the west of the Indus, comprehending considerable portions of the countries now known as Baluchistan and Afghanistan. He was fully justified in this determination since many places beyond the Indus, as the sequel will show, bore names of Sanskrit origin, and such parts were ruled from the earliest times down to the Muhammedan conquests by princes of Indian descent. The western boundary as given by Ptolemy would be roughly represented by a line drawn from the mouth of the Indus and passing through the parts adjacent to Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, Balkha and even places beyond. The Paropanisadai inhabited the regions lying south of the mountain range called Paropamisos, now known as the central Hindukush. He gives as the eastern boundary of the Paropanisadai a line drawn south from the sources of the river Oxus through the Caucasian Mountains (the eastern portion of the Hindukush) to a point lying in long $119^{\circ} 30'$ and lat. 39° .¹ If Ptolemy could think of the Hindukush and the sources of the Oxus to form the northern and north-western boundaries of India, Kālidāsa, an uncompromising nationalist, had every right to fix them as natural frontiers. Then with Samudra Gupta communicating with Ceylon and Balkha² and Candragupta actually controlling the land of Bactria, proved by the Mehroli Iron Pillar, Persia, the Hindukush and the valley of the Oxus would naturally be the extreme northern end north-western frontiers.

Thus it is that Kālidāsa stays the westward progress of his hero after Aparānta, the western sea coast. The eastern coast on the Bay of Bengal, the extreme south coast on the Cape Comorin touching the Malaya and Aparānta had been conquered already and Afghanistan and the Hindukush had almost always formed the north-western boundary. The Hūnas on the Oxus were slightly out of the range

¹ Majumdar: *McCrindle's Ptolemy*, pp. 33-34.

² Smith: *Early History of India*, 4th Edition, p. 306.

but their disturbances in the neighbourhood, the rumblings of which must have been heard within the national confines of India, tempted the poet to make his hero venture out a punitive expedition across the close border, and then turn to the south east, conquer the Kāmbojas, and cross the Himalayas, annexing the land of the Kirātas, the Ūtsavaśāṅketas and the Kinnaras on his way down, accepting tributes from the king of Assam (Kāmarūpas), and thus complete and secure the Indian boundary. Thus it is that after the conquest of Aparānta Raghu has to look up to north and the north-west. And since Malwa, Saurāstra and Thar lay within the natural confines of India, Kālidāsa does not make Raghu conquer them. But the Pārasikas had to be vanquished for they lay on the way and were fighting the Hūṇas lately settled in the basin of the Oxus. The two fighting nations must be made to taste the valour of one, who, himself an uncommon hero, was bent further on proving the fact that the land was *his*.

Persia, like to-day, was noted for its vine creepers,¹ *drākṣāvalayabbūmiṣu*, the word being still current in the language of the Baluchis for the grapes of the smaller variety. While speaking of Ariana Wilson says, "Aria will be restricted to the tract from about Meshd to the neighbourhood of Herat, a position well enough reconcilable with much that Strabo relates of Aria, its similarity to Margiana in character and productions, its mountains and well-watered valleys in which the vine flourished, its position as much to the north as to the south of the chain of Taurus of Alburz, and its being bounded by Hyrkania, Margiana, and Bactriana on the north, and Drangiana on the south."² Persia was also noted for its precious skins by Kālidāsa (*ajinaratna*)³ as also by the *Periplus*, which refers to coats of skin imported at Adulis from the vicinity of Persia. About these Schoff says, "originally these were of rough skins with hair left on; later they were imitated in Mesopotamia by a heavy woollen fabric, suggesting the modern frieze overcoat, which was largely exported."⁴

From Persia Raghu proceeded due north (Kāuberīm) along the Hindukush and emerged right into the valley of saffron in the basin of the Oxus stumpling on the Hūṇas.

Hūṇas

Proceeding northward Raghu reached the settlement of the Hūṇas on the banks of the Oxus and its tributaries. While identifying the river Vāṅksū with the Oxus the reasons for accepting the reading *Vāṅksū* for *Sindhu* have already been given. We have also referred there to the passage of Kṣīrasvāmī (a commentator on the *Amarakośa* and writing about the second half of the 11th century A. D.) in which he has alluded to the settlement of the Hūṇas who were vanquished by Raghu. He has also, in way of illustration, quoted from the *Raghuvaṃśa* (the context of Raghu's conquest) the line '*dudhuvurvājinaḥ skandhānllagna Kuṅkumake-sarān*.' We have to locate here properly the habitat of the Hūṇas.

¹ *Raghu*, IV. 65.

² *Ariana Antiquities*, p. 150.

³ *Raghu*, IV. 65.

⁴ *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 70.

The history of the Hūna expansion in Central Asia is very interesting. During the reign of Pou-non-tanjou (A. D. 46) the Hūna country and their empire suffered from severe famine. While they were yet in difficulties the Eastern Tartars and the Chinese drove them out of their land and pushed them to west and south. Thus quitting Tartary in the north of China, they entered the provinces of Kashgar and Aksu¹ from where they spread towards the Caspian sea and the frontiers of Persia. These were called *Te-le* or *Til-le*. As they lived on the banks of the Oxus (*ab-water*) they were called *Ab-tele*. The name Abtelite in the list of their names comes from this origin. It is the corruption of this name which has given rise to such names as Eupthalites and Nephthalites.² According to Tabari the word Haitalite comes from 'Haital,' which in the Bokharian language means 'a strong man.'³ Sir Aural Stein remarks, "By the middle of the fifth century this race (the Hephthalites) of probably Turkish origin had founded a powerful empire in the Oxus basin, whence they carried their conquests down to Gandhara and beyond the Indus in the south, and as far as Khotan and Karashahr in the East."⁴ Sir P. M. Sykes, in like manner, says, "This powerful tribe crossed the Oxus about A. D. 425, and according to the Persian chroniclers the news of their invasion caused a widespread panic."⁵ M. Chavannes is also of the same opinion in this regard. He writes, "Towards the middle of the 5th century, they established a great power in the basin of the Oxus and since then proved themselves the most redoubtable enemies of the Persian Empire."⁶ Even as early as A. D. 350 they had attacked Persia when they were repulsed by Shapur, the Great.⁷ Again they invaded Persia in A. D. 425 and were defeated by Behramgour (Behram V, A. D. 420-438) and forced to recognise the Oxus as the boundary between Iran and their own country⁸. According to the Chinese authorities also the white Hunas first appeared in the countries on the Oxus in the beginning of the fifth century.⁹ Thus about the time of Kālidāsa the Hūnas were settled in the doab formed by the modern Wakshab and Akshab, the tributaries of the Oxus to which fact both Kṣīrasvāmī¹⁰ and Vallabha¹¹ attest. The valley of the Oxus like that of the Sindhu was noted for its crop of saffron flowers the filaments of which got stuck to the manes of the chargers¹² of Raghu's cavalry.

¹ M. Deguignes: *Histoire des Huns*, Tome I., Partie I, p. 216. quoted by Dr. J. J. Modi in his *Early History of the Hunas and their Inroads in India and Persia*, p. 545.

² Ibid., I, pt. II. pp. 325-26, quoted in Ibid., 565.

³ *Tabari par Jollerburg*, II. p. 128, quoted in the *Early History of the Huns.*, p. 565.

⁴ *Ancient Khotan*, ch. III. p. 58.

⁵ *History of Persia*, Vol. I. pp. 468-469.

⁶ *Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 223.

⁷ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar: *The Hun Problems in Indian History*, *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, p. 66.

⁸ Modi: *Early History of the Huns.*, pp. 566-67.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ बल्लिकदेशजं बाहलीकं यद्रघोरुत्तरदिविजये—दुधुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धाल्लग्नकुम्भकेसरान्—(Comment on बाल्लिकं saffron, in K. G. Oka's Edition of the *Kṣīrasvāmī*, p. 110). It would then be the land of Bactria in the basin of the Oxus.

¹¹ By accepting the reading *Vñkṣū* for *Sindhu*,

¹² *Raghu.*, IV. 67

Kṣīrasvāmī¹ alludes to it as has been pointed out above. Already ample evidence has been adduced to show that the poet in the course of the conquest of his hero is describing the frontiers of India and that with regard to his limits of the north-west he is perfectly borne out by foreign geographers. Prof. S. Kṛishnaswami Aiyangar has come to the same conclusion. He observes, "This itinerary of Raghu seems to mark the outer boundary in the west and north-west of India from the Achaemenian times onwards almost up to the middle of the 3rd century A. D., if not even up to the time of Yuan Chwang (Huen Tsiang)."²

Kambojas

Those next encountered after the Hūṇas were naturally an adjacent people. And since the Hūṇas were settled in the Oxus valley and because Kālidāsa does not speak of a return, surely the land of the Kambojas cannot lie in the north-western part of Afghanistan. We must seek their habitat elsewhere. Here we come across a very important piece of information which directly locates the Kambojas and additionally lends support to our identification of the Pārasīkas and the Hūṇas. After vanquishing the Kambojas after the Hūṇas, Raghu is said to have ascended the Himalayas.³ It is significant that it is now at this stage of Raghu's conquest that the great mountain range is encountered. Thus the conqueror must have taken such a route as would have kept him off the Himalayas. And if he went *via* Persia and Afghanistan then alone he could have avoided them. Here we must remember that the Persian and the Hūṇa empires were co-terminous and the Indian frontier touched both. Afghanistan was mostly within India and was partly included in the Persian empire. The Persian and the Hūṇa empires were constantly waging war against each other. One such war at about the time of Kālidāsa had turned the fortune in favour of the Persians when Behrangour (Behram V) defeated the Hūṇas in A. D. 425 and fixed the Oxus as the boundary between the possessions of the two. Thus naturally Raghu after defeating the Persians in their own land crossed to the country of the Hūṇas in the valley of the Oxus which lay slightly to the north-west of Kashmir and thus it was that the conqueror found himself in the north and north-west of the Himalayas without having crossed them. But in a homeward journey leading to the Indian countries of the north-east he had to cross the great mountain range somewhere. And since the Kambojas were defeated before the Himalayas were crossed back, they must be located somewhere beyond the latter but not in Afghanistan for the reason noted above. Here is another fact to be remarked. It is that if Raghu had ascended the Himalayas from their southern side, without doubt, in that case he would have descended in the land to the south or the south-west of Chinese Turkistan!

The probability of the habitat of the Kambojas lying in the north-eastern

¹ Vide the *Kṣīrasvāmī*, p. 110 quoted above.

² The Huna Problem in Indian History, I. A., 1919, p. 69.

³ ततो गौरीगुहं शैलमारोहाश्च साधनः *Raghu*, IV. 71.

The Kambojas were vanquished in verses 69-70, Ibid,

Afghanistan thus being rendered remote, we proceed now to seek it to the north and north-east of Kashmir. Kalhana places Kamboja to the north of Kashmir.¹ This is true, but we have to locate them more accurately and while doing so we shall need to retrace ourselves back and to repeat partly our earlier arguments. The Kambojas have been described in the *Raghuvamśa* next after the Hūnas.² Now the settlement of the Hūnas has been located in the region which was called Hailal by the Persians and Khuttal by the Arabs. According to the Arab geographers it was the land between the modern Vaksh and Aksu, the tributaries of the Oxus. Its boundary is conterminous with the northern frontier of the Ghalcha speaking country.³ After the Kambojas there is the mention of the breezes of the headwaters of the Ganges.⁴ An ancient belief places in the Himalayas a centrally located lake called the Anavatapta from which, it was supposed, there issued the Sītā or Yarkand in the north, Oxus in the west, Indus in the south and the Ganges in the east.⁵ The eastern confine of Kamboja was the river Yarkand and thus by proceeding from north to the east of that lake the army of Raghu could be expected, at least traditionally, to reach the Ganges. Here we must remember that Kālīdāsa does not mean by Gaṅgā any of the streams of that name of the north of Kashmir as all of them issue from below the internal Himalayan range while after the Kambojas the army of Raghu descends from them.⁶ Here clearly the reference to the Himalayas is to the Karakoram range. The path of Raghu therefore lay from the valley of the Sītā (Yarkand) on the eastern confines of Kamboja to the east of Karakoram pass, and then south-east. Now the position of the Anavatapta lake is not known, but it is said that the Sindhu issued from this lake on the south and the Sītā or the Yarkand on the north. If Shiok is the main stream of the Sindhu then the glaciers of the Karakoram range may be identical with the lake for there the Sindhu would be said to flow south and Sītā north. But the rise of the Ganges and the Oxus from these glaciers would not look probable. There remains yet the fact that the courses of rivers often change and it is not altogether impossible that the water of the Zorakula lake might have been flowing to the east and that of the Chakamaktin to the west just contrary to the present day. It is then possible that some stream might have been flowing from the glaciers of the Karakoram to the east in ancient times which was mistaken for the upper waters of the Ganges.⁷ Such a mistake is not altogether impossible as till the latter half of the last century the modern geographers were not sure whether the Sam-po of Tibet was the upper stream of the Brahmaputra, the Iravati or Salwin.⁸ It is interesting to note that a well-known route of commerce ran through Ladakh and eastern Kashmir into Tibet close by the region occupied by the war-like Daradas.⁹ Raghu's route must have lain further east as the poet

¹ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, by Aurel Stein, IV. 163-176, p. 104.

² *Raghu*, IV. 69-70.

³ Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra: *Bhārata*, p. 302.

⁴ गंगाश्रीकरिणो मार्गे मरुतस्तं सिषेविरे *Raghu*, IV. 73.

⁵ *Abhidharmakośa*, III. 57; Waters: *Yuan Chwang*, I. pp. 32-35.

⁶ *Raghu*, IV. 76-81.

⁷ Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra: *Bhārata*, p. 304.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 304-305. ⁹ *I. A.*, 1919, p. 69.

does not mention the Daradas, and furthermore since his army is said to have been refreshed by the breeze of the Ganges.¹ Now, if the reference to the Ganges is to be taken literally true, the route must have lain across the passes of Gaṅgotrī and Kedarnath to the doab between the Ganges and the Jumna, which fact is further supported by the reference to the view of the Kailāsa mount.² Thus if this identification of Kamboja with part of Badakshan and the Ghalcha speaking territory of the Yarkand valley be correct, it may be made doubly so by adding that the fine breed of the horses that Raghu received from the Kambojas³ and the walnut trees (Akṣoṭa)⁴ to which his elephants were tied are even to this day some of the peculiar features of Badakhsan and the adjoining country. In like manner Kālidāsa's mention of the gems and gold⁵ presented to Raghu by the Kambojas can also point to the correctness of our identification as even now there are emerald and lapis mines extant near the Ghalcha speaking town of Munjan. It is interesting that Tavernier⁶ speaks of a "mountain beyond Kashmir producing lapis," which Ball⁷ locates near Firgamu in Badakshan, 36° 10' N. 71° W. Therefore Kamboja must be located in the Ghalcha speaking country and to the north-east of Kashmir. It is interesting that Longman's Senior Atlas of India⁸ in its historical map of India of 250 B. C. shows 'Kambojas' to the east of Kashmir and north of the Himalayas with which Kālidāsa's location fully agrees.

Kirātas

Moving further east and crossing the Himalayas Raghu marches eastwards to the valley of the Brahmaputra and meets the *Kirātas*,⁹ The *Utsavasaṅketas*¹⁰ and the *Kinnaras*¹¹ living within the range of the Himalayas. The *Kirātas* must be identified with the people of Mar-yul (the country of butter as the mediaeval Tibetans called Ladakh), Zaskar and Rupshu. The *Kirātas* in the Indian literature have been used in a generic sense.¹² The *Kirātas* of Kālidāsa were positively the Tibetans or Tibeto-Burmese of Ladakh, Zaskar and Rupshu. Yet their identification with the Tibetans living round the Mānasarovara lake cannot be precluded as although they are encountered after and not before the

¹ *Raghu*, IV. 73.

² *Ibid.*, 80.

³ सदस्वभूषिष्ठा: *Ibid.*, 70. It is interesting that Waksha was the name of a part of Badakshan; it joined Khatlan and was famous for its horses. Wakh or Wakhan is the name of a district east of Badakshan. Cf. A. Houtum Schindler: *I. A.*, XVIII, p. 114.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁵ द्रविणराक्षसः *Ibid.*, 70.

⁶ *Travels in India*, II. p. XXV.

⁷ *Economic Geology of India*, p. 529. For a fuller information, Vide Holdich, *Gates of India*, pp. 426-507.

⁸ Edited by George Philip, F. R. G. S., p. II, map, no. 2.

⁹ *Raghu*, IV. 76.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth All India Oriental Conference*. (Raghu's Line of Conquest along India's Northern Border) p. 111.

Ganges which lay to the east of the Karakoram pass, a mention of the view of Kailāsa has been made¹ and the Mānasarovara lake lay in the same range. There is no doubt about the fact that even the people of Bhutan and its vicinity have been called Kirātas. The *Periplus*² locates them to the west of the mouths of the Ganges and Ptolemy³ near about Tipperah. But it seems that in the Indian literature they have been placed along the entire Himalayan range mostly in the Brahmaputra valley. But Kālidāsa places them near about Ladakh.

Kinnaras

The next tribes were those of the Utsavaśaṅketas and the Kinnaras. The Kinnaras were different from the Kirātas and they are mentioned in Indian literature along the Yakṣas and Gandharvas. Since Raghu does not reach Kailāsa the country of the Kinnaras must have lain to the west of the Kailāsa and the Mānasa. In the *Mahābhārata* also Arjuna during his conquest reaches the country of the Kimpuruṣas first, then Hātakadeśa of the Guhyakas and thereafter the Mānasa lake.⁴ Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra is correct therefore when he identifies the land of the Kinnaras with modern Kanaur in the upper valley of the Sutlej where the head waters of the Candrabhaga approach very near it.⁵

Utsavaśaṅketas

The Utsavaśaṅketas on the authority of a commentary on the *Raghūvaṃśa* have been supposed by Pargiter to denote not a distinct tribe but a sociological term implying 'people who have no marriage and practise promiscuous intercourse, *Utsava* meaning affection and *Śaṅketa* a gesture of invitation.'⁶ As a matter of fact, a loose marriage form still exists in Kanaur and its neighbourhood. So they would seem to refer to the Kinnaras themselves, but if they were a distinct tribe, as Kālidāsa seems to suggest by placing them between the Kirātas and the Kinnaras,⁷ their descendants must be sought among the inhabitants of the land between Kanaur and the Kirāta districts of Rupshu, who speak Manchatī, Lahuli, Bunan, Rangloi and Kanashi, small dialects belonging to the same group and neighbourhood as Kanauri.⁸

After defeating the mountaineers, the Kirātas, Utsavaśaṅketas and the Kinnaras, Raghu descended from the Himalayas and reached Prāgyotiṣa,⁹ the land of the Kāmarūpas, after crossing the Lauhitya,¹⁰ i.e., the Brahmaputra river.

¹ *Raghu*, IV. 80.

² Translated by Schoff, p. 47, §62.

³ *McCrimble's Ptolemy*, edited by Majumdar, p. 194.

⁴ *Sabhā Parva*, ch. XXIX, 1-5.

⁵ *Pro. Six. Ori. Conf.*, p. 112. cf. also चन्द्रभागानदीतीरे ग्रहोसि किन्नरी तदा । अथाऽहं देवदेवं चङ्क्रमन्तं नरासमम् ॥ etc. quoted in Dharmapala's *Atthakathā Paramāttadīpinī* on the *Therī Gāthā*.

⁶ *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Trans., p. 319.

⁷ *Raghu*, IV. 78.

⁸ *Proceedings of the Six Ori. Con.*, pp. 111 ff.

⁹ *Raghu*, IV. 81.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Kāmarūpa is the same as the modern Assam. The modern district of Kamrup extends from Gopalpara to Gauhati. *Prāgjyotiṣa*¹ appears to have been used by Kālidāsa in a territorial sense while *Kāmarūpas*² in the sense of the people of Kāmarūpa, i.e., Assam. *Prāgjyotiṣa* may have been the capital of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. The *Kālikā Purāṇa*³ actually makes it the capital of Kāmarūpa. It is curious as well as amusing to note that Mark Collins supposes Kālidāsa to have referred to *Prāgjyotiṣa* and Kāmarūpa as two distinct kingdoms. He cites the poet with regard to *Prāgjyotiṣa* and Kāmarūpa as a case in point to show the fallacy in Kālidāsa and in other ancient Indian writers of independently treating the synonyms of a single geographical name. He observes: "It seems probable that in the *Raghuvamśa* when Kālidāsa makes Raghu conquer first the *Prāgjyotiṣas* and then king of Kāmarūpa, we have a classical instance of this independent treatment of synonymous names."⁴ Evidently this wrong conception has been occasioned by an incorrect understanding of the text, for it must be noted here that all the four verses⁵ which deal with *Prāgjyotiṣa* and the Kāmarūpas embody a description of the conquest of ancient Assam alone. In verse 81 Raghu crosses the Brahmaputra and makes the king of *Prāgjyotiṣa* tremble with fear.⁶

Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa

The mention of *Prāgjyotiṣa* in the same breath as Lauhitya⁷ is significant for *Prāgjyotiṣa*, identified with the modern Gauhati,⁸ stood on the other bank of the river and Raghu put its king to terror the moment he crossed the river and appeared before it.⁹ Then in the following three verses the poet describes the humiliation of the king of Kāmarūpa and his present of tributes to the conqueror. Thus Kālidāsa does not treat the two as different kingdoms, as Mark Collins wrongly thinks, but refers through them to the single kingdom of Kāmarūpa, possibly with its capital at *Prāgjyotiṣa*, the modern Gauhati. This conquest of Raghu is said to reflect that of Samudra Gupta, and we shall have opportunity to compare the two and account for the dissimilarity.

We shall now discuss the names of the kingdoms referred to in the sixth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*. They are: Magadha,¹⁰ Aṅga,¹¹ Avantī,¹² Anūpa,¹³ Sūra-

¹ प्रागज्योतिषेश्वरः *Raghu.*, IV. 81.

² तमीशः कामरूपाणां *Ibid.*, 83.

³ Ch., 38.

⁴ *Geo. Data of Raghu. and Dasa.*, p. 15.

⁵ *Raghu.*, IV. 81-84.

⁶ *Raghu.*, IV.

⁷ चक्रम्पे तीर्णलोहित्ये तस्मिन्प्रागज्योतिषेश्वरः *Ibid.*

⁸ J. R. A. S., 1900, p. 25.

⁹ *Raghu.*, IV., 81.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VI. 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹² *Ibid.*, 32.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 37.

senā¹, Kālīṅga,² Pāṇḍya³ and Uttara-Kosala⁴. The kingdom of Vidarbha⁵, and Uttara-Kosala have been mentioned many times. Let us take them one by one.

Magadha

Magadha was the ancient kingdom of southern Bihar which is to the south of the Ganges.⁶ The people of the neighbouring districts still call the districts of Patna and Gaya by the name of Magah, which is a corruption of Magadha. The capital of Magadha was Puṣpapura⁷ (Pataliputra, modern Patna). Kālīdāsa refers to the kingdom of Magadha in four verses⁸ and treats its king with particular deference. Aṅga which was conterminous with Magadha, has been naturally described next⁹. It was the country about Bhagalpur including Munghyr, and was one of the sixteen political divisions of India¹⁰, of the sixth century B.C. A reference to this country seems to be only conventional, called for by the exigency of the story.

Avantī

Avantī was the ancient name of Malwa of which Ujjain,¹¹ mentioned in a different context, was the capital. Even here Kālīdāsa refers indirectly to Ujjainī as capital in his description of the temple of Mahākālā.¹² Avantī has been called Malwa since the seventh or eighth century A.D.¹³ It lay within the empire of the Imperial Guptas and in its capital sons of the imperial house held their court in the capacity of Yuvarājas since the days of the Mauryas.¹⁴ In the *Māla-vikāgnimitra*, Agnimitra, the son and Viceroy of his imperial father Puṣyamitra, holds his court in Vidiśā, modern Bhilsa on the Betwa in the Gwalior State, the capital of Avantī in the 2nd century B.C. Its description occurs in verses 32-36.

Anūpa

The situation of the Anūpa country appears to be the southern part of the Central India through which the Narbada flows.¹⁵ Its capital was *Māhiṣmatī*,¹⁶

¹ Ibid., 45.

² Ibid., 53.

³ Ibid., 60.

⁴ Ibid., 71.

⁵ Ibid., V. 39, VIII; *Māl.*, I.

⁶ *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādik. Ch. 32; *Mahābhārata*, Sabhā P., ch. 24.

⁷ *Raghu.*, VI. 24.

⁸ Ibid., 21-24.

⁹ Ibid., 27-29.

¹⁰ *Aṅguttara*, I. 4; *Vinaya Texts*, II. 146; Govinda Sutta in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, XIX, 36.

¹¹ *M.P.*, 27-29.

¹² *Raghu.*, VI. 34.

¹³ Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India*, p. 28. I think this expression came into vogue much earlier.

¹⁴ Smith: *Early History of India*, p. 163.

¹⁵ रेवा *Raghu.*, VI. 43.

¹⁶ Ibid.

modern Māndhātā on the Narbada. It was the Puranic kingdom of the Haihayas. It must have been conterminous with Avantī as it has been described next to it. In fact it was called Avantī-Dakṣiṇāpatha, 'Avantī of the southern highway,' during the Buddhist period.

Sūrasena, Kalinga and Pāṇḍya

Sūrasena was the country around Mathurā¹ which was its capital. Sūra, the father of Vasudeva and Kuntī, gave his name to the country of which he was the king. The description of this country in the story is evidently traditional. It mentions Vṛndāvana² and the hill of Govardhana.³ Kalinga and Pāṇḍya of the eastern sea-coast and far south respectively have already been identified above. These two may reflect actual political powers contemporary of the Guptas. Mahendra, which Kālidāsa mentions⁴ and which was a hill in Kalinga, has found mention among the countries conquered by Samudra Gupta in his Allahabad Pillar Inscription.⁵ Pāṇḍyas were ruling in the south at this time with their capital at Madura, to which Kālidāsa gives the name of Urugapura,⁶ (which was the earlier capital of the Pāṇḍyas before their overthrow by Karikāla Cola) in order to give antiquity to his story and thus save himself from an anachronism.

Uttarakosala

Uttarakosala was the kingdom of Raghu and his successors. It was roughly the same as Oudh with its capital at Ayodhyā⁷ or Sāketa⁸ which the poet supposes to have been identical.⁹ It was also called Kosala.¹⁰ Mark Collins¹¹ thinks that Uttarakosala possibly represents the home province of the northern empire¹² (in which case it would have to be regarded as forming with Magadha, the kingdom to which Daṇḍin applies the latter name), or it may owe its place in the list merely to the nature of the narrative. But it may be noted here that if it was actually the northern empire it was surely more extensive than that of Samudra Gupta.¹³ In the west territories of the Mālvās and Ābhīras and some tribes further north seem to have been added. In the east Vaṅga takes the place of Samatata as a frontier state, and in the south we have nothing to correspond to the petty states of the Kākas, Sanakānikas and others of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. According to Huth Kālidāsa must have lived after A.D. 400. The Gupta administration was first established in Vaṅga by Chandra Gupta II about A.D. 400 or a little later. The point is settled by the fact that Samudra

¹ *Raghu.*, VI. 45-51.

² *Ibid.*, 50.

³ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 54, IV. 39, 43.

⁵ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. 7, note.

⁶ *Raghu.*, VI. 59.

⁷ *Raghu.*, XIII. 61, XIV. 29, XVI. 11-22.

⁸ *Ibid.*, V. 31, XIII. 79, XVIII. 36.

⁹ *Ibid.*, cf. Cunningham: *Geo. of Anc. India*, pp. 401. sqq.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, IV. 70, IX. 17.

¹¹ *Geo. Data of the Raghu. and Dasa*, p. 18.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Cf. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta.

Gupta enumerates Davāka-Vaṅga as one of the border kingdoms, *pratyanta nṛpati*, and Kumāra Gupta is not known to have made any accessions to the empire. The point is further established by identifying with many scholars king Chandra of the Mehrauli iron pillar with Chandra Gupta II. This Chandra, it may be noted, asserts his conquests to have extended from the region of Lauhitya to that of Bactria. It is because of this that Dr. Smith leaves 'Davāka-Vaṅga' out of the Gupta empire in his map of India of A.D. 400 given in his *Early History of India* facing p. 300. It was under Chandra Gupta II again that the dominions of the Satraps in the west—Mālavā, Surāṣṭra and probably the adjacent States—were added to the empire.¹ Malwa was included in the empire of Raghu as also of the later Imperial Guptas. The sway of the Imperial Guptas (Skanda Gupta) extended as far as Surāṣṭra. Surāṣṭra, therefore, has not been mentioned in the *Raghuvamśa* due to its unimportance. The Gupta dominions do not seem to have included Kāmarūpa as is attested to by Samudra Gupta's enumerating it as a border kingdom in the All.P. Inscription. Banerji has identified Balavarman of that inscription with the homogeneous ancestor of Bhaskaravarman of Assam, but that identification is probably incorrect as Assam is mentioned as one ruled by a *pratyanta nṛpati*. Smith keeps Kāmarūpa out of the Gupta empire in his map referred to above. In the *Raghuvamśa* this lies outside Raghu's empire and is described to have been conquered by him.

Vidarbha

Some of the names employed, e.g. Magadha, Kāliṅga, Pāṇḍya, Vaṅga, Kāmarūpa, Aṅga and Vidarbha, were probably in actual use. We shall deal here with Vidarbha in a little detail. The *Raghuvamśa* devotes three cantos² to the story of Indumatī. Vidarbha was ruled by the Bhoja family.³ If we turn to the evidence of inscriptions we find, it is true, no mention of the Bhojas in the records of either the fifth or the sixth century, but we do, nevertheless, find a powerful race of kings ruling during the Gupta period in the western part of the Deccan, and bearing the family name of the Vākātakas. The grants of these kings⁴ record gift of villages. Carmaṅka (the modern Chammak, about four miles south-west of Illichpur), such one, is said to lie in the kingdom of Bhojakata.⁵ A city bearing this name occurs in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*⁶ and is said to have been founded by Rukmin, son of Bhiṣmaka, king of Vidarbha. Bhojakata and Rukmin have also been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*⁷ and placed in the neighbourhood of Narmadā and Avantī. This city is the same as Bhojakata of our inscription. Doubtless it was the head-quarters of that district, or viṣaya, of the Vākātika dominions which the inscription calls Bhojakataṛājyam.

¹ Smith: *Early His. of Ind.*, pp. 254-55; (4th. edition.)

² *Raghu.*, V. 39, VII.

³ Ibid., V. 39. VII. 2, 13, 20, भोजकुलप्रदीप: 29, 35.

⁴ The Chammak and Siwani Grants, C. I. I., III. Nos. 55 and 56; Dudia Grant, ed. by Kielhorn, *Ep. Md.*, III, No. 35, p. 258 ff.

⁵ भोजकटराज्ये C. I. I., III, No. 55, I. 18.

⁶ Wilson's translation, Vol. V, pp. 69-71.

⁷ II. 1115-1166, cf. also *Harivamśa*, ed. Calcutta, 1839, verse 5016.

A tribe of this name certainly occupied the western Vindhya in the time of Aśoka.¹ Bhojakata may have been one of the strongholds of this race or, quite possibly, the citadel in which their chief—the Bhoja—resided. In any case, it remains clear that the territory of the Vākātakas not only occupied a country the present designation of which connects it with the ancient Vidarbha, but that it also included a district associated with the name of Bhoja. Thus the Vidarbha of the *Raghuvamśa* represents the kingdom of the Vākātakas; and the use of the name Bhoja for the rulers of this country finds an explanation if we assume that Kālidāsa wrote at a time when this dynasty was predominant in the south. Vidarbha is the modern Berar, Khandesh, part of the Nizam's territory and part of the Central Provinces. It lay to the south of the Narbada as Aja had to cross the river before entering it.² Its capital was Kuṇḍinapura³ identified with Kundanpur about forty miles east of Amiaoti in Berar.⁴ Vidarbha has found another mention by Kālidāsa in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*⁵ in respect of an earlier story where it is conquered and divided by Agnimitra between two cousins of its ruling dynasty with the Varadā or Vardha as the boundary.

Videha, Sindhu

A few more *janapadas* have been referred to by the poet and may be mentioned below. *Videha*⁶ is the modern Mithila, the Tirhut or Tirabhukti of the Imperial Guptas. Its mention is conventional and based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Videha was the name of the kingdom as well as of the capital⁷ (Mithilā). The country of Sindhu⁸ lay on both sides of the Indus right up to its mouths. Takṣaśilā⁹ and Puṣkalāvati¹⁰ (Taxila and Bashkal)¹¹ were situated in this country, which was inhabited by the Gandharvas,¹² i.e. the Gāndhāras, who were defeated by Bharata and whose country was divided between his two sons, Takṣa and Puṣkalā¹³, whose capitals Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvati were founded by and named after them. The description of the poet, is, in fact, conventional based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*.¹⁴ Sindhu has been always famous for an excellent breed of horses. Hence in the *Amarakośa*, we find both *Saindhava* and *Gandharva* as synonyms of horses. *Saindhava* salt mentioned in the same book evidently

¹ XIII. Rock Edict.

² *Raghu*, V. 42, 43.

³ *Ibid.*, VII. 33.

⁴ Dowson: *Classical Dictionary*, 4th edition, p. 171; Wilson: *Mālavī-Mādhava*, Acts. I.

⁵ Acts I and V.

⁶ *Raghu*, XII. 26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XI. 36.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XV. 87.

⁹ *Raghu*, XV. 89.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Vide p. 70.

¹² *Ibid.*, 88.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹⁴ Uttarakāṇḍa, CXIV. 11.

refers to the rock-salt found in the salt range of mountains, for it does not refer to sea salt as it is separately mentioned as *Samudra* salt and *Maṇimantha* is given as another synonym for *Saindhava* salt and the commentator Maheśvara explains it as "produced in the mountain Maṇimantha" (which can only refer to the Salt Range). But the most convincing proof is a passage of the *Raghuvaṃśa*¹ and that *Saindhava* is still understood by all salt sellers of India as rock-salt. Dr. Borooh says: "I have, therefore, no hesitation in identifying Maṇimantha with the Salt Range and asserting that it stands within the old Sindhu Deśa." Sindhu, in later literature, meant what Arrian understood by it—the country to the south of the Upper Indus or the province of Takṣaśilā. We read in the *Raghuvaṃśa* that Rāma gave this country to his brother Bharata who conquered the Gandharyas and placed his sons Takṣa and Puṣkala in charge of towns named after them—Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvati.² Kekaya,³ the country between the Bias and the Sutlej and the kingdom of the father of Kaikeyī, the youngest queen of Daśaratha, also finds a conventional mention.

Kārāpatha

Kārāpatha⁴ is difficult to identify. Vallabha explains this to mean *Candra-pathaprabhūḥ*. A. Borooh observes: "In the district of Bijnor is the large town of Chandpur, which is probably Chandrapura or Chandrakānta of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. We read in the Uttarakāṇḍa that the two sons of Rāma's brother Lakshmaṇa were appointed rulers of Kārūpatha (*Kālidāsa* reads Kārāpatha); Aṅgada in the west at Aṅgadapurī and Chandraketu in the north at Chandrakānta in Mallabhūmi. The first is the modern Shahabad in Oudh which is still known to its Bhārata inhabitants as Aṅgadapur. It is not due west of Ajodhya, as Chandrapura (Chandpur) is not due north of it. But as in colours, so in directions, we do not find precision of language in ancient writers. There is another Chandpur in the district of Furrackabad, but it can not be Chandrakānta, as it is in the same direction as Shahabad. I am, therefore, almost certain that Chandpur east of Saharanpur is the town called after Chandraketu and that it is situated in the land of northern Mallas."⁵ Wilson⁶ locates Kārāpatha at the foot of the Himalayas.

Kurukṣetra

Brahmāvarta Janapada⁷ was the country between the rivers Sarasvatī and the Dr̥ṣadvatī, while Kurukṣetra⁸ was the same in later literature. Kālidāsa, however, while referring to Brahmāvarta as a janapada, a big territorial division,

¹ *Raghu.*, V. 73.

² *Ibid.*, XV. 89.

³ *Ibid.*, IX. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XV. 90.

⁵ Quoted in the *Raghuvaṃśa*, edited by Nandargikar, Notes on *Raghu.*, XV. 90.

⁶ *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. III, p. 390.

⁷ *M.P.*, 48.

⁸ *Ibid.*

alludes to Kurukṣetra to have been the particular battle-field where the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas fought.¹ Kurukṣetra is identified with Thaneshwar.

Naimiṣa

Naimiṣa² is the modern Nimsar at a short distance from the Nimsar station, twenty miles from Sitapur and forty-five miles to the north-west of Lucknow.³ It is situated on the left bank of the Gumti. It has been mentioned by Ptolemy under the name Nanikhai⁴

Nisadha

Nisadha⁵ has been placed by Lassen⁶ along the Satpura hills to the north west of Berar. Burgess also places it to the south of Malwa.⁷

Daśārṇa

Daśārṇa⁸ was the country roughly identical with Malwa. Eastern Malwa, including the state of Bhopal, was western Daśārṇa, the capital of which was Vidiśā⁹ or Bhilsa. Māla¹⁰ is difficult to identify, but surely it refers to some high place to the north of Ramtek in the Central Provinces about the newly ploughed fields of which we read in the *Meghadūta*.¹¹

Daṇḍakāranya

Daṇḍakāranya¹² was the great forest belt commencing from the north (i.e. the southern portion of Bundelkhand) of the mountain chain of Vindhya extending on the south to the regions of the river Kistna, and comprising eastwards the districts of Chota Nagpur as far as the borders of the Kalinga country. To the westward it extended as far as the two divisions of the Vidarbhas.¹³

Pañcavati

In this very forest was situated *Pañcavati*¹⁴ in the region about¹⁵ Nasik on the Godavari.

¹ Ibid.

² *Raghu.*, XIX. 2.

³ Dey: *Geo. Dic. of Anc. and Med. Ind.*, p. 135.

⁴ *McCrindle's Ptolemy*, edited by Majumdar, p. 132.

⁵ *Raghu.*, XVIII. 1.

⁶ Dey: *Geo. Dic. of Anc. and Med. Ind.*, p. 141.

⁷ *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, p. 131.

⁸ *M.P.*, 23.

⁹ Ibid., 24.

¹⁰ Ibid., 16.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² *Raghu.*, XII. 9.

¹³ The Geography in Rāma's Exile, *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 242.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, XII. 31. XIII. 34; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Aranya K. ch. 49.

¹⁵ Dey: *Geo. Dic. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 147.

Janasthāna

*Janasthāna*¹ was also a part of the same forest and it probably included the *Pañcavaṭī*², the region of the five *vaṭas* or banyan trees. *Citrakūṭavana*³ was the forest region around Kamtagiri near modern Chitrakut in Bundelkhand and formed part of Daṇḍakāraṇya as it is mentioned after a reference to the former.⁴

Laṅkā

*Laṅkā*⁵ has been definitely taken by Kālidāsa to mean an island to the south of India, evidently Ceylon. Rāma describes his aerial route from Indra's plane and the first place encountered is the Indian Ocean⁶ and the bridge built by him. Then the Malaya Mountain, the *Pañcavaṭī*, *Janasthāna* and other places are mentioned on a northerly course of flight.⁷ Thus at the time of Kālidāsa *Laṅkā* was considered to be the same as Ceylon and therefore the identification of it with a part of Central India by some scholars (Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, for example) must be wrong. This island has been mentioned as a great centre of maritime trade by almost all classical geographers who refer to it by the name Taprobane. It is the *Simhala* of the Sanskrit and Buddhist literatures.

Cities and Other Smaller Localities

Kālidāsa also mentions a number of cities and a few other spots, which may now be referred to and identified.

Puṣkalāvati,⁸ the seat of the Government of Puṣkala and founded by him, has been identified with the *Peukelaotis*⁹ of the Greek writers and *Pou-se-kie-lo-fa-ti* of Huen Tsang. It was the capital of Gandhāra in the days of Alexander and Arrian places it not far from the river Indus. It was situated west of the Indus and is perhaps the same as Charsadda. It has also been identified with Bashkal north-east of Hasta-nagar as it agrees in name, but the former identification seems to be more probable. *Takṣasīlā*,¹⁰ founded by and named after Takṣa, is Taxila of the Greeks which lies between the Indus and the Hydaspes. Archæological excavations on its site have laid bare an enormous number of antiquities. *Kanakhala*¹¹ is now a small village two miles to the east of Haridwar at the junction of the Ganges and the Niladhara. It is here that the Ganges descends from the Himalayan heights to the plains. In its vicinity there was a place said to have been made sacred by the feet of Śiva, *Carananyāsa*.¹² This place was perhaps the same as the neighbouring hill of Haridwar called Haraki-

¹ *Raghu.*, XII., 42, XIII. 22, VI. 62.

² *Ibid.*, XII. 15, 24, XIII. 47.

³ *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara K. ch. 81.

⁴ Daṇḍakāraṇya in *Raghu.*, XII. 9, Citrakūṭa in *Ibid.*, 15, 24.

⁵ *Raghu.*, VI. 62, XII. 63, 66.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XIII. 2-18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2, 22, 34.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XV. 89.

⁹ Proklais—*McCrindle's Ptolemy*, pp. 115-17; Poklais—*Schoff*, p. 41 §47.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XV. 89.

¹¹ *M.P.*, 50.

¹² *Ibid.*, 55.

pairi, the foot of Hara, which is called Carananyāsa in the *Sambhurabasya*. But there is one difficulty in this identification for Kālidāsa speaks of the yaks and sarala pines¹ before it which would locate this place somewhere further up. *Āṅgadapura* and *Candrapura* have already been identified above.

Hastināpura,² the capital of the Kurus, is now entirely diluviated by the Ganges. It was situated twenty-two miles north-east of Meerut and south-west of Bijnor on the right bank of the Ganges. Kālidāsa has fallen a victim to anachronism while making it the capital of Duṣyanta as it was founded by Hastin who lived several generations after him. It is not possible to identify *Sacitīrtha*³ and *Sakrāvātāra*,⁴ but they must have been somewhere near Hastināpura as Dhīvara of the *Sākuntala* belonged to the region of Sakrāvātāra⁵ which seems to have been a territorial division in which Sacitīrtha was situated.⁶ Sacitīrtha was a sacred place as the name signifies and must have been on the Ganges near Hastināpura where Sakuntalā's ring is said to have been lost.⁷ *Paṣkara*⁸ refers to the region about the lake of that name some six miles from Ajmer. *Madhubagbna*,⁹ near which *Mathurā*,¹⁰ modern Muttra, was founded, has been identified by Growse¹¹ with Maholi five miles to the south-west of Muttra. *Vṛndāvana*¹² is the modern Bindraban in the district of Muttra and seems to have already attained celebrity in the time of Kālidāsa. By the hill of *Govardhana*¹³ has grown up a village Govardhan fourteen miles west of Muttra.

Ayodhyā,¹⁴ and the capital of Raghu and of the kings of his line, is the modern Ajodhya. *Sāketa*¹⁵ has been used by Kālidāsa as a synonym of Ayodhyā but the Buddhist works¹⁶ take it to mean a city different from Ayodhyā. *Nandigrāma*,¹⁷ where Bharata is said to have resided during the exile of Rāma,¹⁸ is a suburb of Ayodhyā and is perhaps the same as Nundgaon, some eight miles to the south of Fyzabad and close to the Bharatakunḍa. *Sārāvati*,¹⁹ the later Sravasthī of the Buddhist works, is Sahet-mahet on the bank of the river Rapti in the district of Gonda in Oudh, 58 miles north of Ajodhya. Although there

¹ Ibid., 53.

² *Sak.*, p. 128.

³ Ibid. p. 172.

⁴ Ibid., p. 182.

⁵ शक्रवताराम्यन्तरे शचीतीर्थसलिलं Ibid., p. 172.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ *Raghu.*, XVIII. 31.

⁹ Ibid., XV. 15.

¹⁰ Ibid., VI. 48, मथुरा Ibid., XV. 28.

¹¹ *Mathurā*, pp. 32, 54.

¹² *Raghu.*, VI. 50.

¹³ Ibid., VI. 51.

¹⁴ Ibid., XIII. 61, XIV. 29, XVI. 11-22.

¹⁵ Ibid., V, 31. XIII. 79, XVIII. 36.

¹⁶ *Samyutta Nikāya*, edited by L. Feer, Pali Text Society, 1884-1904, Vol. III, p. 140, places it on the Ganges.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, XII. 18.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., XV. 97.

is no direct mention of Prayāga, its allusion may be warranted by the poet's reference to the great sanctity of the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā (*Yamunāsangama*¹). On this very confluence he speaks of the existence of a city,² the capital of Purūravā, evidently Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Jhansi opposite to Allahabad across the Ganges. Of course, the reference is conventional. *Kāśī*³ is the modern Benares and the place where Ahilyā was rendered her old self again from the stone with the touch of the foot of Rama⁴ is shown to be the Ahilyaghat at Buxar in the Shahabad district of Bihar. *Mithilā*,⁵ the capital of ancient Videha, is Janakpur in the Darbhanga district of Bihar. *Puspapura*,⁶ the capital of Magadha, was the same as Pāṭaliputra, modern Patna. *Prāgyyotiṣa*,⁷ the capital of Kāmarūpa, has been identified with Kamakhya or Gauhati⁸ on the Brahmaputra in Assam.

Rāmāgiri,⁹ which Kālidāsa says to have been purified by the stay of Rāma and Sītā in their exile,¹⁰ is Ramtek about twenty-four miles north of Nagpur in the C. P. Ramtek is now a tahsil in the district of Nagpur. At Ramtek there are several temples dedicated to Rāma, his brothers and wife. It is considered a very sacred place and a big fair is held on every Pūrṇimā of Kārttika. There is another name 'Sindūragiri,' i.e. 'the vermilion point' given to Ramtek in a mutilated local inscription¹¹ of the Yādava king Rāmachandra dating from the close of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century A.D.¹² because of the red stone, which when newly broken, looks blood-red, especially when the sun shines on it. It is significant that while staying here the Yakṣa portrays the figure of his wife on the stone with red-stone¹³ which is *geru*. This fact settles this identification beyond doubt. On the north of Avanti lay another principality with its capital at *Daśapura*,¹⁴ modern Dasor, which is the same as Mandasor in Malwa where the inscription of a guild of silk-weavers referring to the repairs of a sun temple was discovered. *Vidiśā*¹⁵ is Bhilsa in Malwa in the state of Gwalior on the river Betwa, about 26 miles to the north-east of Bhopal. It was the capital of ancient Daśārṇa as mentioned in the *Meghadūta*¹⁶. Four miles from Bhilsa there is a detached hill with vast remains of antiquity which may have been the site of the old town. It was the seat of the Government

¹ *M.P.*, 51; *Raghu.*, XIII. 54-57.

² *Vik.*, p. 121.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 31.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XI. 33-34.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI. 24.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IV. 81.

⁸ *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 25.

⁹ *M.P.*, 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *I. A.*, XXXVII, p. 202.

¹² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV. ff. 765.

¹³ धातुरागैः

¹⁴ *M.P.*, 47.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 25; *Māl.*, pp. 89, 97.

¹⁶ *P.*, 24.

of Agnimitra¹ during the Śuṅga period. *Ujjaini*² stood on the site of modern Ujain on the bank of the Siprā and was otherwise known as *Viśālā*.³ It was one of the seven sacred cities of India. It was the principal stage on the route from the Deccan to Śrāvastī and the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* refers to it as a great centre of trade for all produce imported at Barygaza, whence distribution was made to the Gangetic kingdoms.⁴ Kālidāsa has shown marked familiarity in describing this city⁵. It was the capital of Avantī and there stood as now the Śiva temple of Mahākālā.⁶ *Māhiṣmati*⁷ the capital of Anūpa,⁸ the kingdom of the Haihayas, has been identified with Mandhata on the Narbada.⁹ *Kuśāvati*,¹⁰ the capital of Kuśa, was situated in the defiles of the Vindhya¹¹ as we learn from the *Raghuvaṃśa* that Kuśa had to cross the Vindhya¹² and the Ganges¹³ to re-inhabit the old capital of Kośala, Ayodhyā, and therefore it is wrong to identify it with Sultanpur on the Gumti in Oudh as done in Thornton's Gazetteer. *Kuṇḍinapura*,¹⁴ the capital of Vidarbha, has already been dealt with in connection with Vidarbha above. *Somatītha*¹⁵ was a place of pilgrimage in Kurukṣetra.¹⁶ *Karṇatīrtha*¹⁷ was another place of pilgrimage which is difficult to identify.

*Gokarna*¹⁸ is a celebrated place of pilgrimage in south India. It has been identified with Gendia,¹⁹ a town in north Kanara, Karwar district, thirty miles from Goa between Karwar and Kumta, and thirty miles south of Sadasheogad,²⁰ which is three miles south of Goa. The town contains the temple of Mahādeva, Mahābalesvara established by Rāvaṇa. Kālidāsa places it by the south sea.²¹ *Uragapura*,²² the capital of the Pāṇḍyas, has already been referred to above. It may have been Madura whose Tamil name is Alavay, meaning 'snake' (*Uraga*). Two fabulous cities, Alakā²³ on the Kailāsa and Oṣadhiprastha²⁴, the capital of Himālaya, have also been described.

¹ *Māl.*, pp. 89, 97.

² *M.P.*, 27, 29; (*Raghu.*, VI. 34.)

³ *M.P.*, 30.

⁴ Translation by Schoff., p. 42.

⁵ cf. *M.P.*, 27.

⁶ *M.P.*, 34, चण्डेश्वर Ibid., 33.

⁷ *Raghu.*, VI. 43.

⁸ Ibid., 37.

⁹ Pargiter: *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 333, note; *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 445-46.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XV. 97, XVI. 31.

¹¹ *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara K. ch. 121

¹² *Raghu.*, XVI. 31.

¹³ Ibid., 33.

¹⁴ Ibid., VII. 33.

¹⁵ *Śāk.*, p. 22.

¹⁶ *Mbb.*, Śalya P., chs. 44, 52.

¹⁷ *Śāk.*, Act. I.

¹⁸ *Raghu.*, VIII. 33.

¹⁹ Dey: *Geo. Dic. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 70.

²⁰ Newbold: *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XV. p. 228.

²¹ रोचसि दक्षिणोदधे: *Raghu.*, VIII. 33.

²² Ibid., VI. 59.

²³ *Ku.*, VI. 37; *M.P.*, T.U. 63.

²⁴ *Ku.*, VI. 33, 36.

BOOK II

POLITY AND GOVERNANCE

CHAPTER IV

THE STATE AND THE KING

The State

Hindu polity, as we gather from the works of Kālidāsa, divides the State (*rājyam*) into seven parts to which, like the modern political thinkers,¹ it gives the name *aṅgāḥ*,² i.e. limbs, thus affording it the sense of an organism. These seven limbs to which the poet does not specifically refer by name have been distinctly treated in works on polity. On the authority of the *Amarakośa*, they may be enumerated as the following components of State, viz. the King or the Lord, Ministers, Political allies, Treasury, the Nation, Fort and the Forces.³ "The kingdom," says the *Sukranīti*, "is an organism of seven limbs, viz. the Sovereign, the Minister, the Friend, the Treasury, the State, the Fort and the Army."⁴ The same treatise elucidates: "Of these seven constituent elements of the kingdom, the King or Sovereign is the head, the Minister is the eye, the Friend is the ear, the Treasury is the mouth, the Army is the mind, the Fort is the arms and the State is the legs."⁵ All of these together contribute to the existence of the State and the well-being and prosperity of the Government, and the loss of any one of these may render the whole system imperfect.⁶

Theory of State and the Nature of the Kings' Relationship with the State.

Of these seven limbs of State the king was the first and foremost in importance. The institution of kingship, which had been elective and had so much of the democratic element in it during the Vedic age,⁷ had, at the time of Kālidāsa, become not only hereditary but had come to be considered even divine. Kālidāsa's ideas about the kingship and State are very similar to those of Manu whom he almost literally follows in his conception of the nature of the king's

¹ Seeley: *Introduction to Political Science*, pp. 19 ff.

² *Raghu*, I. 60.

³ स्वाम्यमात्यसुहृत्कोशराष्ट्रदुर्गबलानिच । सप्तांगानि Cf. Kauṭilya who has the same, Book VI. 1. Also cf.

स्वाम्यमात्यपुरंराष्ट्रं कोशदण्डौ तथा सुहृत् ।

सप्तैतानि समस्तानि लोकेऽस्मिन्राज्यमुच्यते ॥ *Manu*, IX. 294.

स्वाम्यमात्यश्च राष्ट्रञ्च दुर्गं कोशो बलं सुहृत् ।

परस्परैषिकारीदं सप्ताङ्गं राज्यमुच्यते ॥ *Kāmandakanītisāra*, IV. 1.

⁴ Ch. I. 121-122.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 122-124.

⁶ *Kāmandakanītisāra*, IV. 1. 2.

⁷ *Hindu Polity*, Part I. pp. 11-16.

relationship with the State¹ and whom he so frequently names² in his works while describing the character of the king's control over State and while enumerating his virtues. Kālidāsa's handling of the polity, therefore, is naturally traditional. Following Manu,³ the poet also considers the king to be an extraordinary being. The king is the 'essence of all existence, an embodiment of all light,' and by him, 'the highest of all, is the Earth trodden.'⁴ When Sudakṣiṇā, the queen of Dilīpa, becomes quick with child, the Lokapālas, as it were, enter her body⁵. Samudra Gupta has also been referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription⁶ to have performed acts not possible for man to accomplish. Thus Kālidāsa with Manu considers the king to have acquired his State through his divine right to it. In him, it was supposed, were united the energies of the most powerful gods as the following verse will show: "Indra sent showers of rain; Yama checked the rising tendency of diseases; Varuṇa had his watery paths safe for the work of mariner.; Kubera too increased his treasury⁷....". Thus these Lokapālas, whose powers he has inherited, help him. The *Sukra-nīti* also refers to these divine elements in the king in verses 141-43 of Chapter I, and it further elucidates the same in the following verses 144-151. The king was above law and no mortal could sit in judgment on his deeds. The divine forces within himself could try him for his crimes, and if we care to peep through the common surface of events into the real sense of the poet, we shall stand face to face with the subjective trial of a king in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*. There the King in the capacity of a chastizer of the renegade (*vimārgapraṣṭhitanām*) pronounces a cold and cruel punishment on the apostasy of a lady who had abandoned the righteous path and had thus defiled her father's hermitage. The King himself had been a party in the consummation of her crime, and when the trial of

¹ नृपस्य वर्णाश्रमपालनं यत्स एव धर्मो मनुना प्रणीतः । *Raghu.*, XIV. 67.

² Ibid., I. 6, 8, 11, 14, 15, 17, II. 33, IV. 7, IX. 3, XIV. 67, XVIII. 40; also cf. Ibid., XIV. 10, XVI. 22, 24, 36.

³ रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत्प्रभुः ॥ *Manusmṛiti*, VII. 3.

इन्द्रानिलयमर्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च ।

चन्द्रवित्तेशमयोश्चैव मात्रा निहृत्य शास्वतीः ॥ Ibid., 4.

यस्मादेषां सुरेन्द्राणां मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो नृपः ।

तस्मादभिभवत्येष सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ॥ Ibid., 5.

तपत्यादित्यवच्चैष चक्षुंसि च मनांसि च ।

न चैनं भ्रूविशक्नोति कश्चिदप्यभिवीक्षितुम् ॥ Ibid., 6.

सोऽग्निर्भवति वायुश्च सोऽर्कः सोमः स धर्मराट् ।

स कुबेरः स वरुणः स महेंद्रः प्रभावतः ॥ Ibid., 7. 1

बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनष्य इति भूमिपः ।

महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥ Ibid., 8.

⁴ स्थितः सर्वोन्नतेनोर्वी' क्रात्तवामेरुरिवात्मना *Raghu.*, I. 14; तं वेधा विदधे नूनं महाभूतसमाधिना Ibid., I. 28. अगाधसत्त्व Ibid., VI. 21.

⁵ Ibid., II. 75, III. 11, XVII. 78, Cf. दिशाः प्रसेदुः Ibid., III. 14, निशशिद्धीपाः सहसा हतत्वेषो Ibid., 15.

⁶ कर्मण्यनेकान्यमनुजसदृशानि Verse 5.

⁷ *Raghu.*, XVII. 81.

the criminal had been disposed of, the divine elements within his body prepared him to take his own trial. The King consequently fell a victim to subjective tortures and mental yearnings of unbounded grief.

The King

The King was designated by almost divine attributes like Bhagavān¹, Prabhuh², Jagadekanāthah³, Īśvara⁴, Īśa⁵, Maṇuṣyeśvara⁶, Prajeśvara⁷, Janēśvara⁸, Deva⁹, Naradeva¹⁰, Narendrasaṃbhava¹¹, Maṇuṣyadeva¹², his other epithets besides these being Rājendu¹³, Vasudhādhipa¹⁴, Bhūmipati¹⁵, Rājā¹⁶, Priyadarśana¹⁷, Arthapati¹⁸, Bhuvobhartuh¹⁹, Mahikṣita²⁰, Viśāmpati²¹, Prajādhipa²², Madhyamalokapāla²³, Gopa²⁴, Mahpāla²⁵, Puruṣādhirāja²⁶, Kṣitisa²⁷, Nṛpa²⁸, Pārthiva²⁹, Narendra³⁰, Sacivasakhā³¹, Adhipati³², Samrāt³³, Nṛsoma³⁴, Kṣitipa³⁵, Nāralokpāla³⁶, Agādhasattva³⁷, Daṇḍadhara³⁸, Prthivīpāla³⁹, Bhattāraka⁴⁰,

¹ *Mal.*, Act. IV.

² *Raghu.*, V. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁴ *Mal.*, Act. IV; *Raghu.*, III. 5, IV. 81, 84, V. 39.

⁵ *Raghu.*, IV., 83.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III. 68.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XI. 35.

⁹ *Sak.*, p. 68; *Vik.*, p. 64.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, VI. 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, III. 42.

¹² *Ibid.*, II. 52.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I. 12.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 27, 57.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 59, IX. 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 74, VII. 32.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 85.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 93.

²² *Ibid.*, III. 42.

²³ *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 24, IV. 20, XV. 44.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 41.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 67.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, III. 21.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, III. 36.

³¹ *Ibid.*, IV. 87.

³² *Ibid.*, V. 33.

³³ *Ibid.*, II. 5, IV. 88.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, V. 59.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 76.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, VI. 1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, IX. 3.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, XV. 1.

⁴⁰ *Mal.*, p. 38. This has also been an epithet of the Gupta Emperors—Vide the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta; Udaigiri Cave Inscription of Candragupta II.

etc. His queen was variously called as Devī¹, Rājñī², Mahiṣī³, or Agramahiṣī⁴, when referring to the chief queen, Mahādevī⁵, and Bhṛtīnī⁶. These epithets, however, were as much of the poet's times as of earlier ones. It was supposed auspicious to have a look at the godly person of the king and people flocked to his palace for the purpose⁷.

Paraphernalia

The King had majestic paraphernalia known by various terms like paricchada⁸, rājakakuda⁹, nṛpatikakuda¹⁰, rājyaciḥna¹¹ and Pārthivaliṅga¹², etc. Kālidāsa has made use of the term *Paricchada* to denote paraphernalia. Paricchada is what covers or surrounds a person, paraphernalia in general, external appendages of royalty, insignia. The principal emblems of royalty enumerated below were supposed to represent the sovereign authority. The following emblems have been referred to by the poet: a throne¹³, an umbrella¹⁴, a pair of flywhisks¹⁵, a crown with a central gem¹⁶, a sceptre¹⁷, a conch¹⁸ of victory¹⁹, a canopy of state²⁰ and a golden footstool²¹. Besides the above there were the bards²² like those attached to the Imperial Guptas²³ who sang his panegyrics and those of his forefathers, heralds²⁴, who proclaimed the hours of the day, his vassals²⁵ and other attendants²⁶ including the tradesmen²⁷, and Yavanis²⁸ and Kīrātis²⁹. An assembly-hall³⁰ (*Sadogrha*, *Samsad*, *Sabhā*) was invariably associated with the

¹ *Raghu*, III. 70, V. 36, XIV. 32, *Vik.*, pp. 28, 64; *Māl.*, p. 105, V. 12; *Śāk.*, p. 81.

² *Raghu*, I. 57; *Māl.*, p. 16.

³ *Raghu*, VIII. 82, XIV. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, X. 66.

⁵ *Śāk.*, p. 128.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 193; *Vik.*, pp. 53, 54; *Māl.*, p. 53.

⁷ *Raghu*, XIX. 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 19, IX. 70; *Vik.*, pp. 93, 94.

⁹ *Raghu*, XVII. 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III. 70.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II. 7.

¹² *Ibid.*, VIII. 16.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VI. 1, XVII. 7, XIX. 57.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 13, 47, IV. 5, 17, XIV. 11, XVI. 27, XVII. 33, XVIII. 42.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 16, UV. 17, XIV. 11, XVIII. 43; *Ku.*, I. 13; *Vik.*, IV. 13.

¹⁶ *Raghu*, VI. 19, IX. 22, X. 75.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, X. 75, XIII. 59.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, IX. 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VII. 63.

²⁰ *Vik.*, IV. 13; *Raghu*, XVII. 28.

²¹ *Raghu*, VI. 15; XVII. 28.

²² *Ibid.*, IV. 6, V. 65; *Vik.*, IV. 13.

²³ गीतेश्वस्तुतिमिश्र बन्दकजनो Bhitari stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta, verse 7.

²⁴ *Śāk.*, p. 157.

²⁵ *Vik.*, III. 19.

²⁶ *Raghu*, I. 37, II. 4, 9.

²⁷ *Vik.*, IV. 13.

²⁸ *Śāk.*, pp. 57, 224; *Vik.*, p. 123.

²⁹ *Raghu*, XVI. 57.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, III. 66, 67, सभागृह XV. 39, संसद् XVI. 24.

sittings of a King. Of these, three—the umbrella and the pair of fly-whisks—were absolutely indispensable. They constituted the real emblems of royalty and could on no account be given away¹ (*adeya trayam*). Although these occur in the description given about ancient kings, they as well formed emblems of royalty during the poet's time.

*Simhāsana*² was the throne of a king and was naturally costly, made of gold with set gems. T.A. Gopinatha Rao explains it as 'a four legged seat, circular or rectangular in shape and one hasta or cubit in height. The four legs of this seat are made up of four small lions³.' When set with jewels and not made of gold, it was called *Nṛpāsana* or *Bhadrāsana*. The *Mānasāra* gives nine varieties of a throne⁴. Kālidāsa alludes to the white and spotless royal umbrella, the 'dhavala-chattra' kind of the *Mānasāra*⁵, and makes it, along with the pair of fly-whisks, made of the yak's tail, the three emblems which must at all costs be retained by a king (*adeya trayam*⁶). *Srīvītāna* was a canopy of state decked with gold. This canopy ordinarily signified the ceiling of the assembly-hall or a *cāndanī* in its absence. Ceilings ornamented with gold lines are not rare even now in royal palaces. The addition of *sri* to *vītānam* may have been intended to indicate excellence or the quality of being sacred to the goddess Lakṣmī, or it may refer to a particular kind of ceiling such as is met within royal palaces, the idea being that it is sacred to Lakṣmī inducing her to live under it. Being a poetical expression, it may as well be a decorative phrase.

Personal Qualities of the King

Priority of birth supported by qualities determined the choice of his successor by an old and retiring sovereign. The *Sukraniti* lays more stress on the qualities than on the point of birth. It observes: "The King is honoured because of these qualities. *It is not birth that makes a king*. He is not respected so much because of his ancestry, as for his prowess, strength and valour."⁷ There were, of course, instances, like Agnivarna, that warrant of a claim simply by birth yet the poet is advocating the cause of administrative propriety which is borne out by facts of history as we shall see below. Kālidāsa, like the father of Samudra Gupta⁸, stresses the point of personal abilities⁹ more than that of the priority of birth. Here we may point out the remarkable identity on this point between the views of the Imperial Guptas and those of Kālidāsa by citing the Allahabad Pillar Inscription which records that Samudra Gupta was chosen by his father from among other princes of the family who were rendered crestfallen by this preference over them, while the courtiers and ministers approved of it

¹ Ibid., III. 16.

² Ibid., XIX. 17.

³ *The Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 21.

⁴ P. K. Acharya: *Indian Architecture*, p. 60.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ *Raghu*, III. 16.

⁷ Ch. I. 363-64.

⁸ Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

⁹ ज्येष्ठ पुरो जन्मतया गुणैश्च *Raghu*, XVI. 1. उत्थितो गुणैः XVII. 34, 75., लोककान्तः गुणा XVIII.

with sighs of relief¹. First of all, he enjoins upon a king to possess a robust health, for a perfectly healthy body alone can serve the end of protection² which is the principal duty of a king. He should be of dauntless courage and be first able to protect himself³. He should have a clear knowledge of the scriptures⁴ and of the various *vidyās*⁵ to aid him in the dispensing of justice. He should be righteous in his conduct and absolutely unattracted by vices⁶. Bad company which generates a tendency to do evil he should particularly shun and avoid⁷, and even in his duties towards *artha* and *kāma* he must remain scrupulously righteous and generate righteousness in them⁸. The *Arthasāstra*⁹ enjoins on the king to keep his senses under complete control. It says: "...whoever has not his organs of senses under his control, will soon perish, though possessed of the whole Earth bounded by the four quarters." This point of perfect self-restraint is the constant refrain of Sukra which has been maintained throughout his treatise¹⁰. The latter is of opinion that the king should be of measured indulgence and that within due limit it is even commendable¹¹. Samudra Gupta is reported to have been 'accustomed to associate with learned people.'¹² Kālidāsa says that the king should be endowed with qualities of both kinds, stern and tender¹³ (*bhīmakāntaibḥ guṇaiḥ*) which help a king in getting endeared to his subjects without their becoming insolently free with him. "Popular and pleasing qualities¹⁴," asserts Kālidāsa, are the necessary requirements of a king. He must not indulge too much in the four traditional vices of kings, i.e. hunting, gambling, drinking and women¹⁵. He must keep all the secrets of his Government to himself¹⁶. He was to govern his people in the manner of a father governing his children¹⁷. The Mandasor Stone Inscription calls Bandhuvarmā a brother

¹ आर्यो हीत्युपगृह्य भावपिशुनैस्तकीर्णितैः रोमभिः

सभ्यैः सूच्छवसितेषु तुलजम्लानाननोद्वीक्षितः ।

स्नेहव्यालूलितेन बाष्पगुरुणा तत्त्वेषिणा चक्षुषा

यः पित्राभिहितो निरीक्ष्य निखिलां पाद्मेवमूर्च्छीमिति ॥

² आत्मकर्मक्षमं देहं क्षात्रोधर्म इवाश्रितः *Raghu.*, I. 13.

³ जुगोपमात्मानमत्रस्तो *Raghu.*, I. 21.

⁴ शास्त्रेष्वकुण्ठिताबुद्धिः *Ibid.* cf. Hathigumpha Inscription of King Khāravela.

⁵ विद्यानां पारदृश्वनः *Raghu.*, I. 23. शैशवेभ्यस्तविद्यानां *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶ तस्य धर्मरतेरासीत् *Ibid.*, 23. अनाकृष्टस्यविषयैः *Ibid.*

⁷ हीनसंसर्गपराङ्मुख *Ibid.*, XVIII. 14.

⁸ अप्यर्थिकामो तस्यास्तां धर्म एव *Ibid.*, I. 25.

⁹ *Bé.*, I. Ch. VI.

¹⁰ *Sukranīti*, Ch. I.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 215-16, 230-32.

¹² यस्य प्रज्ञानुषङ्गोचितसुखमनसः *All. p. Ins.*, Verse 3.

¹³ *Raghu.*, I. 16.

¹⁴ लोककान्ताः गुणाः *Ibid.*, XVIII. 49; गुणैर्लोककान्तैः *Vik.*, V. 21.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, IX. 7. Manu quoted by the commentator.

¹⁶ संवृतमंत्रस्य *Raghu.*, I. 20. The commentator quotes Yājñavalkya.—

मन्त्रमूलं यतो राज्यमतो मन्त्रं सुरक्षितम् ।

कर्याद्यथा तन्न विदुः कर्माणामाफलोदयात् ॥

¹⁷ पितेव पासि *Raghu.*, II. 48.

of his subjects¹. Kālidāsa here refers to the qualities of an ideal king and in many cases these may not have been possessed by his contemporaries, although the Gupta Kings very nearly came to his standard of an ideal king.

As has been pointed out by Prof. A. B. Keith, Kālidāsa has portrayed in Dilīpa the figure of a dutiful protector. His Raghu is described as "the highest type of selfless nobility in a king, illustrating the complete harmony between 'bhoga' (enjoyment), and 'tyāga' (renunciation) and the 'yathākāmarcitārthitva' and 'tyāgāya sambhṛtārthitva' of Raghu. In the Aja's remorse for his wife is shown highly tender humaneness common with the king among the most ordinary of his subjects²." This last incident, the origin of which is not traceable in any of the *Purāṇas* or in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and what is entirely a creation of the mind of the poet, also adds much more weight to the greatest of renunciations, that of abandoning Sita by Rāma, and makes it plain how an ideal Hindu monarch, though so tender as Aja in his love towards his wife, could easily become strong and impassive in his duty as Rāma and send away his very wife, loving and immaculate, for the sake of his people. As a king Rāma felt it his duty to lay down an example of rigid moral purity, and to show that all his acts were above suspicion. "No kingly ideal of later times can enjoin a better precept or point to a worthier model; and it is but fitting in the nature of things that Rāmarājya should become in popular parlance a common expression for the ideal Government, where the interests of the people are placed first, even before those of the sovereign."³

"With an Indian sovereign," as portrayed by Kālidāsa, "kingly grace was not incompatible with simplicity, that the selfless nobility of a king never revolted against his using certain utensils instead of vessels made of gold, and that for the sake of the people and for their confidence no sacrifice was considered too great by the king⁴." To choose such a lord royalty indeed did but wait for her master's consent like a discreet daughter waiting for that of her father⁵. It is interesting to note here a striking similarity of this idea of the poet to that of the Junagadh Rock Inscription where the exploits of Skanda Gupta are glorified. "The goddess of fortune and splendour," says the panegyrist, "of her own accord selected as her husband, having in succession (and) with judgment skilfully taken into consideration and thought over all the causes of virtues and faculties, (and) having discarded all (the other) sons of kings (as not coming up to her standard⁶). The king was expected to be quite adept in regal ceremonies (*vidbijñāḥ*⁷). The objects of the senses he must strongly suppress⁸.

¹ Verse 26.

² A. B. Keith: *A History of Sans. Lit.*

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ श्रीः साभिलाषापि गुरोरनुज्ञां धीरेव कन्या पितुराचकांक्ष । *Raghu*, V. 38.

⁶ क्रमेण बुद्ध्या निपुणं प्रघार्यं
ध्यात्वा च कुत्सन्गुणदोषहेतून् ।

व्यपेत्य सर्वान्मनुजेन्द्रपुत्रान्
लक्ष्मीः स्वयं यं वरयञ्चकार ॥ Verse 5.

⁷ *Raghu*, V. 3.

⁸ Ibid., 23.

Duties of the King

King, the central figure of the State, was not a free man but was burdened with heavy responsibilities. "The word Rājan and its original Rāt literally mean a ruler. It is connected with the Latin Rex. But Hindu political theorists have given it a philosophic derivation. King is called Rājā because his duty is 'to please' (Rañj) the people by maintaining good government. This philosophic interpretation has been accepted as an axiom throughout Sanskrit literature."¹ Kālidāsa also has to offer the same definition of his king—"Rājā is so called for he pleases his subject², (*Rājā prakṛtirāñjanāt*). The king was expected to be an expert in pleasing (i. e. winning over the hearts of) his subjects³, and he was aptly commended when his benign rule pleased⁴ his people. The *Sukraniti* prescribes tours for the king in his kingdom to see 'which subjects have been pleased and which oppressed by the staff of officers⁵, and it enjoins upon him to 'tour the city on the back of elephants in order to please the people⁶. Pleasing of people has been emphasised as a principal trait in the king in the Gupta inscriptions also⁷. His importance has been summed up by the poet as embodied in the old saying *Rājā Kālasya Kāraṇam*⁸, king is the cause of time. This very phrase is met with in the *Sukraniti*. It says: "The king is the cause of the setting on foot of the customs, usages and movements and hence is the cause or maker of time (i.e. the creator of epochs). If the age and time were the cause (of usages and activities) there could be no virtue in the actors."⁹ At another place the same treatise observes: "The prince is the cause of time (the maker of his age) and of the good and evil practices. By a terrible use of his engine of sovereignty, he should maintain the subjects each in his proper sphere."¹⁰ The line of argument followed here by both Kālidāsa and the *Sukraniti* is that the king's activities generate the spirit of the age. The *ācāra* makes the epochs of time, and the king makes the *ācāra*, therefore the king is the maker of *kāla* or time. *Prajārañjana* was considered the principal duty of a king. By the very virtue of his being a king, as the etymology of his designation shows, he was commanded to dispense with his first duty, the task of pleasing his people.

This act of pleasing the people, required of the king to perform the duties of administration which involved hard work, for the work of governance (*tantra*) was not an easy affair and the royal office was no sinecure.

¹ K. P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, Part II. Ch. XXII. p. 3.

² *Raghu*, IV. 12: प्रकृतिमण्डलमनुरञ्जयन्राज्यं करोति *Vik.*, p. 121.

³ राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः *Raghu*, VI. 21.

⁴ *Vik.*, p. 121.

⁵ Ch. I. 751-52.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 744.

⁷ संरंजयाञ्च प्रकृतीर्बभूव Verse 22, Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta. cf. ग्रियोजनस्य *ibid.*, verse 16: संवर्द्धितप्रौतिगृहोपचारैः *ibid.*, 22

⁸ *Vik.*, p. 93.

⁹ Ch. I. 43-44.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 119-120.

It was the duty of the heralds¹ accompanying the king to announce the periods of the day, and particularly the fixed divisions into which the king's day was divided. Kālidāsa makes a reference to such a division at a place² where he points that the king like the sun rested at the sixth division of the day. He also makes a general reference to the divisions of the day and night as scheduled in the treatises on polity on which his king has to work.³ Kālidāsa does not specifically refer to these divisions but since the occupation of his sixth division practically coincides with that of Kautilya's we may assume that he is following the *Arthaśāstra* in this respect. These divisions may be enumerated below on the authority of Kautilya⁴: "Of these divisions during the first one-eighths part of the day, he shall post watchmen and attend to the accounts of receipts and expenditure, during the second part, he shall look to the affairs of both citizens and country people; during the third, he shall not only bathe and dine, but also study; during the fourth, he shall not only receive revenue in gold (*hiranya*) but also attend to the appointments of superintendents; during the fifth, he shall correspond in writs (*patra-saṁpreshaṇena*) with the assembly of his ministers, and receive the secret information gathered by his spies; during the sixth, he may engage himself in his favourite amusements or in self-deliberation; during the seventh, he shall superintend elephants, horses, chariots, and infantry; and during the eighth part, he shall consider various plans of military operations with his commander-in-chief.

At the close of the day, he shall observe the evening prayer (*sandhyā*).

During the first-eighths part of the night, he shall receive secret emissaries; during the second, he shall attend to bathing and supper and study; during the third, he shall enter the bed-chamber amid the sound of trumpets and enjoy sleep during the fourth and fifth parts; having been awakened by the sound of trumpets during the sixth part, he shall recall to his mind the injunctions of sciences as well as the day's duties; during the seventh, he shall sit considering administrative measures and send out spies; and during the eighth division of the night, he shall receive benedictions from sacrificial priests, teachers, and the high priest, and having seen his physician, chief cook and astrologer, and having saluted both a cow with its calf and a bull by circumambulating round them, he shall get into his court."

It will be noted that in devising a time table for kings, Yājñavalkya adopts the same plan and uses the very same words as Kautilya.⁵ The *Daśakumāracarita*, written about a century after Kālidāsa, evidently quoting from the *Arthaśāstra*, follows the same plan.⁶ The poet does not refer to the rest of the divisions as

¹ वैतालिक *Śāk.*, p. 157; *Māl.*, p. 32, सूतात्मज, वन्दिन etc.

² *Śāk.*, V. 5; काले *Raghu.*, XIV. 24; कामं धर्मकार्यमनतापत्यं देवस्य *Śāk.*, p. 154; षष्ठे काले त्वमपि लभसे देव विश्रान्तिमह्वः *Vik.*, II. 1; उपरुद्धो मध्याह्नः *Māl.* II, 12; *Raghu.*, XVII. 49.

³ रात्रिं दिनं विभागेषु यदादिष्टं महीक्षिताम् ।

तत्सिषेवे नियोगेन स विकल्पपराङ्मुखः ॥ *Raghu.*, XVII. 49.

⁴ Book I. Ch. XIX.

⁵ *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, I. 327-32.

⁶ *Daśakumāracarita*, VIII (*Viśrutacarita*), pp. 257-58 (*Nirṇaya Sāgara* ed.)

the exigencies of his dramatic or poetical themes do not admit of any such allusion.

It will be evident from this schedule of duties that the office of administrator admitted of no repose, and Kālidāsa attests to this fact.¹ A king was expected to shoulder the responsibilities of administration in the manner of "the sun who has his horses yoked but once, in that of the wind which blows day and night, and again in the manner of Śeṣa who has the load of the Earth placed on him for ever."² Like these three gods who take no rest, the king also had to work day and night. Like the sun he was expected to animate life and growth of property among his people, like the wind to be powerful and life-giving (in its milder form), and like Śeṣa to be stable under the responsibility of administration. He was the holder of the State as though, and he lifted its enormous weight over him. Such was the remarkable service in the cause of the people of one whose sustenance was the sixth part of the produce of the soil³ which he protected.

The endless labour and worries which the office of the king involved are brought out in the following expression of a king engendered from his fatiguing concern: "Attainment of the desired object destroys all eagerness; the very business of guarding what has been obtained worries. A kingdom, the administration of which is in one's hands, is not for complete removal of fatigue as it is for causing fatigue, like a parasol, the pole of which is held in one's own hand."⁴ In this manner indifferent to his own happiness the king toiled everyday for the sake of his people. He lifted the great burden of the daily routine of the responsibilities of State on his head and suffered from their excessive weight while he relieved through his protection the trouble of those who resorted to him.⁵

The principal duty of the king towards pleasing his people was to protect them in return of his wages⁶ (वर्तित्ति). The phrase *goptā*⁷ has been used in the sense of a royal protector. The *Sukranīti* considers primary functions to be the "protection of subjects and constant punishment of offenders."⁸ When Dilipa enters the forest the criminal Dāvāgni (conflagration), which was burning down the woods, becomes suddenly conscious of its guilt, as it were, at the sight of the approaching protector and extinguishes at once without the help of rain. The forest is presently endowed with an unforeseen prosperity in flowers and fruits. At the entrance of the protector the strong, like the tiger, being conscious of their criminal conduct, give up the habit of killing the weak like the deer.⁹ It may be noted that the term *Goptā* occurs in the Junagadha Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta and elsewhere in the sense of a provincial Governor.¹⁰ Under

¹ अविश्रामोऽयं लोकतन्त्राधिकारः *Śāk.*, p. 154.

² Ibid., V. 4.

³ षष्ठ्यांशवृत्ते: Ibid.

⁴ *Śāk.*, V. 6.

⁵ Ibid., 7.

⁶ षडंशभाक् *Raghu.*, XVII. 65; षष्ठ्यांशवृत्ते: *Śāk.*, V., 4.

⁷ *Raghu.*, II. 14, 24, XV. 44; *Ku.*, II. 52; *Vik.*, V. 1.

⁸ II.

⁹ *Raghu.*, II. 14.

¹⁰ सर्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गोप्ता 1, 7. गोपायतिस्त्रायि 1, 10. Ibid., Second Part—द्वीपस्य गोप्ता महतांश्च

the rule of a strong protector *vana* is the dominion administered by the *Goptā*, *sattva* is the people governed and *adhikāḥ* obviously is the class of criminals who live upon their illegitimate acquisition from *ūna*, the normal, peaceful and law-abiding citizens of the State. *Dāvāgni*, again, is such chaos as prevails in the State at times in the absence of a powerful protector. The Gupta epigraphical records glorify in the king the spirit of producing good and suppressing evil¹ as also of putting down the wicked.² Thus the tradition that Kālidāsa follows in describing Dilipa's virtues was not unwarranted by the trend of the Gupta times. The kingdom, or the State, has been compared to an unoffending cow,³ worthy of being protected from harm as a trust.⁴ Even as a father protects his children with punctilious care so also must the king protect his subjects.⁵ And it was the proud satisfaction of a king to utter the complaisant expression that in his regime no offender had the daring to misconduct himself.⁶ Under such a thorough protection the state of people was bound to prosper. A passage in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* attests to this idea in the following verse: "An object of wish on the part of the subjects, such as the removal of public calamities, there was none that could not be accomplished while Agnimitra was their protector."⁷ This verse (although fulfilling the purpose of a dramatic convention) has a singular parallel in the Junagadh Rock Inscription⁸ where it is said about Skanda Gupta that "while he, the king, is reigning, verily no man among his subjects falls away from religion; (and) there is no one who is distressed, (or) in poverty, (or) in misery (or) avaricious or, who worthy of punishment, is over-much put to torture." The *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas* were equally the objects of the king's perpetual attention and protection.⁹ Himself a non-transgressor (*sthitirabhettā*), he is a guide to his people in the performance of duty. Kautilya¹⁰ also enjoins that he must not allow people to swerve from their duty, and so does Śukra.¹¹ His people have to be kept close to the caste-dharma.¹² He was to be the very bolt (*argalā*) of the great gate of the city which was *dharma*.

नेता 1. 2; Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumara Gupta I and Bandhuvarman, Verse 24.

¹ साध्वसाधूदयप्रलयहेतु All. p. Ins.

² शशास दुष्टान् Junagadh Rock Ins. V. 21.

³ जुगोप गोरूपधरामिवोर्वीम् *Raghu.*, II. 3.

⁴ रक्ष्यं Ibid., II. 56.

⁵ प्रजाः प्रजानाथ पितेव पासि Ibid., 48.

⁶ कः पौरवे वसुमतीं शासति शासतारि दुर्विनीतानाम् *Śāke.*, I. 21.

⁷ आशास्यमीति विगमप्रभृतिप्रजानाम् ।

संपत्स्यूते न खलु गोप्तरि नाग्निमित्रे । *Māl.*, V. 20.

⁸ तस्मिन्नूपे शासति नैव कश्चिद्

धम्मदिपेतो मनुजः प्रजासु ।

आर्त्तो दरिद्रो व्यसनी कदर्यो

दंड्यो न वा यो भृशपीडितः स्यात् ॥ Verse 6.

⁹ *Śāke.*, p. 162, V. 10; *Raghu.*, V. 19, XIV. 67, 85. XV. 48; XVIII. 12.

¹⁰ Bk. I, Ch. III.

¹¹ Ch. I. 50-51.

¹² *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. III.

Like expression is found for Samudra Gupta. The phrase of the inscription is *dbarmmaprācira-bandha*.¹ It was for his act of protection that he received the revenues of his State as his salary² (*retana*). The *Sukraniti* brings out his status and his relation with his subjects when it says: "The ruler has been made by Brahmā a servant of the people getting his revenue as remuneration. His sovereignty, however, is only for protection³" Thus the notion of a master-servant has been emphasized.

The king was to be ever wakeful in the cause of his subjects.⁴ Kautilya says: "In the happiness of his subjects his happiness; in their welfare his welfare; whatever pleases him he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good."⁵ Exerting for their well-being he considered his principal duty⁶ (*īrtti*). He was trained, and he got adept in the work beneficial to his people.⁷ But to this end he must prepare himself. Protection of others calls for physical capability in the protector and hence the king must be physically strong so that in the absence of his guards he may be able to protect himself⁸. The epigraphs are replete with expressions like *svavīryaguptā* of Kālidāsa referring to the personal valour of the king. Some of them may be noted below: *bāhuwīrya*,⁹ *svabhujajanitavīryyo*,¹⁰ *vīryam*, *subbhujadravyasya*¹¹, *bbhujabala*,¹² *svabhujabala*,¹³ *bāhubhyām*,¹⁴ etc. The phrase Kṣatriya, which refers to the caste of which he is the principal member, is derived from the idea of 'protecting from harm.'¹⁵ This definition of a Kṣatriya is borne out by the *Sukraniti* which says: "The man who can protect men, who is valorous, restrained and powerful, and who is the punisher of the wicked is called Kṣatriya."¹⁶ The king therefore has got to be true to the spirit of the epithet he bears. His powerful limbs will indeed help him in the duty of protection and his invincible bow will keep the desperadoes off their designs.¹⁷ He considered himself wedded to his dominion itself,¹⁸ and bore its weight on his shoulders in the manner of Śeṣa

¹ All. P. Ins., Verse 8.

² दिदेश वेतनं तस्मै रक्षासदृशमेव भूः ॥ *Raghu.*, XVII. 66.

³ Ch. I. 375.

⁴ प्रवर्ततां प्रकृतिहिताय पार्थिवः *Śāk.*, VII, 34; प्रजायै कल्पिष्यमाणेव *Raghu.*, XVIII. 2.

⁵ Bk., I. Ch. XIX

⁶ प्रजानां वृत्तिस्थितः *Raghu.*, V. 33. Kāmandaka has been quoted here by the commentator.

न्यायेनार्जनमर्थस्य वर्धनं पालनं तथा ।

सत्पात्रे प्रतिपत्तिश्च राजवृत्ति चतुर्विधम् ॥

⁷ प्रजाक्षेमविधानदक्षं *Raghu.*, XVIII. 9.

⁸ स्ववीर्यगुप्ता - *Ibid.*, II. 4.

⁹ All. P. Ins., V. 7.

¹⁰ Junagadh R. Ins. of Skanda Gupta, V. 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹² Bhitari St. P. Ins. V. 6.

¹³ All. P. Ins. of Samudra Gupta.

¹⁴ Bhitari St. P. Ins. V. 7.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, II. 53.

¹⁶ Ch. I. 81-82.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, II. 8; *Śāk.*, I. 12.

¹⁸ *Raghu.*, VIII. 83.

supporting the Earth on his hoods.¹ And thus did he govern his prosperous domain with a mind free from the outcome of *rajaguna*.² The idea of a Sāttvika ruler has been stressed by the poet. The definition of such a ruler is given by *Sukranīti*: "The king who is constant to his own duty and is the protector of his subjects, who performs all the sacrifices and conquers his enemies, and who is charitable, forbearing, and valorous, has no attachment to the things of enjoyment and is dispassionate is called Sāttvika and attains salvation at death."³ As against this the definition of Rājasa king, who has been disapproved by Kālidāsa, is given by the same: "The miserable king who is not compassionate and is made through passions, who is envious and untruthful, who has vanity, cupidity and attachment for enjoyable things, who practises deceit and villainy, who is not same or uniform in thought, speech and action, who is fond of picking up quarrels and associates himself with the lower classes, who is independent of, and does not obey Nīti, and who is of an intriguing disposition, is called Rājasa, and gets the condition of lower animals or immovable things after death."⁴ Neglect of his duty occasioned many a time an ironical remark from his queen.⁵

Besides the duty of protection, the king had to take his seat in the Court of Justice⁶ and adjudicate on the cases preferred to him. This he did in proper time scheduled for him.⁷ But we shall deal with this while discussing the affairs of the department of Justice.

A close parallel of the qualities of a king as envisaged by Kālidāsa is to be found in the enumeration of the qualities and duties of an administrator (*Goptā*, governor) attributed to Parnadatta and his son Cakrapalita, Governors, in succession, of Saurāṣṭra.⁸ It had meant, it may be noted, a deliberation for several days and nights for Skanda Gupta to choose his man. This inscription marshals into array those virtues and functions of an administrator which are strikingly parallel to the ideas of Kālidāsa and which perfectly echo his notions about an ideal ruler.

Education of the King

For his great task the king must equip himself. He must comprehend and learn thoroughly the numerous items of his duty. This was possible only by having a sharp insight⁹ (*akṣinṭhitā buddhiḥ*) not instinctive or whimsical but one routine-bred, into the scriptures, for he had to refer constantly to the laws laid down in them. Samudra Gupta is said to have mastered the essence of the Śāstras.¹⁰ This is why we read in Kālidāsa of the sacramental

¹ Ibid., II. 74.

² रिद्धं राज्यं रजोरिक्तमनाः शशास Ibid., XV. 85.

³ Ch. I. 59-62

⁴ Ibid., 64-68

⁵ यदि राजकार्येष्वीदृश्युपायनिपुणतार्यपुत्रस्य ततः शोभनं भवेत् । *Māl.*, p. 22.

⁶ प्रकृतिरवेक्षितुं व्यवहारासनमाददे *Raghu.*, VIII. 18.

⁷ स पीरकार्याणि समीक्ष्य काले Ibid., XIV. 24.

⁸ Junagadh Rock Ins., verses 7-25. *C. I. I.*, pp. 62-63.

⁹ *Raghu.*, I. 19.

¹⁰ शास्त्रतत्त्वार्थभर्तुः All. P. Ins. of Samudra Gupta, V. 3.

bringing up of a king and of the stages of his early life the leading of which was as important in his case as in that of other twice-borns. The routine of a king's life like that of an ordinary citizen has been summed up in the following verse:¹

Saisave abhyastavidyānām yauvane viṣayaiṣiṇām
Vārddhake munivṛttinām yogenānte tanutyaṣām.

Thus the preliminary duty of a king was to understand the nature of his trust and responsibility which could be achieved only by a thorough study of the scriptures. By using scriptures as his eyes alone he could hope to foresee and accomplish the unattained and subtle ends of his endeavours.² Here it may be remarked that although Kālidāsa's description refers to traditional times as we have seen above and shall see below, yet that tradition came to be referred to as a realised ideal by the imperial panegyrists of the Guptas.

Of courses of study we shall deal in due context in our chapter on Education. Here it may be only pointed out that besides his religious education the king studied (1) Sāstra,³ the *Mānavadharmśāstra*⁴ for example, (2) *Parāṭisandhāna Vidyā*,⁵ (3) and other *vidyās*.⁶ Kālidāsa refers to four kinds of *vidyās*⁷ which the commentator specifies by quoting Kāmandaka as ānvīkṣikī, trayī, vārtā and daṇḍanīti⁸. Both the *Arthaśāstra*⁹ and the *Sukranīti*¹⁰ refer to these four and explain the first as philosophy and logic, the second as the triple Vedas and the third as agriculture and commerce and the fourth as the art of government. On this last the *Sukranīti*¹¹ lays added stress. Of the Sāstras naturally the *Mānavadharmśāstra* was prominent as the poet frequently refers¹² to it particularly in the administrative sphere of the king. The science of statecraft (which included *parāṭisandhāna*, diplomacy) formed a part of the king's study as would appear from Śārṅgaravās's sarcastic remark made in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* in reference to Duṣyanta: (It is strange that) "the words of one who has never been acquainted with wicked diplomacy since one's birth are not admissible in evidence whereas those of others who learn the art of cheating others as a *vidyā* are believed to be true."¹³

¹ *Raghu.*, I. 8.

² चक्षुष्मता तु शास्त्रेण सूक्ष्मकार्यार्थदक्षिणा । *Ibid.*, IV. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, I. 9, IV. 13.

⁴ नृपस्य धर्मो मनुना प्रणीतः *Ibid.*, XIV. 67. मनुप्रभृतिभिः I. 17, IV. 7.

⁵ *Sāk.*, V. 25; पराभिसंधान *Raghu.*, XVII. 76.

⁶ *Raghu.*, I. 8, 23, 88, III. 30, V. 20, 21, X. 71, XVII. 3, XVIII. 50, *Sāk.*, p. 125; *Māl.*, 7.

⁷ चतस्रः विद्याः ततार *Raghu.*, III. 30; चतस्रः विद्या परिसंख्यया V. 21; also cf.

अन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चशाश्वती ।

एता विद्याश्चतस्रस्तु लोकसंस्थिति हेतवः ॥ *Nītisāra*, II, 2.

⁸ *Raghu.*, XVIII. 46.

⁹ Bk. I. Ch. II.

¹⁰ Ch. I. 203-4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 314.

¹² *Raghu.*, I. 17, IV. 7, XIV. 67.

¹³ *Sāk.*, V. 25.

The reference to the subject of the science of diplomacy in the syllabus of study of a king is but natural. A king whose land was surrounded on all sides by natural enemies¹ (*prakṛtyamitra*) had necessarily to learn all the appliances of polity including diplomacy (*parātisandhāna*). Besides the above, he studied the possible situations for the application of the four traditional vehicles of statecraft,² namely, *sāma*, *dāma*, *danḍa* and *vibheda*. The vidyās or sciences, which the king was enjoined upon to master, were four in number, namely, *Ānvīkṣikī*, i.e., logic and metaphysics; *Trayi*, i.e., the three Vedas—*R̥g*, *Yajus* and *Sāman*; *Vārtā*, i.e., the practical arts such as agriculture, commerce, etc.; and *Danḍanīti* the science of government or politics. *Kāmāndaka*³ implicitly follows the *Arthaśāstra*. The school of Manu holds that there are only three sciences, namely, the triple Vedas, *Vārtā*, and *Danḍanīti*. It considers *Ānvīkṣikī* as a branch of the Vedas.⁴ *Bṛhaspati* accepts only *Vārtā* and *Danḍanīti* as *Vidyās* and thinks the triple Vedas as a mere abridgment (*Samuvarana*, pretext?) for a man experienced in temporal affairs (*lokeyātrāvidaḥ*).⁵ For *Uśanas* there is only one science, that of government, for he thinks that all other sciences have their beginning and end in *Danḍanīti* alone.⁶ But *Kauṭilya*, followed by *Kālidāsa*,⁷ while opposing the opinions of Manu, *Bṛhaspati* and *Uśanas* declares in favour of four *Vidyās*. He holds that "four, and four alone are the sciences; wherefore it is from 'these sciences' that all that concerns righteousness and wealth is learnt, therefore they are so called."⁸

Kauṭilya further explains that *Ānvīkṣikī* comprises the philosophies of *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga* and *Lokāyata* (atheism). Righteous and unrighteous acts (*dharma* and *adharma*) are learnt from the triple Vedās, wealth and non-wealth from *Vārtā*, the expedient and the inexpedient (*nayānayanau*), as well as potency and impotency (*balābale*) from the science of government.⁹ *Kālidāsa* has here drawn upon *Kauṭilya* who has been quoted by the commentator *Mallinātha* while commenting on stanza 50, canto XVIII of the *Raghuvamśa*. It will appear from the epigraphs of the Gupta potentates that poetry and music were additional subjects of a king's syllabus of study. *Samudra Gupta* is said to be ruling in the domain of poetry¹⁰ through many of his remarkable poetical pieces¹¹ and to have put to shame¹² *Tumbaru* and *Nārada* by his mastery in music. All kings could not be so accomplished as *Samudra Gupta* either in music or poetry but they seem to have studied these as subjects. Of a later king, *Harṣa*, there are some

¹ *Māl.*, p. 11.

² राजनीति चतुर्विधम् *Raghu.*, XVII. 68.

³ Quoted ante.

⁴ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. II.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *Raghu.*, III. 30.

⁸ *Arthaśāstrā*, trans. by R. Sham Sastri, Bk., I. Ch. II.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ अनेकेकाव्यक्रियाभिः प्रतिष्ठितकविराजशब्दस्य All. P. Ins. Cf. स्फुटबहुकविता कीर्तिराज्यं भुनक्ति
Ibid., V. 3.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² निशितविदग्धमतिगान्धर्वललितैर्नीडितत्रिदशपतिगुरुतुम्बरनारदादेः Ibid.

poetical works extant. Skanda Gupta himself is said to have been well disciplined in the understanding of musical keys.¹ The same had attained his object by means of good behaviour and strength and politic conduct.²

After the period of the brahmacharya and education was over and the prince, dressed in skin,³ had already finished learning the use of arms,⁴ he observed the ceremony of tonsure (*godāna*)⁵ and married. This was after the prince had become mature in body resplendent in youth.⁶ Manu fixes the age of tonsure in case of a Kṣatriya at twenty-two⁷ while Kauṭilya enjoins it in the sixteenth year. He says: "He shall observe celibacy till he becomes sixteen years old. Then he shall observe the ceremony of tonsure (*godāna*) and marry."⁸ It is queer that Kauṭilya wants a prince to study *lipi* (alphabets) and arithmetic after the tonsure ceremony⁹ which would suggest it to fall after marriage, i.e., in his sixteenth year. It is significant that Kālidāsa agrees with Kauṭilya in marrying after tonsure¹⁰ and he lays down the practice of tonsure and marriage after the completion of studies.¹¹ Kauṭilya's injunction may be reconciled with the practice referred to by Kālidāsa by supposing that Kauṭilya while mentioning the ceremony of tonsure twice,¹² once before and then after education, means *cūḍākarma* by the former and *godāna* (first shaving) by the latter. Kālidāsa does the same.¹³

Heir-Apparent

Yuvarāja,¹⁴ the heir-apparent, was the eldest son of the king who was formally installed¹⁵ to the dignity of his important office and admitted in the share of the administration. The purpose of his installation to this office was the mitigation in the old age of the king of his heavy responsibility of State.¹⁶ The Yuvarāja, thus officially recognised, checked the Government from getting weaker in the infirmity of old age of the sovereign by furnishing him with an assistant who

¹ Bhitari St. P. Ins., V. 2.

² Ibid., V. 3.

³ *Raghu.*, III. 31. त्वचं स मेध्यां परिधाय रौरवीं.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 33.

⁶ Ibid., 32.

⁷ The commentator quotes Manu (*Raghu.*, III. 33) to show that the ceremony of tonsure in case of a Kṣatriya was performed at the age of twenty-two.

⁸ *Arthasāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. V.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, III. 33.

¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 30-33.

¹² *Arthasāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. V.

¹³ Cf. *Raghu.*, III. 28, 33.

¹⁴ Ibid., III. 35, 36, XVIII. 18; *Sāk.*, p. 82.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, III. 35; *Vik.*, p. 136, 138.

¹⁶ ततः प्रजानां चिरमात्मना धृतां नितान्तपूर्वीं लघयिष्यता धुरम् । *Raghu.*, III. 35; also V. 66 VI. 87. The commentator while commenting on *Raghu.*, III. 35 quotes Kāmandaka

विनयोपग्रहान्भृत्यै कुर्वीत नृपतिः सुतान् ।

अविनीतकुमारं हि कुलमाशु विशीयते ॥

विनीतमीरसं पुत्रं यौवराज्यमिषेचयेत् ॥

assisted him in his civil duties at home and entirely relieved him in his military campaigns abroad.¹ It was also by the appointment of a Yuvarāja that a war of succession was avoided.

His Consecration

The young prince was consecrated to the office of the heir-apparent in the manner of a king. Like the term *rājyābhiṣeka* for the consecration of a king we find the term *Yauvarājyābhiṣeka*² used for that of an heir-apparent. The office of the heir-apparent was one which was duly conferred on a prince after the performance of proper ceremonies and rites,³ and it carried along with it a legal status, that of a functionary of the State. From the status of the heir-apparent that of the king was but one step which again was conferred on him after his predecessor in royal office with appropriate ceremonies. It is noteworthy that until the legal status of the heir-apparent was conferred upon a prince he was addressed with the designation of (*kumāra*)⁴ alone, but as soon as the proper ceremonies of his anointing to the new office were over he was addressed with the appellation of Yuvarāja.⁵ The anointing ceremony of a Yuvarāja may be well instanced in the conferment of that office on Āyus, the son of Purūravā, as described in Act V of the *Vikramorvaṣī*. There Nārada acts as the chief priest. The materials⁶ for the ceremony are brought and the prince is seated on an auspicious seat⁷. Then Nārada himself performed the chief part of the ceremony by pouring down the sacred water which act must be performed by the worthiest of Brahmins. The rest of the ceremony⁸ was finished by persons of even inferior status. Then the heir-apparent saluted⁹ his parents. Thereafter bards began to sing eulogies of his ancestors and chanted their blessings¹⁰ hailing him as the heir-apparent (*vijayatām yuvarājaḥ*) in the following manner:—

“As the celestial sage Atri was like the creator, the moon like Atri, Budha like the cool-rayed (moon), and his Majesty like Budha, so do you become like your father by your popular qualities. In your exalted race all blessings have indeed been fulfilled.¹¹

“Like the Ganges with its waters distributed between the Himālaya and the Ocean, royal fortune now appears more beautiful, being distributed between this your father who stands at the head of the great, and you abiding by your duty and of unshaken courage.¹²”

After the ceremony was completed, the heir-apparent came to assume a

¹ *Raghu.*, III. 38; *Māl.*, p. 102.

² *Vik.*, pp. 136, 138; *Raghu.*, III. 35.

³ *Vik.*, pp. 136, 138, cf. *Nitisāra* quoted by Mallinatha, vide *ante*.

⁴ *Vik.*, pp. 138-39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁶ अभिषेकसंभार *Vik.*, p. 139; *Raghu.*, XII. 4.

⁷ *Vik.*, p. 139.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, V. 21.

¹² *Ibid.*, 22.

status sharing with his father in the governance of the kingdom. The royalty was divided as it were, between him and his father, and it was now again, that he was said to have acquired *yauvarājyaśrī*,¹ i.e. the sovereignty of the heir-apparent like the *rājyaśrī* of the king. The sovereignty² is transferred in part to the heir-apparent.³ Henceforth he progresses towards realization of complete kingship in the manner of a phase of moon progressing towards the full-moon state. This indeed has the impress of the poet's time, as also of before.

In contemporary history also the choice of an heir-apparent seems to have been a usual practice. Samudra Guptā had been chosen by Candragupta I as his Crown Prince as is evidenced by the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.⁴ Both the *Arthaśāstra*⁵ and the *Sukranīti*⁶ make the Yuvarāja a functionary of State. Kautilya makes him one of the *Tirthas*,⁷ and Jayaswal⁸ thinks that although Yuvarāja was not in the Cabinet he was 'certainly a Minister.' The *Rāmāyaṇa*⁹ and the *Sukranīti*,¹⁰ like Kālidāsa, detail the consecration of the Crown Prince. "The Yuvarāja had his seal, and the set formula with which he signed."¹¹ The *Divyāvadāna*¹² informs us that Aśoka had Samprati, a grandson, for his Yuvarāja. The princes also served the king as governors of his provinces. According to the *Divyāvadāna*,¹³ Kuṇāla was such a Governor of Aśoka posted at Takṣaśilā. Very often a royal prince governed his province with the help of a council which is evident from the edicts of Aśoka.¹⁴ Kumārāmātya, again, is not an unfamiliar expression of the contemporary Gupta times.

The usual age of the Yuvarāja at the time of his consecration according to Kālidāsa fell at a time when he was able to bear the weight of the armour (*varmaharaḥ, kavacārhaḥ*¹⁵). He also, like the king, had his paraphernalia of the sons of bards¹⁶ singing his panegyrics and of those of the minister¹⁷ and feudal kings¹⁸ advising and attending on him.

Consecration of the King

In due course the heir-apparent, Yuvarāja, was elevated to the office of

¹ Ibid., V. 23, p. 140.

² अंशेन *Raghu*, III. 36.

³ रेखाभावादुपाख्यः सोमप्रचमिव चन्द्रमा: Ibid., XVII. 30.

⁴ Verse 4, quoted *ante*.

⁵ Bk., V. Ch. VI.

⁶ Ch. II.

⁷ *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 133; cf. *Arthaśāstra*. Bk. I, Ch. 12, 8, (pp. 20-21); Bk., V. Ch. 2, 91. (p. 245).

⁸ *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 124.

⁹ Bk., II. Ch. XIV.; Ibid., III.

¹⁰ Ch. II. 15.

¹¹ *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 125.

¹² Edited by Cowell and Neil, p. 430.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Jaugada and Dhauli separate Rock Edict, and Siddhapura Inscription.

¹⁵ *Raghu*, VIII. 94; *Vik.*, p. 131.

¹⁶ *Raghu*, V. 65, 75.

¹⁷ Ibid., III. 28.

¹⁸ Ibid., 38; *Māl.*, p. 102.

the king when on the death of his father, or even in his life time, the throne devolved on him, but he had to undergo a formal consecration on this occasion technically known as *rājyābhiṣeka*.¹

The preparations for the consecration ceremony were made under the supervision of the Council of Ministers who were so ordered by the former king if he was living.² The ceremony was then performed by elderly ministers³ with water brought in golden vessels from various sacred places (*tīrthas*), from rivers (*sarīt*), seas (*samudra*) and lakes⁴ (*sarasi*). This was a very ancient custom and was practised during the consecration of the kings in Vedic and post Vedic times.⁵ While bringing the water mantras from the *Taittirīya Samhitā* as well as the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* were chanted.⁶ The form seems to have been followed during the age of Kālidāsa.

The eldest son, who was already the heir-apparent, was given preference over other sons, but birth alone was not the deciding factor. Birth and virtues together made one worthy of the enjoyment (*bhājam*) of the extraordinary gem (*rātnaviṣeṣa*) which was the State itself.

The anointing ceremony and the investiture of the royal insignia and power were performed in the following manner.

A special pavilion of four pillars was ordered by the ministers to be erected for this occasion by accomplished architects.⁷ Under the pavilion a sacred *vedī* (altar) was raised. Then after causing the prospective king sit on an auspicious seat, water brought from sacred places, was poured upon him from golden pitchers⁸ while sweet music played outside.⁹ Then he received from the ministers auspicious articles like the *dūrṇā* grass, sprouts of the barley plant, bark of the *plakṣa* tree and the *madhuka* flower.¹⁰ Thus all food grains, all juices, all seeds, all flowers, all sacred grasses were symbolically represented.

Then the chief of the Brahmins¹¹ proceeded to recite those mantras of the *Atharvaveda* which were believed to have been endowed with the power of rendering him victorious over his enemies. Water was poured while the hymns were chanted. Just then bards approached him and sang the glories of his dynasty.¹² The *snātakas*¹³ were given largesses by him who now shone in his purity after bath.¹⁴ It is manifest that these largesses were given first to the married Brahmins (*snātakas*) that they might utilize them in the performance

¹ *Vik.*, p. 136; *Raghu.*, VIII. 3. XIV. 7.

² *Vik.*, p. 136; *Sāk.*, IV. 19; *Raghu.*, III. 70., VIII. 10, XVII. 8.

³ *Raghu.*, XIV. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵ *Hindu Polity*, Part II, pp. 23-24.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Raghu.*, XVII. 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XIV. 7, XIX. 56.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XVII. 11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹² *Ibid.*, 15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

of sacrifices which a Brahmin in the state of a pupil could not do.

Then the king issued a proclamation liberating all the prisoners including those condemned to death. The yoking animals like the oxen and the horses were unharnessed and given rest from drawing carts and chariots for some days, and the cows were left unmilked for the benefit of the calves¹. The proclamation was made ideally perfect by setting the birds free from cages² and thus liberty was announced everywhere. Kāuṭilya³ also enjoins upon his king to liberate prisoners on the occasion of his coronation.

Thereafter the king was led to another chamber and seated on a pure seat prepared of ivory and given dress and ornaments.⁴ He was perfumed with *candana*, *aṅgarāga*, musk and *gorocana* and then the *tilaka* mark was applied to his forehead.⁵ Now he put on silken robes into which were woven the figures of flamingoes.⁶ Then he stood before a mirror and saw his reflection.⁷ These garments were studded with pearls. Then the sovereign was handed over the royal paraphernalia by those standing beside him which he wore on his person. Then he entered the royal court (*sabhā*)⁸ and sat the hereditary throne set with jewels under the royal canopy.⁹ The throne was placed in the court-hall which was well decorated with auspicious things to suit the grand occasion.¹⁰

After the ceremony of consecration was duly performed and the king assumed his legal status and took the reins of the Government along with the sceptre, he went out in the streets of his capital riding an elephant.¹¹ The *Sukranīti* also urges upon the king to 'tour the city on the back of elephants in order to please the people¹².' Thus from the status of an heir-apparent he stepped to that of a full-fledged sovereign.¹³

It may be noted that even a queen was consecrated if she bore a foetus.¹⁴ When the king inherited an imperial power he was consecrated to the office and status of an emperor¹⁵ (*saṃrāt*).

The age for coronation has not been mentioned by Kālidāsa. In earlier times emperor Khāravela¹⁶ was coronated after the completion of his twenty-fourth year. Aśoka himself had to wait for coronation until that year.

¹ Ibid., 19.

² Ibid., 20.

³ *Arthasāstra*, Bk. II, hC. XXXVI.

⁴ *Raghu*, XVII. 21.

⁵ Ibid., 24.

⁶ Ibid., 25.

⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁸ Ibid., 27.

⁹ Ibid., 28.

¹⁰ Ibid., 29.

¹¹ Ibid., 32.

¹² Ch. I. 744.

¹³ *Raghu*, XVII. 30.

¹⁴ Ibid., XIX, 55, 56, 57.

¹⁵ साम्राज्यदीक्षितम् Ibid., IV. 5.

¹⁶ Hathigumpha Inscription.

Vikrama¹ was consecrated in his twenty-fifth year. The *Brhaspati Sūtra* fixes this age at twenty-five.²

The installation of the king was naturally regarded throughout the kingdom as a political event of immense importance and it furnished the people with an occasion of much joy and enthusiasm. The highways of the capital were decorated³ with much zeal.

Amusements of King

Among the amusements of the king were hunting,⁴ public bathing,⁵ swinging,⁶ music⁷ and dramatic performances.⁸ Kālidāsa categorically points to the traditional and common four addictions of kings which he specifies as hunting, gambling, drinking and associating with women.⁹ These four evils have been referred to by Kāuṭilya also.¹⁰ The poet depicts the activities of Agnivarna in the 19th canto of the *Raghuvamśa* to a tiring length and points to the consequences of such evils, and at another place he praises the king who has kept himself aloof from them.¹¹ But it is remarkable that both Kālidāsa and Kāuṭilya refer with approval to hunting and even dwell on its merits.¹² Kālidāsa refers to it as an exercise "in which the disappearance of phlegm, bile, fat and sweat, the acquisition of skill in aiming at stationary and moving bodies, the ascertainment of the appearance of beasts when provoked, their signs of fear and ferocity and occasional march are its good characteristics."¹³ While the *Sukramiti* condemns hunting, dice-playing and drinking at one place¹⁴ it commends hunting as an exercise and even enumerates its advantages. It remarks: "The advantages of hunting are the growth of ability to strike the aim, fearlessness, and agility in the use of arms and weapons, but cruelty is its great defect."¹⁵ Thus Kālidāsa, Kāuṭilya and Sukra agree on this point.

In defence of hunting as a good sport for kings, Kālidāsa uses in the *Śākuntala* almost the same words as are used by Kāuṭilya for the same purpose as has been pointed out by R. Shama Sastri in the Introduction to his translation of the *Arthasāstra*.¹⁶ We have a reference to a hunting suit.¹⁷ In the graphic

¹ *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 52.

² *Ibid.*, I. 89.

³ *Raghu.*, XIV. 10.

⁴ मृगया *Śāk.*, pp. 51, 55, 56, 57, 61, 63, 64; *Raghu.*, IX. 7, 49-74; XVIII. 35.

⁵ *Raghu.*, XVI. 64; *M.P.*, 33.

⁶ *Raghu.*, XI. 46, XIX 44; *Māl.*, pp. 39, 41, 47, 48, 49.

⁷ *Māl.*, Acts I and II; *Raghu.*, XIX.

⁸ *Māl.*, p. 2.

⁹ *Raghu.*, IX. 7.

¹⁰ *Arthasāstra*, Bk., VIII. Ch. 3.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, IX. 7.

¹² *Śāk.*, II. 4, 5; *Artha.*, VIII. 3.

¹³ *Śāk.*, II, 5; *Raghu.*, IX. 49.

¹⁴ *Ch.*, I. 283-84.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 667-69.

¹⁶ p. XVI.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, IX. 50, मृगयावेशम् *Śāk.*, p. 68.

picture that the poet gives of the hunting of king Daśaratha, he says: "The king permitted by his ministers went ahunting.¹" Has hair he tied up with a sylvan chaplet and he donned a robe of the same colour with the leaves of trees (*tarṇpalāśasavarṇanānuccadab.*)² The king then entered a forest which was already occupied by persons who carried with them nets and packs of dogs, which was further cleared of conflagration and robbers and which was full of pools of water, antelopes, birds and yaks.³ There the king shot down deer, boars, wild buffaloes, rhinoceroses, tigers, lions, elephants and yaks.⁴ It may be noted that the poet points out that the shooting at a wild elephant was traditionally forbidden⁵ (*pratiniṣiddha*). The king went to the forest for sport surrounded by Greek women with bow in their hands and their persons decorated with garlands.⁶ Early morning there was a great noise occasioned by the buss and hurry of the preparations for entering the forest on the part of the fowlers and other followers.⁷

Enjoying a happy bath, surrounded by his female attendants and other ladies of the palace, was another diversion of the king. We read a beautiful description of it given by the poet in the sixteenth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*. There the king enters the water of the Sarayū with the ladies of his harem and disports himself in their company.⁸ He rows about in a boat with his attending Kirātī.⁹ With a golden syringe¹⁰ he throws out coloured water on the ladies who beat the water of the river to music.¹¹ The performance is termed *Jalavibhāra*¹² or *Vārivibhāra*.¹³

Swinging was a third amusement of the king as of the common people which we shall have occasion to deal in connection with the amusements of the people in the chapter on social life.

Music was also a common amusement which, when much indulged in, made a king disrespectful to his duties of the State. In his inner apartments it sounded day and night resounding the whole palace, as it happened in the case of Agnivarna, one of the descendants of Rāma, whose libertinism is described at length in the nineteenth canto of the *Raghuvamśa*. Dramatic performance was yet another amusement which entertained the king. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* furnishes us with an account of it in its second Act.

The above amusements were in a few instances traditional also as has been

¹ अनुमतः सचिवैः *Raghu.*, IX. 49.

² Ibid., 50.

³ Ibid., 53.

⁴ Ibid., 53, 55, 57, 59-66.

⁵ Ibid., IX. 74, नृपतेः अवध्यो वन्यः करीति V. 50.

⁶ *Sāk.*, p. 57.

⁷ Ibid., p. 56.

⁸ *Raghu.*, XVI. 55-73.

⁹ Ibid., 57.

¹⁰ Ibid., 70.

¹¹ Ibid., 64.

¹² Ibid., 54.

¹³ Ibid., 61, 67.

shown by quoting authorities, but may also have naturally been diversions of the poet's contemporary times as several of them occur in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* in respect of a king of later age.

THOUGHTS ON POLITY

Thoughts on Polity.

Kālidāsa has at several places used technical terms of statecraft and has referred indirectly to works on polity. Their reference by the poet was bound to be conventional. Here a discussion of these terms may be attempted. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act I, he uses the word *tantrakāra*¹ meaning 'an inventor of practical or useful science.' While approving of Agnimitra's opinion his Minister says. "Your Majesty says what is held by the Sāstra," etc. The stanza quoted there by the Minister seems to have been taken from some work on polity, which, now difficult to locate, was well known at the time of Kālidāsa. Or it may be even a verse translation of some *sūtra* on polity. We have a parallel use of the word *tantrakāra* in Pālākāpya's *Hastyāyurveda*.² The use of the phrase *tantra* in the play is similar to that in *Pañcatantra*. But it must also be noted that the poet uses the phrase *lokatantra* in a technical sense, in that of the practical science of administration. *Tantra*, therefore, read in due context, can mean nothing but a treatise on polity.

Kālidāsa mentions the following traditional technical terms of Hindu polity, namely, *Prakṛti*,³ *Prakṛtimāṇḍala*,⁴ *Prakṛtyamitra*,⁵ *Arimāṇḍala*,⁶ *Māṇḍala-nābhi*,⁷ *Lokatantra*,⁸ *Daṇḍacakra*,⁹ *Caturvidhām rājanītim*,¹⁰ *Caturbhirupakramaiḥ*,¹¹ *Trisādhanaśaktiḥ*,¹² *Ṣaḍguṇāḥ*,¹³ *Kakudā*,¹⁴ *Madhyama Śakti*,¹⁵ *Dharmottara*,¹⁶ *Paṇabandha*,¹⁷ *Randhr*,¹⁸ *Upāyasaṅghāta*,¹⁹ *Parāṭisandhāna*,²⁰ *Vaitasimṛttim*,²¹

¹ *Māl.*, p. 11.

² एकरात्रोषितं तत्र तंत्रकारं यशस्विनः ।

तं मुनिं कर्म चैवास्य पत्रच्छ विस्मितास्तदा ॥७६॥ I. p. 7, Ānandāśrama Series.

³ *Raghu.*, IV. 12, VIII. 10, 18, XII. 12, XIII. 68, 79, XVIII. 50; Śāk., VI. 5.

⁴ *Raghu.*, IX. 2.

⁵ *Māl.*, p. 11.

⁶ *Raghu.*, IV. 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IX. 15, नाभिनृपमण्डलस्य XVIII. 20.

⁸ *Śāk.*, p. 154.

⁹ *Māl.*, p. 11.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XVII. 68, XI. 55.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 15.

¹² *Ibid.*, III. 13, IX. 18, XVII. 63.

¹³ *Ibid.*, XVII. 67, VIII. 21.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, VI. 70.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XVII. 58. धर्मोत्तरं मध्यमम् XIII. 7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XIII. 7 धर्मविजयी IV. 43.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, X. 86, VIII. 21.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XII. 11, XV. 17, XVII. 61.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XIV. 11.

²⁰ *Śāk.*, V. 25, पराभिसंधान *Raghu.*, XVII. 76.

²¹ *Raghu.*, IV. 35.

Daṇḍeniti,¹ *Tīrtha*² and *Ṣaḍvidham balam*.³

Prakṛti are the subjects. While commenting on this technical phrase Mallinātha quotes Kāuṭilya. On this Mr. R. Shama Sastri has made the following important observation in the Preface to his translation of the *Arthasāstra* which may be quoted in full to elucidate the sense of the term *Prakṛti*:—

“A few of the words are evidently peculiar to works on political science, and the author has himself stated in the last chapter of the work that the use of the word “*prakṛti*,” in the sense of an element of sovereignty, has been his own; and has also said in VI. 1. that each sovereign state must contain seven members (*aṅga*), such as the king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army, and the friend; and eight elements (*prakṛtis*), with these and the enemy. Amarasimha calls (II, 8, 17) them seven members (*rājyaṅgāni*) or elements (*prakṛtis*), and to designate the enemy or enemies, he has not used the word *prakṛti*. So Kāuṭilya may be credited with having coined the word *prakṛti* to designate an element of sovereignty, and to have extended the denotation of it so as to cover enemies also, as “*prathamā prakṛti*,” first inimical element; “*dvitīyā prakṛti*,” second inimical element; and “*tritīyā prakṛti*,” third inimical element, and so on, as stated by him. Likewise, Kāmandaka calls (1, 16, 17,) them members, and uses the word *prakṛti* to designate these seven members and also enemies (VIII, 4, 20, 25.). It would appear, therefore, that writers on political science before Kāuṭilya used the word “*aṅga*,” member, as a general term to designate any of the seven constituents of a state, and had no such general term as “*prakṛti*,” element, to denote the seven constituents as well as the inimical elements. It follows, therefore, that the use of the word “*prakṛti*,” in the sense of an element of a sovereign state including enemies also is a proof that the author using that word must be posterior to Kāuṭilya. In the *Manusmṛti*, now extant, the word “*prakṛti*,” is used (VII, 156) in the general sense, as in Kāuṭilya, and it can therefore be taken to be posterior to Kāuṭilya. It follows also that Kālidāsa, must have been indebted to Kāuṭilya’s *Arthasāstra* for the political terms noted above, and that Mallināthasūri could find their explanation in no other political work than that of Kāuṭilya.”⁴ Kālidāsa has, however, used both the terms *prakṛti* and *aṅga*⁵ to denote an element of a sovereign state.

Prakṛtimaṇḍala, lit. the circle of the subjects, by the maxim *Gobalīvardanyāya* (“the cattle and the bull”), is limited to the people living outside the city⁶.

Prakṛtyamitra, the natural enemy, is one whose territory borders on the dominions of the king and is conterminous with his kingdom.⁷

¹ Ibid., XVIII. 46.

² Ibid., XVII. 68.

³ Ibid. I, V. 26, XVII. 67.

⁴ R. Shama Sastri’s translation of the *Artha.*, Preface, p. XVI.

⁵ *Raghu.*, I. 60.

⁶ Mallinātha observes: स नगरं नगरजनसहितं प्रकृतिमण्डलं जानपदमण्डलम् । अत्र प्रकृतिशब्देन प्रजामात्रवाचिना नगरशब्दयोगाद्गोबलीवदस्यायेन जनपदमात्रमुच्यते । तत्पौरजनपदमण्डलं तस्मीन्नतीवासन्नम-
भूदित्यर्थः । Comment on *Raghu.*, IX. 2.

⁷ *Mal.*, p. 11.

Arimaṇḍala is the circle of enemies, direct and indirect, i.e. including both natural enemies and the enemies of friends. It must not be forgotten that at the demise of a great king a confederacy of enemies was not infrequently formed with a view to invade the territories of the new king on the throne.¹ The natural enemies, particularly, would very wisely be on the lookout of a weakness and a loophole in his State to pounce upon it and make it their prey² on the earliest opportunity.

Maṇḍalanābhi signifies an emperor who is the centre of a circle of kings. *Maṇḍala* is the circle of princes whose kingdoms lie on the borders of the imperial country. Kāmandaka, quoted by Mallinātha,³ mentions twelve classes of these princes, namely (1) *ari* or inimical kings to be subdued, (2) *mitram* or allies, (3) *aremitram* or a friend of the enemy, (4) *mitramitram* or a friend of a friend, and (5) *arimitramitram* or a friend of an enemy's friend whose territories lie in the rear, viz., (6) *pārṣṇigrāha* whose kingdom is next to that of the chief king, (7) *ākraṇḍa* whose territory lies next to that of *pārṣṇi*'s, and who is likely to prevent an ally from helping another, (8) *pārṣṇigrāhasāra* and (9) *ākraṇḍasāra* whose kingdoms are separated by those of the foregoing; (10) *madhyama*, or intermediate, whose territory lies between those of the conqueror and the enemy; and (11) *udāsīna* or one who is indifferent or neutral (neither a friend nor a foe), whose kingdom is situated outside the territories of the above mentioned kings—both strong in force, and when in league with others, able to change the fortunes of war; and lastly (12) the imperial monarch himself more powerful than the last two named. Kauṭilya⁴ gives a detailed description of the circle of kings and its centre.

Lokatantra is the art of government, the practical science of administration. *Daṇḍacakra* (lit. *daṇḍa*=forces, *cakra*=a circle) signifies a whole army complete with all its fourfold constituents.⁵ *Caturvidhām rājānītim* and *caturbbhirupa kramaiḥ* are phrases referring to the fourfold policy which the commentator explains as the *Sāma*, *Dānavidhi*, *Bheda* and *Vigraha*.⁶ These were the four traditional political crafts of appeasement, bribing, causing civil dissension and punishing (i.e., war) respectively. These have been described in the *Sukranīti* as *Sāma*, peace, *Dāna*, purchase, *Bheda*, separation, and *Daṇḍa*, penalty (Chapter IV, Section I, 51-82). Kālidāsa plainly mentions that diplomacy without bravery is simply timidity; bravery itself without politics resembles the conduct of beasts;⁷ so success is to be sought by a united policy of these four expedients⁸

¹ *Raghu*, IV. 2-4.

² *Ibid.*, XII. 11, XV. 17.

³ अरिमित्रमरेमित्रमतः परम् । तथारिमित्रमित्रं च विजिगीषोः पुरःसराः । पार्ष्णिग्राहस्ततः पश्चादा-
क्रन्दस्तदनन्तरम् । आसारावनयोश्चैव विजिगीषोस्तु पृष्ठतः । अरेश्च विजिगीषोश्च मध्यमो भूम्यनन्तरः । अनुग्रहे
संहृतयोः समर्थो व्यस्तयोर्वधे । मण्डलाद्वहिरेतेषामुदासीनो बलाधिकः । अनुग्रहे संहृतानां व्यस्तानां च वधे प्रभुः ॥
Comment on *Raghu*, IX. 15.

⁴ Kāmandaka follows Kauṭilya—cf. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. VI. 2.

⁵ M. R. Kale: *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Notes, p. 19.

⁶ Comment on *Raghu*, XI. 55.

⁷ *Raghu*, XVII. 47.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XIV. 11.

and by striking at the vulnerable points of the enemy.¹ This idea naturally brings into play the significance of the term *Trisādhvanā Śaktiḥ* produced by the three kinds of strength, viz., dignity (*prabhāva*) of the king, consultation with the Council of Ministers (*mantra*) and confidence, courage, the indomitable spirit² (*utsāha*). The *prabhāva* or *prabhūśakti* is the power arising from the resources at the command and the prominent position of a king by virtue of good treasury and good government (*kośadaṇḍajam tejas*). The *utsāhaśakti* is the power arising from the king's personal energy, valour and enthusiasm (*vikramabalamutsāhaśaktiḥ*). This is the most important of the three *śaktis* which a king must possess. The *mantraśakti*, the power arising from good counsel, is also important. *Ṣaḍ-guṇāḥ* refer to the six expedients of success. These six expedients, which the king was expected to employ in gaining his object of a forward movement, an extension of power (*prasāra*)³, were the following according to Kāuṭilya⁴, who says:

"The circle of states is the source of the sixfold policy. My teacher says that peace (*sandhi*), war (*vigraha*), observance of neutrality (*āsana*), marching (*yāna*), alliance (*samśraya*), and making peace with one and waging war with another (*dvaiddhībhāva*) are the six forms of state policy."

"Of these, agreement with pledges is peace; offensive operation is war; indifference is neutrality; making preparations is marching; seeking the protection of another is alliance; and making peace with one and waging war with another, is termed a double policy (*dvaiddhībhāva*). These are the six forms."

The same six expedients have been enumerated in the *Sukraniti*⁵ also. These expedients, asserts Kālidāsa, completely frustrate the effects consequent upon the enemies' under-takings⁶ and contribute to deceive the foes⁷.

Kakuda, lit the hump of the bull, is the topmost place in the body politic. It refers to the paramount power with several vassals and feudatory chiefs. *Madhyamaśakti* or *Madhyamalokpāla* was the intermediate, neutral power whose territory lay between those of the conqueror and the enemy. His shelter and protection were sought by a foiled foe of the conqueror.⁸ *Dharmottara* or *dharmaviṣayīnṛpa* was a conqueror who conquered a kingdom only for paramountcy and without extirpating the ruling family reinstated the defeated monarch⁹ (*utkṛhātāpratiropitāḥ*). *Paṇabandha* is the desired end, the success, achieved after the application of the various expedients of the statecraft. *Randhra* is a loop hole, a vulnerable point in the State. An enemy was always peeping in to discover a vulnerable point in the State of his foe where he

¹ Ibid., XVII. 61.

² Mallinātha quotes the *Amarakośa*: शक्तयस्तिष्ठः प्रभावोत्साहमन्त्रजाः *Raghu.*, III. 13.

³ *Raghu.*, VIII. 23.

⁴ Bk., VII. ch. I., also cf. *Amarakośa* quoted by Mallinātha on *Raghu.*, VIII. 21—संघिनोविग्रहो यानमासनं द्वैधमाश्रयः । षड्गुणाः

⁵ Ch. IV., Sec. VII, 464-473.

⁶ *Raghu.*, VIII. 20.

⁷ Ibid., XVII. 76.

⁸ Ibid., XIII. 7, XVII. 58.

⁹ Ibid., IV. 37, 43, XVII. 42.

might strike.¹ *Upāyasaṅghāta* is the organized utilization of all the expedients of statecraft.² *Parūtisandhāna* is diplomacy, the practice of deception against an enemy.³ *Vaitasūrtti* is the expedience of the weak. It is the conduct of the cane weed in the face of a powerful storm. A weak monarch has to bow down his head before a powerful conqueror and to lift it up again after he has passed over. Mallinātha quotes Kautīlya while commenting on this phrase.⁴ Kautīlya recommends this policy as one fit for the weak.

Danḍanīti is the precept on polity. It is the science of statecraft. Hemādri and Cāritravardhana quote the following from the *Kāmandaka*: "Chastisement is said to be punishment itself, that is why the punishment is the king. Its law and exercise are termed as the *Danḍanīti* or the Government."⁵

Tīrtha, as explained by the commentator,⁶ refers to the eighteen Heads of Departments of the State. Cāritravardhana explains this to mean 'the eighteen Heads of Departments including the minister, priest, commander-in-chief', etc.⁷ Vallabha, however, interprets the phrase to mean 'natural inclination and its application to practice.'⁸ But his view is obviously incorrect and cannot be accepted for the use of the phrase is evidently made in a technical sense in which it has been used throughout in the treatises on polity. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautīlya refers elaborately to these eighteen *tīrthas* or heads of departments.⁹ *Ṣaḍvidhām balam* was the sixfold strength¹⁰ of the State, namely (1) ministers, (2) attendants, (3) allies, (4) guilds, (5) enemies of the enemy and (6) foresters.

King's Policy at Home and Abroad

Kālidāsa has to give certain injunctions to his kings. A new king, says he, should aim at consolidating his power. He is easy to uproot. Therefore he should consolidate his power in the manner of a newly planted tree by fixing day by day the roots of his policy deep into the hearts of his subjects which would engender good will in them for him, and in this way he could become unassailable.¹¹ His actions, full of mature judgment and hence averting calamity, should

¹ *Raghu*, XVII. 61, XV. 17.

² साक्षादुपायानां संघातः समष्टिः—Mallinātha on *Raghu*, XIV. 11.

³ *Raghu*, XVII. 76; *Śāke*, V. 25.

⁴ बलीयसामियुक्तो दुर्बलः सर्वत्रानुप्रणतो वेतसधर्ममातिष्ठेत् on *Raghu*, IV. 35.

⁵ दमो दण्ड इति प्रोक्तस्तत्स्यादण्डो महीपतिः ।

तस्य नीतिस्तथावृत्तिर्दण्डनीतिर्विचर्यते ॥

Raghuvaṃśa by G. R. Nandargikar, Notes on तीर्थ XVII. 68.

⁶ आतीर्थान्मन्याद्यष्टादशात्मतीर्थपर्यन्तम् ।

⁷ दण्डनीतेः फलमात्तीर्थतीर्थं मंत्रिपुरोहितसेनापत्याद्यष्टादशकम्, etc. *Raghuvaṃśa* by G. R. Nadargikar, Notes on XVII. 68

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ मंत्रिपुरोहितसेनापतिराजदौवारिकान्तर्वासिकप्रसास्तृसमाहन्तृसंनिधातृपार्षदाध्यापकदण्डकारकदुर्गपालास्तीर्थम् *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II.

¹⁰ मूलं भूतयः सुहृच्छ्रेणी द्विषदाटविकं बलम् । *Amarakośa*,

¹¹ *Raghu*, XVII. 44; cf. *Māl.*, I. 8.

aim at the acquisition of prosperity, bearing fruit unobserved in the manner of the *sāli* rice ripe in the interior.¹ Although powerful, he must not proceed by a wrong path,² and although capable of suppressing immediately any disaffection among his subjects, he should not, at all, occasion that for which a remedy would have to be called forth.³ He should not violate duty for the sake of wealth and desire; nor these two for the sake of that duty; neither should he overlook wealth for the sake of desire, nor desire for the sake of wealth; for he should be just in his dealing with these three objects of the world.⁴ Friends when kept in low position can never return favours; when kept in high rank they begin to act in a hostile way towards him; so he should place his friends in an intermediate position.⁵ The *Sukraniti* thinks that 'kings have no friends, and can be friends to nobody.'⁶ By the combination of yet amicable virtues he should appear to his dependents both ill-approachable and inviting as the ocean on account of its sea monsters and jewels.⁷ The *Sukraniti* also advises his king to 'punish his own subjects by being mild internally but cruel externally.'⁸ He should take a middle course, that of neither too stern nor too mild⁹ and should treat all with perfect equanimity.¹⁰ Having formed a just estimate of military power, circumstances, time and others of his own as well as of those of his enemy, he should make an invasion on him if he thinks himself more powerful than his enemy, if otherwise, he should remain silent.¹¹ Destroying the enterprises of his enemies he should be intent upon the performance of his own actions, and striking enemies in weak points, he should conceal his own defects with great care.¹² Even though he knows of the actions of men done in a spirit hostile to him, he should not give utterance to words calculated to give them pain, but silently adopt measures to thwart their object.¹³

The political measures or diplomatic schemes of the monarch whose policy of government should be secret and whose attitudes and gestures should also equally be inconceivable should only be inferred from the results they put forth.¹⁴

¹ *Raghu.*, XVII. 53.

² *Ibid.*, 54.

³ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 57, XIV. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XVII. 58.

⁶ राजा मित्रं केन दृष्टं श्रुतं वा Ch. IV. 18.

⁷ *Raghu.*, I. 16.

⁸ Ch. IV. Sec. I. 130-131.

⁹ न खरो न च भूयसा मृदुः *Raghu.*, VIII. 9. Kāmandaka, quoted by Mallinātha has

मृदुश्चेदवमन्यन्ते तीक्ष्णादुद्विजते मनः ।

तीक्ष्णश्चैव मृदुश्चैव प्रजानां स च संमतः ॥

also नीतशीतोष्णो *Raghu.*, IV. 8. Kāmandaka, quoted by Mallinātha has

उद्वेजयति तीक्ष्णेन मृदुना परिभूयते ।

दण्डेन नृपतिस्तस्माद्युक्तदण्डः प्रशस्यते ॥

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, I. 28.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XVII. 59.

¹² *Ibid.*, 61.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I. 22 (notes by M. R. Kale).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

Although powerful, his expedition should be specially directed against those who are in the reach of his power.¹ He should collect wealth in his treasury for the good of his people and not actuated by the motive of his avarice.² Employing the fourfold administration of government necessary to a king in its due order, as far as the eighteen *tirthas*, he should strive to obtain its fruit.³ Although skilful in the art of fraudulent and diplomatic warfare (*kūṭayuddha*) he should always fight in the righteous way.⁴ He should feel shy when rightly praised for his praiseworthy conduct.⁵ Though dazzling when looked at his prowess and influence, he should suppress all unworthy acts among his subjects in the manner of the sun dispelling darkness.⁶ He should not send⁷ him back who asks of him the fulfilment of some desire without fulfilling it. He should strive to add more to the state of prosperity of his people in which he found them while taking their charge from his predecessor, and he should thus bring about a state of plenty and affluence⁸ (*bhūyasīm vṛddhim*). The alien enemies are not so very difficult to win; formidable are the internal enemies, so should he endeavour to conquer the enemies at home first and then proceed against those abroad.⁹

Employing spies as eyes nothing should remain unseen to the monarch.¹⁰ Himself sleeping at the scheduled time, he should learn all by employing spies, themselves ignorant of one another's business, among the enemies and friends.¹¹ He should follow confidently the routine of duty for the day and night as scheduled in books on polity for kings.¹² He should consult and discuss the affairs of the State with his ministers every day and yet his vigilance should be so stern as not to allow the secret to be divulged.¹³ "The king who does not listen", says the *Sukraniti*, "to the counsels of the ministers about things good and bad to him is a thief in the form of a ruler, an exploiter of the people's wealth."¹⁴ He should build forts and properly garrison them so that they may successfully challenge the enemy and resist his advances.¹⁵ During an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice he has to utilize the fraudulent methods (*parābhisandhāna*) to righteous ends.¹⁶ He should associate with the good even if they are his enemies and avoid those who are bad even if they be his friends.¹⁷ He

¹ Ibid., XVII. 56.

² Ibid., 60.

³ Ibid., 68.

⁴ Ibid., 69.

⁵ Ibid., 73.

⁶ Ibid., 74.

⁷ Ibid., XI. 2, XVII. 72.

⁸ Ibid., XVII. 41.

⁹ Ibid., 45.

¹⁰ Ibid., 48.

¹¹ Ibid., 51.

¹² रात्रिं दिवं विभागेषु यदादिष्टं महीक्षिताम् । Ibid., 49.

¹³ Ibid., 50.

¹⁴ Ch., II. 515-16..

¹⁵ *Raghu*, XVII. 51.

¹⁶ Ibid., 76.

¹⁷ Ibid., I. 28.

should rely on the experts in the statecraft¹ and should strive hard to consolidate all that he has already got.² He should make the best efforts to run a benign government.³ He should so wisely conduct himself in regard to his subjects that every individual should get an impression of being particularly endeared to him (the king).⁴ He should not again take reins of administration which he has himself once renounced.⁵ He should properly, in due time and place, apply the expedients of polity, as they bear fruit only when thus applied.⁶ He should always use a sweet language and in order to gain confidence his smile must precede his conversation.⁷ He should employ his men in work with a patronizing skill.⁸ He should himself be politically efficient⁹ (*nayajñāḥ*), and should not transgress the bounds of the established order,¹⁰ as he must also keep in control his own youth, beauty and desire for glory, for they, even individually, cause corruption and arrogance.¹¹ Thus should a king act following the path pointed out by the treatises on polity¹² (*śāstramirdiṣṭavartmanā*), which embodied the traditions of an ideal conduct for a ruler and could as well serve for the model of the poet's contemporary king. The royal panegyrist of the Junagadh Inscription of the Gupta age thinks in a strikingly similar trend.

¹ Ibid., IV. 10.

² लब्धप्रशमनस्वस्थमर्थेनं समुपस्थिता Ibid., 14.

³ Ibid., VIII. 7.

⁴ Ibid., 8.

⁵ Ibid., 13.

⁶ Ibid., XII. 69.

⁷ Ibid., XVII. 31.

⁸ Ibid., 40.

⁹ Ibid., XVIII. 25.

¹⁰ Ibid., III. 27.

¹¹ Ibid., XVII. 43.

¹² Ibid., 77. Obviously the reference is to the Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, *Dharma-śāstra*, Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra* and to such other treatises on polity.

SOVEREIGNTY, VASSALS AND DIGVIJAYA

Sovereignty

A study of the works of Kālidāsa gives one the unmistakable impression that sovereignty¹ resided in the king.² He was its original source (*mulāyatana*). His authority was unquestioned (*avyābatājñā*) and all power emanated from him. In the details of administration, it is true, as will be shown later, it was the ministers who governed the State and settled the general policy of the Government but legally the king's dignity and power inherent in him by virtue of his being the master (*svāmi*) of the State went unchallenged.³ The term *avyābatājñā*, which the poet uses, is a political one and it finds mention in the *Sukranīti*, which says: "Superior to the very wealthy king is the monarch, who, though small in territory, has his commands unobstructed and is powerful. He can be such with the qualification (mentioned above)⁴." Here it may be pointed out that Kālidāsa differs from Sukra inasmuch as the latter thinks (as is evident from his words—"He can be such with the qualifications") that the unquestioned authority can be acquired through qualities whereas the former does not. Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar, the learned translator of the *Sukranīti*, while commenting on the above says: "But discipline and able management (as अव्याहताज्ञा implies) and military efficiency are the two principal conditions of the importance of a kingdom." Here it may be submitted that the implication attributed to the phrase *avyābatājñā* is not contained in it. Even where discipline and able management may be lacking the idea of unquestioned authority may exist, for it is fundamental to sovereignty. It implies 'an undisputed command' and stands for the immutability of authority with which the Hindu political theorists endow their king. It is acquired not by 'discipline and able management' or by 'military efficiency,' but by virtue of the king's inherent divinity which is implied by Manu's '*mahatī devatā hyeṣā nararūpeṇa tiṣṭhati*,' which Kālidāsa endorses, and can exist in spite of indiscipline, ill management and military inefficiency of a king. The king's body was representative of the divine forces⁵ and he was an extraordinary being⁶. He did not acquire any help from the forces without and was self-sufficient as far as the inherent power was concerned. He had the divine right to his office. Whoever, for example the heir-apparent, wielded royal power apart from him,

¹ श्री: *Raghu*, III. 36. पार्थिवश्री: IV. 14, 43. प्रताप: 15, 30, 39, XVII. 37.

² नरेन्द्रमूलायतनम् *Ibid*, III. 36.

³ अव्याहताज्ञा *Ibid*, XIX. 57.

⁴ Ch. I. 353-55.

⁵ *Raghu*, II. 75, III. 11, XVI. 78.

⁶ *Ibid*, I. 14, 29, III. 14, 15, VI. 21, 38.

actually wielded it as derived from, and delegated by him.¹ Whenever he renounced his office it was he and he alone who determined his successor, and sovereignty thus devolved according to his will.² His office being hereditary, sovereignty flowed, as it were, from father to son. He was the creator and cause of all time and tide.³ He was expected to protect his people in return of his wages⁴ which ordinarily would sound contractual, much akin to the theory of social contract, but nothing could be farther from such an idea. It is also true that laws did not flow from the sovereign and that he had to administer them only as he found them ready made and codified by sages like Manu⁵ long before he took reins of his office and that he was expected to act as a skilful charioteer driving the car⁶ of social and political affairs with reference to his people. Such a state of affairs, indeed, has the effect of making the king only a figurehead, punishing transgression against the established order, and it hardly leaves to him the chances of origination, yet it has to be admitted that his authority in the state was unassailable.⁷ But in the day to day administration his arbitrariness was bound to come in conflict and be undermined by the existence of a plurality of ministers and by several other forces which is a necessary outcome of the working of a highly organized secretariate, a thoroughly trained bureaucracy and a well-graded hierarchy of officials to which Kālidāsa refers as existing as we shall see in due context. From a perusal of the poet's literature we are left under no delusion as to the constitutional and legal position of his sovereign. He attributes to him divine qualities and epithets and thus renders him extraordinary and distinct from the people he governed. He is never the same as the common people⁸ except in his education and the *samskāras* as a *dvija*.

The Sovereign Power and Royal Dignity

Sovereignty endowed the king with authority to rule. The king need not be advanced in age to wield power and exercise authority. Even a young king by virtue of his being the sovereign could command his position.⁹ This sovereignty inherent in the young prince, like the strong smell of the rut in a young elephant overpowering other elephants, big or small, and like the deadly poison of a young snake keeping everyone off its body, enables him to rule over his people.¹⁰ Even an unborn king, yet in the womb of his mother, ren-

¹ बभौ भूयः कुमारत्वादधिराज्यमवाप्य सः ।

रेखाभावादुपाख्यः सामग्र्यमिव चन्द्रमाः ॥ Ibid., XVII. 30, cf. अंशेन Ibid., III. 36.

² स राज्यं गुरुणा दत्तं Ibid., IV. 1, cf. III. 70, XVIII. 33.

³ राजा कालस्य कारणम् Vik., p. 93,

⁴ षष्ठ्यांशवृत्तेः Sāk., V. 4.

⁵ मनुना प्रणीतः etc. Raghu., XIV. 67, I. 17, 19, IV. 7. 13.

⁶ Ibid., I. 17.

⁷ अव्याहताज्ञा Ibid., XIX. 57.

⁸ तं वेधा विदधे नूनं महामूतसमाधिना Ibid., I. 29 अन्त्यसाधारण Ibid., VI. 38.

⁹ षड्वर्षे Ibid., XVIII. 39. अर्मेकोऽपि XVIII. 42, Vik., V. 18.

¹⁰ Vik., V. 18.

dered (by his association and touch) his mother, the queen, one of unquestioned authority (*avyābatājñā*¹) and endowed her person with much sanctity. She could be even anointed as a sovereign in virtue of her association with the potential king in her womb.²

The king moved about in great state.³ When he entered the city and proceeded on an elephant through the thoroughfares of his capital, he was accompanied with music and beat of drums.⁴ The city and its roads were decorated with banners and artificial arches to receive him.⁵ When he entered his capital men ran on both sides hailing him with the words 'Victory to the King! Here comes he!'⁶ This act is technically termed as shouting the '*ālokaśabda*,'⁷ the set formula of phrases which one must utter when approaching the king. The *ālokaśabda* thus meant the panegyric ovation of the attendants which they gave in order to cry the way when the king moved about. While the king proceeded on the highways of the capital, damsels and elderly women in coverture threw *lājā*⁸ or fried rice on him thus expressing their good wishes for him. In the meantime songs of glory of his royal house were sung⁹ and fly-whisks were waved over him,¹⁰ as a sign of regalia. The royal visit was marked by some gracious act¹¹ on the part of the sovereign for the good of his subjects. Whenever he visited a place it was inspected¹² beforehand by his officials. Whenever he wanted his words to be conveyed to somebody not present before him, he commanded the attendant with affected words, 'speak to (so and so) with *my words*'¹³ purporting that the words of the king were infallible in their desired purpose and their propriety could not be questioned. The sovereign could be approached only opportunely.¹⁴

The imperial ruler was a paramount sovereign. 'One umbrella' and one king was the idea¹⁵. He, according to the poet, ruled 'the entire world under one umbrella.'¹⁶ And the sovereign who could achieve this ideal drove 'a chariot of unchecked course (*apratiratha*) up to the end of directions.'¹⁷ The phrase *apratiratha* of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription¹⁸ of Samudra Gupta, the conquer-

¹ *Raghu.*, XIX. 57.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, IV. 15, 30, 39, XVII. 37.

⁴ *Rtu.*, II. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Raghu.*, II. 74, XI. 5, XV. 38.

⁶ जयतु जयतु देवः *Śāke.*, p. 156.

⁷ *Raghu.*, II. 9.

⁸ आचारलज्जे: *Ibid.*, II. 10, IV. 27.

⁹ यज्ञः उदगीयमानं *Ibid.*, II. 12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 43.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II. 14.

¹² प्रत्यवेक्षिता *Śāke.*, p. 198.

¹³ मध्वचनात् *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁴ अक्षसर्पणीयाः राजानः *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, II. 47, V. 23, VIII. 4; *Vik.*, III. 19.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, II. 47.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, दिगन्तविश्रान्तरथः III. 4; *Śāke.*, VII. 33, p. 258.

¹⁸ Mathūra Stone Inscription of Candragupta II, Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of

or of the Hindu world of his times, finds its repetition in the phrase *apratiratha*¹ and its echo in similar phrases *digantaviśrāntaratha*², *ānākarathavarīmanām*³ and *jayativasudhāmapratiratha*⁴, of Kālidāsa. A few of these can even be equated with the legends on the coins of the Imperial Guptas⁵.

Kālidāsa speaks ideally about the boundaries of an imperial sovereign's empire. He advocates natural boundaries and he is not fatigued by describing in unequivocal terms the glories of such a sovereign ruling a territory 'extending up to the seas⁶.' A Cakravarti governed his whole empire 'extending up to the seas like a single city with no rival power to share his authority in the administration of the entire earth⁷.' This allusion stands also as a parallel to identical phraseology in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription⁸ of Samudra Gupta and in the Māndasor Stone Inscription⁹ of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarmā. The governance of the empire like a single city by one king also conveys the idea of a single-whole kingship as against the idea of a federation and militates against the general evidence furnished on the point by the works of the poet.

Sovereign Terms

We may also consider a few terms in this connection. They are *anika*¹⁰, *śāsana*¹¹, *śāsanāṅka*¹², *nāmamudrā*¹³ and *ghoṣaṇā*¹⁴. *Anika* commonly means lap, the reach of arms, domains, an impression of a seal. *Ankāgata (sattva) vṛtti*¹⁵, used by Kālidāsa, may indirectly refer to one's sovereign rights within one's domain. *Anika* means, as said above, an impression, a sign. It was the seal of the Government. The *Raghuvamśa* at one place reads thus: 'ruling without oppression

Kumāra Gupta, Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta, etc. cf. अग्रप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः of the Eran Stone Inscription of Samudra Gupta, verse 4.

¹ *Śāk.*, VII. 33. p. 258.

² *Raghu.*, II. 47.

³ *Ibid.*, I. 5.

⁴ *Śāk.*, VII. 33.

⁵ Cf. Samudra Gupta's gold coins (Standard type); *Samaraśatavitatavijayo Jitaripura ajito divam jayati*; *ibid.*, (Aśvamedha type): *Rājādhirājah prthivivijitvā divam jayatyā brtavajunedbah*; Candra Gupta's gold coins (Chattra type): *Kṣitīmavajitya sucariṭair divam jayati Vikramādityah*; *Divam jayati* of the coins is the same as *anekarathavarīmanām* of Kālidāsa.

⁶ *Śāk.*, II. 15, III. 17; *Raghu.*, I. 15, XVI. 1, XVIII. 4, 23.

⁷ सबेलावप्रबलयां परिलीकृतसागराम् ।

अनन्यशासनामूर्वीं शशासैकपुरीमिव ॥ *Raghu.*, I. 30.

⁸ चतुर्दधिसलिलास्वादितयशसो; also in Bilsad Stone. Pillar Inscription. Bihar St. Ins. 2nd. part. Bhitari Stone. Pillar Inscription.

⁹ चतुस्समुद्रान्तविलोलमेखलां सुमेरुकैलासबृहत्पयोधराम् ।

वनान्ववान्तस्फुटपुष्पहासिनीं कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशासति ॥ 23.

Cf. also चतुर्दधिलालां स्फीतपर्यंतदेशाम् of the Junagadh Rock Ins. of Skanda Gupta, verse 3.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, II. 38.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XVII. 79; *Śāk.*, pp. 185-220.

¹² *Raghu.*, XVIII. 29.

¹³ *Śāk.*, p. 205; *Māl.*, p. 87.

¹⁴ *Śāk.*, VI. 23.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, II. 38.

over the earth which bore the mark of his command,¹ etc. We find a similar phrase in *garutmadanika* used in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta in the sense of a seal engraved with the form of a Garuḍa or eagle. It may be said likewise that orders of the emperor including those renewing the titles to govern under the paramount sovereign were imprinted officially with the mark of an imperial seal, an *anika*, as it was called. *Sāsana* means an order, an edict. This term occurs in a very important context of the *Vikramorvaśī* in which the emperor remarks that he does not think himself so much blessed with the attainment of supreme sovereignty marked by an exclusive royal umbrella, and by his *edicts* being coloured by the crest jewels of feudatory chiefs.² This passage makes it clear that the emperor used to issue *sāsanas* or 'written orders' or edicts of administration which were proclaimed about in the empire. This passage is further corroborated by another occurring in the *Sākuntala* where an actual proclamation (*iti ghusyatām*) has been made.³ A supreme ruler or emperor had several petty feudal princes—the *sāmantamauli* of the passage—under his sway. The latter paid the former tributes worthy of his state, and received in return legal sanctions from him to which they would show their respect by lifting them to their crowned heads. The rays issuing from their diadems fell upon the orders (*sāsanas*) and brightened them. This may be corroborated from other references in literature and inscriptions. These *Sāsanas*, as suggested above, might have been official renewals of the title of the feudal lords to govern their realms. The possessions of the feudatories became those of their overlord, the emperor, by conquest, but since they were reinstated in their kingdom their title might be taken to have been derived from the authority, will and pleasure of the suzerain. Such practice, it may be noted, actually obtained in the administrative system of the Imperial Guptas.

While dealing with the *Sāsanas* Kauṭilya says: "(Teachers) say that (the word) *sāsana*, command, (is applicable only to) royal writs (*sāsana*)."⁴ Like Kauṭilya, Śukra also has referred to the *Sāsanas*. He is even more prolific in this regard and his treatise, the *Sukranīti*, draws out a long list of the kinds of the writs of royal command.⁵ According to him "A *Sāsana-patra* or a document of public notice and regulations for the people is that which contains the king's own signature and date and begins in the following way: "Hear ye all, or Notice is hereby given that, etc. such and such things must be done by you, etc."⁶ He makes mention of another interesting document, that of an *ājñā-patra* or document of order, which he explains as "one by which functions are entrusted to tributary chiefs, officers or governors of districts."⁷ We have to distinguish here between the two kinds of *sāsanas* mentioned by Kālidāsa.

¹ *Raghu*, XVIII. 29.

² *Vik.*, III. 19.

³ *Sāk.*, VI. 23.

⁴ *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Ch. 10.

⁵ Ch. II.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 607-608.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 603-604.

There was the ordinary *sāsana* writ of command, referred to below, and there were those *sāsanas* which were addressed by the king to his officials. The latter were the *ajñā-patras* of the *Suśraniti*. It is one like these which has been alluded to in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*¹ in the phrase *patrabasto rājasāsanaṃ*. The *Suśraniti* lays much stress on the use of written documents as orders of the king. It enjoins: "The officer or servant is not to do anything without the king's written order. Nor should the king command anything great or small without written order."² It becomes even more insistent on the use of written order: "Both the king who commands without writing and the officer who does anything without written orders are thieves."³ It even declares: "The written document with the king's seal is the real king. *The king is not a king.*"⁴ Thus *sāsana* or *rājasāsana*⁵ was the royal writ containing the order.⁶ The *sāsanas* could never be questioned as they were issued by the sovereign authority and a king whose *sāsana* could never be challenged but was always respected has been referred to by Kālidāsa as *mahaniyāsāsanaḥ*.⁷ There were those messengers who carried to and fro these *sāsanas* as is evident from the phrase *sāsana-bāriṇā*.⁸ *Sāsanaṅka*, as shown above, was the seal of the Government which might have been utilized in imprinting an edict of the Government.

Mudrā, again, was a sign and a seal and *nāmamudrā* a seal bearing a name. *Ghoṣanā* was the proclamation of an order or information to the public on the part of the administration. We read in the *Śākuntala* Duṣyanta ordering a certain proclamation to be made.⁹ It may be remembered that Aśoka, the great Buddhist Emperor, had his edicts proclaimed to his people by means of rock and pillar inscriptions throughout his empire.

Types of States

From the works of Kālidāsa several names of States can be gathered which in treatises of polity like the *Arthasāstra* and the *Kāmandakīya Nitisāra* have been dealt with as technical political terms referring to types of States. They are the following: Rājya,¹⁰ Mahārājya, Adhirājya¹¹, Dvairājya,¹² Sāmrājya,¹³ and the Sārvabhauma or the Cakravartī¹⁴ system. But it is evident that with the single exception of the term *Dvairājya* Kālidāsa does not use them as distinct types of sovereign States. He actually confuses, may be due to poeti-

¹ p. 186.

² Ch. II, 582-83.

³ Ibid., 585-86.

⁴ Ibid., 587.

⁵ *Sāk.*, p. 186.

⁶ शासनपत्रां आज्ञां *Raghu.*, XVII. 79.

⁷ Ibid., III. 69.

⁸ Ibid., III. 68.

⁹ *Sāk.*, VI. 23.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, II. 50, IV. 1, XIV. 85, etc.

¹¹ Ibid., XVII. 30.

¹² तत्र भवत्येकसेनमाधवसेनयोर्द्वैराज्यमिदानीमवस्थापयितुकामोऽस्मि । *Māl.*, p. 100.

¹³ *Raghu.*, II. 5, IV. 5, 88.

¹⁴ *Ku.*, VII. 52, *Sāk.*, I. 11, pp. 21, 179. 242, 261.

cal and metrical exigencies, their political significance and even at times uses many of these terms as synonyms to indicate the same type of State. Thus it is not possible to accept these phrases as technically used. A reference, however, may be made to the types of *Dvairājya*, *Sāmrājya*, and *Sārvabhauma* or the *Cakravartī* types.

Dvairājya was a kingdom divided in two parts and controlled by two kings. This type was actually composed of two parts—two half-kingdoms (*ardharājya*).¹ *Dvairājya*, as established by Agnimitra, was a kingdom divided between two brother-kings and was evidently under the influence² of a more important power. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* formulates almost a definition of it: "The two kings possessing royalty divided (equally) between them, and causing no disturbance owing to mutual restraint, will abide by your command, as the two horses bearing the yoke (of a chariot, the weight of which is) equally divided, and harmless, being mutually restrained, follow the will of the charioteer."³ Thus obviously this *Dvairājya* was not a type of sovereign State and was subject to the restraint and authority exercised by a suzerain power. It may be noted that the *Arthasāstra* has discussed the constitution called *Dvairājya* in connection with the *Vairājya*. Dr. Jayaswal observes: "He (Kauṭilya) characterises the *Dvairājya*, 'the rule of two,' as a constitution of rivalry and mutual conflict leading to final destruction."⁴ It should be noticed that the *Achāranga Sūtra* also refers to this constitution and treats it as distinct from the Gaṇa Government. This 'rule of two' was neither a monarchy nor an aristocracy. It is a constitution peculiar to the history of India. Historical instances of this constitution are known to our literature and inscriptions. Avanti in some period of Hindu history was under this constitution, for the *Mahābhārata* relates that Avanti was under Vinda and Anuvinda, two kings ruling jointly.⁵ ... In the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era, Nepal was under such a constitution. Simultaneous inscriptions of the kings of the Lichchhavi family and the Thakuri family are found at Kathamandu.⁶ These are orders issued from two places in the same capital, and the dates prove that the two dynasties were ruling simultaneously.... *Prima facie* such a constitution is unthinkable and unworkable. Its working in India constitutes a unique constitutional experiment and success. The constitution in Nepal lasted for a long time."⁷ It must be, however, remembered that the *Dvairājya* of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* does not seem to refer to a sort of joint rule and responsibility. It appears to have been a kingdom divided in two, each of which was held by a king.

¹ *Māl.*, p. 100.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Māl.*, V. 14.

⁴ द्वैराज्यवैराज्ययोः द्वैराज्यमन्योन्यपक्षद्वेषानुरागाभ्यां परस्परसंघर्षेण वा विनश्यति । *Arthasāstra*. p. 323.

⁵ *Sabbāparva*, Ch. 31; Ud. p. 165, etc.

⁶ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, App. IV.

⁷ *Hindu Polity*, Part II, pp. 96-97. It may be pointed here, however, that Dr. Jayaswal's assertion that such a constitution has been peculiar to India and that it is 'unthinkable and unworkable' can be easily challenged, for we know that Rome had two Magistrates with undivided equal powers and the Government functioned smoothly.

Sāmrajya, as referred to by the poet, was evidently a vast empire composed of its federated units of feudal states governed independently by their respective rulers so far as their internal administration was concerned. The authority to govern their respective states, however, was renewed by the Samrāt, to the Sāmantas, as they were technically called.

The conduct of the vassal chiefs at an imperial court has already been referred to. *Sārvabhauma* or the *Cakravartī* state was again an imperial system like the *Sāmrajya* in which the authority of one emperor was recognized. But what Kālidāsa describes as a *Sārvabhauma* monarchy is, in fact, a combination or perhaps a compromise between the technical *Adhirājya* type of a federal character and the *Sārvabhauma* a 'unified imperialism under one king. Unless we conclude in this manner we shall be confronted with a confused description establishing nothing since the poet mentions several *kings* in the train of a *Cakravartī* sovereign ruling under one umbrella.¹

A paramount sovereign, an emperor, *Samrāj*² or *Cakravartī*,³ as he was sometimes called, moved in great state followed by his vassals and feudatory chiefs.⁴ Raghu's feet are said to have become yellow at the fingers on account of the particles of honey and the pollen dropped down from the garlands of kings.⁵ A striking parallel of this picture is presented by the Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription where it is said that a strong wind was caused to be blown by hundreds of feudatories of Skanda Gupta bowing their heads to the great Gupta Emperor in the foreground of his court.⁶ This implies that a vast number of kings prostrated themselves at the feet of their paramount sovereign at the time of their appearance or leave-taking.⁷ Naturally the emperor added to his own the sovereignty (*śrī*) of those monarchs whose territory he conquered but whom he reinstated in their kingly office. He took away their sovereignty but not their possessions⁸. Feudal chiefs accepted his behests, committed on paper, with a low bow of their heads the umbrellas of which were kept at a distance.⁹ Legally they could not keep umbrellas¹⁰ as the paramount sovereign was a one-umbrella emperor¹¹ (*ekātāpatra*) and held his authority unshared¹² by any other power in his domain. It was during the marches of this all-powerful sovereign that 'the dust raised by the vanguard of horses, effected

¹ *Raghu.*, IV. 87, IX. 13, XVII. 28.

² *Ibid.*, II. 5, IV. 5, 88.

³ *Ku.*, VII. 52; *Śāk.*, I. 11, pp. 21, 179, 242, 261.

⁴ *Raghu.*, IV. 87, VI. 33, IX. 13, 14, XIII. 66, XVII. 28; *Vik.*, III. 19.

⁵ प्रस्थानप्रणतिभिरंगुलीषु चक्रुर्मौलिस्त्रवच्युतमकरन्दरेणुगौरवम् *Raghu.*, IV. 88.

⁶ यस्योपस्थानभूमिं पतिशतशिरः पातवातावधूता
गुप्तानां वंशजस्य प्रविस्तृतयशसस्तस्य सर्वोत्तमर्द्धः ।
राज्ये शक्रोपमस्य क्षितिपशतपतेः स्कन्दगुप्तस्य शान्ते—V. 1.

⁷ प्रस्थानप्रणतिभिः—*Raghu.*, IV. 88.

⁸ श्रियं जह्वा न तु मेदिनीम् *Ibid.*, IV. 43.

⁹ दूरापवर्जितच्छत्रैस्तस्याज्ञां शासनापि ताम्—*Raghu.*, XVII. 79.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IV. 85, XVII. 79.

¹¹ एकातपत्रं जगतः प्रभुत्वम्—*Ibid.*, II. 47, XVIII. 4; *Vik.*, III. 19.

¹² अनन्यशासनामूर्ध्वम् *Raghu.*, I. 30. जगदेकनाथः V. 23.

the disappearance of the shooting rays of the crest jewels of the tributary princes' who followed him in his train.¹ He was the very-hump (*nrpatikakuda*),² as it were, of the bull whose component limbs were made up by the feudal chiefs and was technically termed as the centre or nucleus of the circle of kings (*nābbi nrpamaṇḍalasya*)³ who were the *sāmāntamanli* of the text.⁴ The attendance of the feudatory chiefs at the supreme imperial court was a marked feature of the times of Kālidāsa for it has been frequently⁵ noticed by him in his works. This was also a noted feature of the courts of the Imperial Guptas as is evident from their epigraphical records, particularly instanced in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta and the Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta. These feudatories attended the imperial court on important occasions like conquests or sacrifices, or they may have even stayed there permanently like the Rajas of the Moghal court of later times vying with one another for the imperial offices and the pleasure of the emperor.⁶

In order to give an ampler evidence it is opportune to describe here the vassal chiefs at a little length. The following is a description given by the poet of a universal sovereign and his attending crowd of tributary chieftains.

The vassal chiefs experienced both rise and set at the hands of the universal sovereign for he had a kind heart to those who did not violate his commands, but to his defiants he had a heart made of steel.⁷ The chiefs by hundreds touched (him of undaunted valour on) his feet with rays proceeding from the diamonds in their crowns brightened up by the red lustre of his toe-nails.⁸ The emperor returned from the shores of the great ocean to his capital having taken compassion on the wives of his enemies, who were then destitute of hair decorations and who had requested their ministers to join the hands of their infant sons before him as a token of their supplication.⁹ Although attained to the positions of the chief of the circle of twelve kings, that universal sovereign whose personal splendour was equal to that of fire and the moon and by the side of whose white umbrella, no other (white) umbrella could be raised on the earth, was ever vigilant thinking that the dignity of a monarch is always to conquer what still remains unconquered.¹⁰

The paramount sovereign sat under a golden canopy and was attended by chauri-bearers and bards, and tradesmen poured wealth through commerce in his empire.¹¹ He was witnessed in his supreme sovereignty marked by their

¹ Ibid., VI. 33.

² Ibid., 70, III. 70.

³ Ibid., IX. 15, XVIII. 20.

⁴ *Vik.*, III. 19.

⁵ *Raghu.*, IV. 87, VI. 33, IX. 13, 14, XIII. 66, XVII. 28; *Vik.*, III. 19.

⁶ सम्राजश्चरणयुगं प्रसादलभ्यं—*Raghu.*, IV. 88.

⁷ Ibid., IX. 9.

⁸ Ibid., 10.

⁹ Ibid., 14.

¹⁰ Ibid., IX. 15.

¹¹ विद्युल्लेखाकनकश्चिरं श्रीवितानं ममाश्रं

being only one royal umbrella, and by his edicts (*sāsanāṅka*) being coloured by the crest jewels of feudatory chiefs (*sāmanta-maulimaṇirañjita*).¹ The *sāmantas* (*sāmanta*, lit. a border prince, a petty chieftain ruling over a few villages—*kati-payagrāmapatiḥ*) ruled under the paramount sovereign. The *Sukraniti* defines a *Sāmanta* as one 'in whose kingdom without oppressing the subjects, an annual revenue from one lakh up to three lakh *Karṣas* is regularly realised.'² It further adds that even royal servants could be 'appointed equal with *Sāmantas*.'³

The feudal possessions formed units of the imperial sovereign's empire which seems to have been a feudo-federal structure. And although Kālidāsa speaks of one empire under a single emperor, the existence of a unitary type of State can obviously be doubted. In fact, the units were free in their internal administration and all that was required of the feudal lords was to acknowledge the suzerainty of the paramount power, to pay tributes to the sovereign and to get the title to rule renewed from time to time. They held their fiefs with his authority and during his pleasure. The vassals approached their suzerain to get the titles to their respective lands renewed. This is made very clear by the illustrative picture preserved in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta where his feudatories are said to have come for 'doing obeisance and obeying commands,'⁴ and for getting the title to the enjoyment of their respective lands renewed with the Imperial Gupta seal bearing the stamp of the eagle (*garuḍa*).⁵

Having conquered all, the paramount sovereign performed the *Viśvajit*⁶ sacrifice, the best of all sacrifices and worthy to be performed only by a universal sovereign. It was a kind of sacrifice in which the sacrificer had to give away as *dakṣiṇā* (guerdon) all his wealth to the officiating priests.

A universal sovereign was supposed to bear the linear marks of flags, thunderbolts and umbrellas on the palms of his hand and the soles of his feet.⁷

Digvijaya and the Aśvamedha Sacrifice

An ambitious king proceeded soon after his succession to the throne on a world-conquest (*digvijaya*)⁸ after the accomplishment of which alone the Aśvamedha or Rājāsūya sacrifice could be performed and the highest wish of an Indian monarch realized. This conquest was mostly accomplished in one of the

व्याधयन्ते निचलतरुभिर्मञ्जरी चामराणि ।

धर्मच्छदात्पटुतरगिरी बन्दिनो नीलकण्ठा

धारासारोपनयनपरा नैगमाश्चाम्बुवाहाः ॥ *Vik.*, IV. 13.

1 सामन्तमौलिमणिरंजितशासनाङ्क

मेकातपत्रमवनेर्नतथा प्रभुत्वम् । *Ibid.*, III. 19.

2 Ch., I. 365-67.

3 *Ibid.*, 377-78.

4 ० सर्वकरदानाज्ञाकरणप्रणामागमन ० *Raghu.*, XVII. 79; *Vik.*, III. 19.

5 ० आत्मनिवेदनकन्योपायनदानगरुडमदंकस्वविषयभुक्तिशासनयाचन ०—Cf. also the 1st verse of the Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta.

6 *Raghu.*, IV. 86. V. 1.

7 ते रेखाध्वजकुलिशातपत्रचिह्नं—*Ibid.*, IV., 88, VI. 18.

8 दिग्विजयया *Ibid.*, IV. 26.

two ways. Either the king waited at home for the return of the victorious heir-apparent, the appointed guard of the wandering horse let loose for the purpose of the Aśvamedha, as in the case of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*,¹ or he himself made the conquest in the manner of Raghū leading his armies in person from province to province and country to country.²

Time of Conquest

The best time for conquest³ was the autumn season when the rains had passed off and the weak princes had become uneasy dreading every moment an expedition of conquest.⁴ The autumn holds out before the conqueror peculiar facilities for carrying on a campaign and thus actuates him to undertake an expedition. The beasts of burden (the bulls especially) are in full spirits, the war elephants in their ruttish condition are eminently fitted for fighting, the rivers become fordable and the roads being dried up afford easy passage to the conqueror's troops in autumn.⁵ Kāuṭilya seems to have been the authority that Kālidāsa has followed in this respect. The *Arthaśāstra* gives a full description of the particular time in respect of particular enemies. It says that the conqueror should march during the month of Caitra (March), if he means to destroy the enemy's autumnal crops and vernal handfults.⁶

The March

Having formed a just estimate of military power, circumstances, time and others of his own as well as of his enemy, the conqueror will make an invasion on him if he thinks himself more powerful than he; otherwise he will remain silent.⁷ In case the king determined on a conquest he first made arrangements to protect and garrison the metropolis (*mūla*) and the frontier (*pratyanta*) fortresses⁸ and reassured himself of all the six kinds of support⁹ before he left his kingdom. While making arrangements for protecting the metropolis and the frontier fortresses, the king also took adequate measures to safeguard his rear¹⁰ (*śudhāpārṣṇi*). It may be noted that this idea of Kālidāsa is fully borne out by the evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* which also warns a conqueror to march against an enemy after making provisions for the defence of his rear from the enemies lying behind.¹¹ The conqueror then left his capital with a grand send-off¹² given by the ladies of the capital who threw parched rice on him. The day before the start for battle the king fasted and lay down with weapons in his

¹ p. 88.

² *Raghu*, IV.

³ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵ यात्रायै चोदयामास तं शक्तेः प्रथमं शरत् *Ibid.*, IV. 24, 22, 23.

⁶ Book. IX. Ch. I.

⁷ *Raghu*, XVII. 59.

⁸ गुप्तमूलप्रत्यन्तः *Ibid.*, IV. 26.

⁹ षड्विधं बलं *Ibid.*, cf. *Amarakośa*: मौलं भृत्यः सुहृच्छ्रेणी द्विषदाटविकं बलम् ।

¹⁰ शुद्धपार्श्वरयान्वितः *Raghu*, IV. 26.

¹¹ Bk. VII. Ch. 16.

¹² *Raghu*, IV. 27.

chariot.¹ We have an identical instruction given to the conqueror by Kautilya in the *Arthasāstra*.²

In course of the conquest the conqueror went on subjugating countries³ and raising pillars of victory.⁴ He cleared the forests⁵ and bridged the rivers with elephants.⁶ Kālidāsa gives a graphic picture of such a march which may be quoted below: That army looking for a way through the valleys of the slopes of the Vindhya mountain, being divided into many squadrons, made the mouths of the caves full of echoes like the roaring Revā. The trumpet sound of the army mingled with the noise of the marches.⁷ He uprooted his resisters vehemently,⁸ captured, released⁹ and reinstated those others who submitted to his prowess in the manner of a righteous conqueror. The frightened enemies fled to the protection of a righteous neutral lord¹⁰ of imperial power. The passage of the conqueror through the countries of his enemies was thorough and he marched through them subduing kings and uprooting those that had the daring to defy him.¹¹ The princes, thus defeated, dethroned and reinstated, were struck by the magnanimity of the victor and overcome by gratitude, came to him and prostrating themselves before him, offered him presents.¹² The march of the army was marked by stages where it stopped in tents where games and other merriments were organized.¹³ This may strike one as the march of an ancient Greek army. The countries referred to by Kālidāsa as conquered and proposed to be conquered are mainly those that lie on the border and form the natural boundaries of India.¹⁴

Kālidāsa enthusiastically praises the conquests of a righteous¹⁵ (*dharmavijayī*) conqueror. He was one who was satisfied with mere obedience and took away the sovereignty of the conquered enemy but not his land.¹⁶ The poet seems to refer in this *dharmavijayī* conqueror the just or righteous type

¹ Ibid., V. 28.

² Bk. X. Ch. 3.

³ *Raghu*, IV.

⁴ निचखान जयस्तम्भान् Ibid., 36, कीर्तिस्तम्भ Ibid., XV. 103.

⁵ विपिनानि प्रकाशानि चकार Ibid., IV. 31.

⁶ द्विरदसेतुभिः Ibid., 38, गजसेतुबन्धात् Ibid., XVI. 33.

⁷ Ibid., XVI. 31-32.

⁸ उत्खात Ibid., IV. 33. अन्म्राणां समुद्धर्त्तुं 35, उत्खाय नरसा 36.

⁹ गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य Ibid., 44 उत्खात प्रतिरोपिताः 37.

¹⁰ Ibid., XIII. 7. धर्मोत्तरं मध्यममाश्रयन्ते.

¹¹ Ibid., IV. 35.

¹² उपायनपाणिषु Ibid., IV. 79, 83.

¹³ तस्योपकारार्चितोपचाराः . . . विहारकल्पाः Ibid., V. 41, also cf. सेनानिवेशान् ibid., VII. 2.

¹⁴ Countries lying by the eastern seas, ibid., IV. 32, 34, Bengal, 36, 34, Kāliṅga, 40, Malaya-upatya, 46, Pāṇḍyas, 49, Tāmrāparṇi, 50, Malayadardura, 51, Aparānta, 53, Kerala, 54, Trikūṭa, 59, Pārasikas, 60, North, 66, Vaṅkṣū, 67, Hūṇas 68, Kāmbojas, 69, Gaurīgurum, Sailam, 71, Kīrātas, 76, Mountaineers, 77, Utsavaśaṅketas, 78, Lauhitya, 81, Prāḡjyotiṣa, 81, Kāmārūpa, 83.

¹⁵ गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य सधर्मविजयीनृपः *Raghu*, IV, 43.

¹⁶ श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् Ibid.

of the three types of invaders mentioned by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*, the rest two being the demonlike and the greedy.¹

Aśvamedha

The performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice was another way in which a world conquest was attempted. Kālidāsa has made a frequent mention of this sacrifice. The description given in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is vivid. Dowson² gives the following incidents of the preliminaries of a sacrifice.

"A horse of a particular colour was consecrated by the performance of certain ceremonies, and was then let loose to wander for a year. The king, or his representative followed the horse with an army, and when the animal entered a foreign country the ruler of that country was bound either to fight or to submit. If the liberator of the horse succeeded in obtaining or enforcing the submission of all the countries over which it passed, he returned in triumph with all the vanquished rajās in his train; but if he failed, he was disgraced, and his pretensions ridiculed. After his successful return a great festival was held, at which the horse was sacrificed."

The extract from the letter of Puṣyamitra, quoted below, gives an idea as to how the horse was escorted during his wanderings abroad:—

"The horse which was let loose by me to go about unobstructed consecrated for the Rāja (horse) sacrifice, having appointed Vasumitra, surrounded by a hundred princes, its guardian, and which was to return after one year, was seized while wandering on the southern bank of the Sindhu by a cavalry squadron of the *Yavanas*. There ensued a fierce fight between the two armies. Then Vasumitra, the mighty archer, having defeated the enemies, rescued the noble horse that was being forcibly led away.

I, then, whose horse has been brought back by my grandson, will offer the sacrifice now, like Sagara who had his horse brought back by *Aṁsumat*. You should therefore come without delay, to witness the sacrifice with my daughters-in-law and with a mind free from anger."³

The frequency⁴ of references in Kālidāsa to horse sacrifice may point out to its prevalence during his time which was indeed one of Brahmanical glory and renaissance. By it the performer achieved paramountcy over other princes. The entire extent of land which was wandered over by the unbridled⁵ horse came under the sway of its liberator if it came back to its destination and the kings who were the masters of that extent of land became his vassals.

The escorting of the sacrificial horse was by no means a mean affair. The charge of the wandering horse was a most responsible one and was entrusted only to very responsible officials of state, generally to royal kinsmen. The appointment as the guardian of a horse consecrated for sacrifice was deemed a great honour which may be inferred from the zeal with which the parents of

¹ Bk. XII. Ch. 1.

² *Classical Dictionary*: S. V. Aśvamedha.

³ *Māl.*, V. p. 102.

⁴ *Raghu.*, III. 38, 39, VI. 61, XV. 58, *Māl.*, pp. 88, 102.

⁵ निरगलत्तुरंगो *Māl* p. 102, तुरंगमुत्सृष्टमनगलं *Raghu.*, III. 39.

Vasumitra hailed the news of their son escorting the horse back home.¹ Dhārīnī, the mother of Vasumitra, welcomes the information with her thoughtful and proud observation: "To a responsible post, indeed, (*adhikāre khalu*) has my son been appointed by the General."² As a result of the happy news Agnimitra announces liberty³ to all the prisoners of the realm, and the Pratihārī is loaded with valuable presents⁴ by the ladies of the harem whom she goes to inform of the victories of Vasumitra. Such was the zeal of the king and such the honour and much coveted title, for it was mostly on the personal valour of the guardian of the horse that the fame and glory of the sacrificer depended! The Yuvarāja, who guarded the horse, was accompanied, besides his army, with the sons of his father's vassal kings⁵ and with those of his ministers.⁶

It has been said that such was the importance of this sacrifice that God Śvara Himself presided over the body of the sacrificer, who had undergone the initiative ceremony of the sacrifice, with his speech restrained, holding the antelope hide and a staff, wearing a waist-band of *Kuśa* grass and furnished with the horn of a deer, and he made it shine with matchless splendour.⁷ The nature of the *Aśvamedha* which has been referred to by Kālidāsa was absolutely political. No religious consequence or merit was expected to follow from it at least in this case. It was used by Puṣyamitra as a means to *divijaya*.

At the close of the sacrifice, the sacrificer, who was well disposed (like a friend, towards his ministers) permitted the Kṣatriya princes, the vassal kings who had come to attend the sacrifice, to return to their capital, whose sense of grief on their defeat had been mitigated by the great honours, conferred on them by him, and the ladies of whose harem were anxiously waiting for them owing to long separation.⁸

After a successful horse sacrifice the extent of the empire knew no bounds. It is to such empires that Kālidāsa refers so rhetorically in his eloquent phrases, *ekātapaṭram jagataḥ prabbutvam*,⁹ *āsamudrakṣitīśānām*,¹⁰ *velāvapravalayām parikṣhīkṛtasāgarām*,¹¹ *ananyasāsanāmurvīm*,¹² *ānākarathavartmanām*,¹³ *digantaviśrāntarathāḥ*,¹⁴ *jayati vasudhāmapratirathāḥ*,¹⁵ and the like. References discussed above are in several cases traditional. Kālidāsa has not been able, as he could not be, while

¹ *Māl.*, pp. 102-4.

² अधिकारं खलु मे पुत्रकः सेनापतिना नियुक्तः Ibid., p. 104, edited by M. R. Kale.

³ मोक्षं गत्य, यज्ञसेनशालमूरीकृत्य मोच्यन्तां सर्वे बन्धनस्थाः *Māl.*, p. 103.

⁴ पुत्रविजयनिमित्तेन परितोषितान्तः पुराणामाभरणानां मञ्जूषास्मि संवृत्ता Ibid., p. 104.

⁵ *Raghu.*, III, 38; *Māl.*, p. 102.

⁶ *Raghu.*, III, 28.

⁷ Ibid., IX, 17.

⁸ Ibid., IV, 87.

⁹ Ibid., II, 47.

¹⁰ Ibid., I, 5.

¹¹ Ibid., 30.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., I, 5.

¹⁴ Ibid., III, 4.

¹⁵ *Śak.*, VII, 33.

describing conventional history, to extricate himself from the traditional incidents of polity, but wherever his description has touched the ground of contemporary times, as it was bound to be, parallels have been brought in to reflect his own age.

MINISTERS, THE SACRETARIATE AND OFFICIALS

The king was assisted in his work of administration by a 'Council of Ministers' technically called *Amātya Pariṣat*,¹ or *Mantri-Pariṣat*.² This Council of Ministers was in fact a very ancient body. They had evolved from the Vedic *Rājakṛts*, king-makers, who later appeared as *Ratnins*.

Council of Ministers

The *Arthasāstra*³ refers to this Council of Ministers at length and the *Sukraniti*⁴ also seems to allude to such a Council in its enumeration of eight ministers and in giving the nature of their function. The *Jātakas*⁵ call the Council of Ministers *Pariṣā*. The *Mahāvastu*,⁶ and the edicts of Aśoka⁷ also know it by the same name. The poet associates this Council of Ministers with the earlier royalties, but this feature was equally true of his own age.

King and Ministers

Kālidāsa dwells upon the importance of the ministers. The entire administrative work was carried on by them. When absent from the kingdom, the king left the administration in the hands of the ministers.⁸ The king at one place⁹ informs his Minister thus: "Let your intelligence alone protect the subjects for a time." Sometimes a royal voluptuary conducted the regal affairs indispensable to the king for some years in person, and then having consigned them to the care of his ministers, had his prime solely devoted to the service of young women.¹⁰ Thus the two powers that governed a kingdom were the king's hand (*dhanuḥ*) and the ministers' head. When the former was engaged (*vyāpṛtam*) elsewhere the latter alone (*kevalā*) remained to carry on the work of administration at home.¹¹ The king has been called by the poet *sacivasakhaḥ*¹² implying that he and his ministers always acted in perfect

¹ *Māl.*, p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³ *Bk.*, I. Ch. XV.

⁴ *Ch.* II. 71-72.

⁵ *Vol.* VI. pp. 405, 431.

⁶ *Vol.*, II. pp. 419, 442.

⁷ *Rocks edicts* III and VI.

⁸ तेन धूर्जगतो गुर्वी सचिवेषु निचिक्षिपे—*Raghu*, I. 34, सचिवालम्बितधुरं IX. 69, XIX. 4; *Śāk.*, VI. 32; अमन्त्रेषु निहिदकञ्जधुरं *Vik.*, p. 87.

⁹ त्वन्मतिः केवला तावत्परिपालयतु प्रजाः *Śāk.*, VI. 32.

¹⁰ *Raghu*, XIX. 4.

¹¹ *Śāk.*, VI. 32.

¹² *Raghu*, IV. 87.

accord. He daily consulted his ministers and discussed with them the affairs of the government¹ but his confidence in them was so well placed that the secrecy of the talk was never divulged.² The king has been enjoined by all the writers on Hindu polity to act always with the advice of his ministers. Manu³, Yājñavalkya,⁴ Kātyāyana,⁵ Kauṭilya⁶ and Sukra⁷ all agree on this point. Dr. Jayaswal says: "It is remarkable that the king is not given even the power of vetoing.⁸ The *Sukraniti* says that when a trifling work is difficult to be accomplished by a single individual it is much more difficult for a king to carry on the administration of a state single-handed. Therefore even if he is an adept in all sciences and a past master in statecraft he should never act without the advice of his ministers and he must always abide by the well thought-out decisions of councillors, office-bearers, subjects and members attending a meeting and never by his own opinion. By following his own will he will become the cause of misery and will soon get estranged from his kingdom and alienated with his subjects.⁹ It further says that the king 'who does not listen to the counsels of ministers about things good and bad to him is a thief in the form of a ruler, an exploiter of the people's wealth.'¹⁰

Appointment of Ministers

Ministers were appointed mostly from the families yielding hereditary¹¹ ministers to the State, yet the merits of deserving statesmen were never disregarded and the king's discriminating choice often fell on them. Kālidāsa attests to the fact that expert statesmen were appointed to function as the ministers of State.¹² These appointments were made by the king and we have an apposite illustration in the Junagadh Rock Inscription of the concern which he felt over the appointment of a Governor (*Gopā*)¹³. It will not be out of place to quote here the views of a few Hindu political theorists referred to by Kauṭilya in the *Arthaśāstra*. We find that Kaunapadanta¹⁴ is in favour of appointing hereditary ministers, 'whose fathers and grandfathers had been ministers before.' "Such persons," he continues, "in virtue of their knowledge of past events and of an established relationship with the king, will, though offended, never desert him." Vāṭavyādhi¹⁵ opposes Kaunapadanta on the ground

¹ मंत्रः प्रतिदिनं तस्य बभूव सह मंत्रिभिः । Ibid., XVII. 50.

² स जातु सेव्यमानोऽपि गुप्तद्वारो न सूच्यते Ibid.

³ *Manusmṛti*, VII. 30-31.

⁴ *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, Bk. I. 311.

⁵ *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 14.

⁶ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. 15.

⁷ *Sukraniti*, Ch. II. 5-6.

⁸ *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 118.

⁹ *Sukraniti*, Ch. II. 1-8.

¹⁰ Ibid., 515-16.

¹¹ मौलैः *Raghu*, XII. 12. XIX. 57.

¹² मंत्रिभिः नीतिविशारदैः Ibid., VIII. 17.

¹³ Verses. 8-12.

¹⁴ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. VIII.

¹⁵ Ibid., Bk. I. Ch. VIII.

that such persons acquire complete dominion over the king and begin to play themselves as the king. "Hence," says he, "he shall employ as ministers such new persons as are proficient in the science of polity. It is such new persons who will regard the king as the real sceptre-bearer (daṇḍadhara) and dare not offend him." The son of Bāhudanti,¹ however, is of a different opinion for, he thinks, 'a man possessed only of theoretical knowledge, and having no experience of practical politics, is likely to commit serious blunders when engaged in actual work'. He advocates: "Hence he shall employ as ministers such as are born of high family and possessed of wisdom, purity of purpose, bravery and loyal feelings, inasmuch as ministerial appointments shall purely depend on qualification." This view is endorsed by Kauṭilya who says: "This is satisfactory in all respects; for a man's ability is inferred from his capacity shown in work. And in accordance with the difference in the working capacity."² The *Sukraniti*³ asserts: "Work, character and merit alone are to be respected—neither caste nor family. Neither by caste nor by family can superiority be asserted," Kālidāsa seems to take a middle course and he would favour a Council of Ministers composed both of hereditary ministers (*Maulaiḥ*)⁴ and of those perfectly skilled in polity (*nītiśāradaḥ*).⁵ It is significant that the Imperial Guptas favoured the idea of choosing ministers from hereditary families which is evidenced by the phrase *anvayaprāptasācivya* occurring in an inscription⁶ of Candra Gupta II.

Plurality of Ministers

We have several references to a plurality of ministers.⁷ The very terms 'Amātya-Parīṣat'⁸ and 'Mantri-Parīṣat'⁹ warrant its existence. The poet at a place says 'this another'¹⁰ (*ayam aparāḥ*) signifying more ministers than one. Besides several heads of departments, whose functions will be noticed in due context, Kālidāsa alludes to the offices of at least three ministers, viz., the Chief Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Finance, Law and Justice. These along with the Yuvarāja and possibly others, not mentioned by the poet, perhaps constituted the Council of Ministers.

Working of the Ministry

The important matters of the State were decided by a whole Council of ministers and the results of the deliberations communicated by the Chief Minister to the King in the following manner which may serve for a type: "The minister begs to submit—We have resolved (*avadhāritam*) how matters in connection with

¹ Ibid.

² *Aṛiṣaṣṭra*, Bk. I. Ch. VIII.

³ Ch. II. 111-112

⁴ *Raghu*, XII. 12, XIX. 57.

⁵ Ibid., VIII. 17.

⁶ Udaigiri Cava Inscription of Candra Gupta II. V.

⁷ सचिवेषु *Raghu*, I. 34, IC. 49, मौलैः XII. 12, मंत्रिभिः VIII. 17, मंत्रिवृद्धान् XIII. 71, वृद्धैरमात्यै XIII. 66, अमात्यैः XVIII. 36, अमात्यैः Ibid., 53, XIX. 4, 7, 52, 54, 57; *Vik.*, p. 87.

⁸ *Māl.*, p. 100 *Vik.*, V.

⁹ *Māl.*, p. 101.

¹⁰ Ibid., I.

Vidarbha are to be settled; we just wish to know your Majesty's opinion."¹ The singular number used for the reporting Minister refers evidently to the Chief Minister of State who seems to have done all negotiations between the Council of Ministers and the King, but the policy of the State, it appears, was decided by the deliberations of a full cabinet. The decisions arrived at by the Council of Ministers were submitted to the King for his confirmation since it is evident from the above reference that merely the opinion of the King was sought of him when the course of action had already been determined by the Council of Ministers as a whole (*vidarbhaḡatamanuṣṭheyaṡavadhāritamaṣmābhiḡ*, i.e., we have determined as to what is to be done in connection with Vidarbha). It may also be noted that the opinion of the King has been sought by a single minister as it would appear from the use of the singular number—*amātye vijñāpayati*—but the course of action has been determined by the full Council of Ministers, who have already given their individual opinion. The *Sukranīti*² emphasizes the fact that the individual ministers and the king must give their opinion separately without knowing that of one another so that the opinion thus obtained must not be influenced and an independent conference may be possible. Manu makes the king consult the ministers first separately and then all of them together, i.e., in Council.³ This view has been fully endorsed by the *Arthaśāstra*.⁴ It must be noted that in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* the Minister does not disclose to the King the details of the course of action in connection with Vidarbha already determined, but he only seeks to know his opinion on that point as required by the Council which he represents. It cannot be characterized as a request for the verdict of the king on the proposal of ministers for of that he is absolutely ignorant. His opinion (*abhipretam*) alone is sought of him. And when he has given his opinion on the point at issue the Chamberlain goes away to inform the Council of Ministers (through the Chief Minister) of the King's opinion which incidentally turns out to be identical⁵ with that already held by the Council. The point becomes quite clear when we read the following expression⁶ of the Chamberlain: "My Lord, the Minister respectfully says—"Happy is your Majesty's idea; such is the view (*darśanam*) of the ministers also." The use of the term *darśanam* is remarkable as it means actually a resolution considered by a body and passed by it. The above discussion shows beyond doubt that the Council of Ministers almost attested their approval to the opinion of the king and thus proved a check on the arbitrariness of the latter. In this regard Kālidāsa is even more guarded than the author of the *Sukranīti* inasmuch as he deprives the king of a

¹ अमात्यो विज्ञापयति । विदर्भगतमनुष्ठेयमवधारितमस्माभिः । देवस्य तावदभिप्रेतं श्रोतुमिच्छामिति । *Māl.*, V. p. 103, edited by M. R. Kale.

² Ch. I. 732-33. It says: "The king should receive in written form the opinions of each separately with all his arguments, compare them with his own opinion and then do what is accepted by the many."

³ तेषां स्वं स्वमभिप्रायमुपलभ्य पृथक् पृथक् ।

समस्तानां च कार्येषु विदध्यद्वितमात्मनः ॥ VII. 57.

⁴ तानेकैकशः प्रच्छेत् समस्ताश्च । p. 8.

⁵ *Māl.*, p. 103, edited by M. R. Kale.

⁶ देव, अमात्यो विज्ञापयति । कल्याणी देवस्य बुद्धिः । मन्त्रिपरिषदोऽप्येतदेव दर्शनम् । *Ibid.*

previous knowledge of the resolve of the Ministers before he has given his opinion while the *Sukranīti* makes them submit their individual opinion to him.¹ The working of the Council of Ministers has been amply shown above by the illustration from the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Here it may not be out of place to further elucidate the point with the evidence of the *Sukranīti* which also contains this sort of procedure. It says that on a document passing for execution "the Mantri, Chief Justice, learned adviser as well as the ambassador should write. 'This document has been written with my consent.' The Amātya should write 'well written is this,' the Sumantra then should write 'well considered.' The Pradhāna should write 'true.' The Pratinidhi is to write 'It can now be approved.' The Crown Prince should write 'It should be accepted.' And the Priest is to write 'approved.' They should put down their seals over it at the end of the writing. And the king is to write and sign 'accepted.'"² As observed above, the description of the activities of the Ministers as given by the poet was undoubtedly to some extent conventional in character, but the details which he sometimes gives are by no means traditional and may in a general way reflect diplomatic activities of his own times.

Besides the charge of the administration in the absence of the king and determining important courses of action of the state in the presence of the king the Council of Ministers discharged certain additional functions.

Various Duties of the Ministry

On the occasion of the coronation ceremony it was the ministerial assembly that made preparations for the consecration of the prospective king under the orders of the retiring ruler.³ It was they who invested the new king with the royal insignia⁴ and with the powers of a full-fledged sovereign. It was they again who called Bharata to power on the demise of king Daśaratha when Rāma was away and the throne of Kosala lay vacant and the subjects had been rendered kingless.⁵ In case of the absence of a male heir to the throne a pregnant queen obtained the royal authority with the help of the ministers who instantly invoked a gathering of chief citizens (*Prakṛtimukhyāḥ*) from among the subjects.⁶ At the coronation of a sovereign, it may be observed, the people were represented through the prominent men of the populace.⁷ It is significant that in this connection Kālidāsa refers to the *Pauras* and *Janapadas* which have been so ably shown by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in his chapters regarding these in the *Hindu Polity*⁸ to have been political bodies representing respectively the urban and rural population. Kālidāsa does not refer to the representation of the Pauras and Janapadas at every accession because he does not describe the consecration of each king, but wherever he des-

¹ Ch. I. 332-333.

² Ch. II. 731-740.

³ *Vik.*, p. 136; *Raghu.*, VIII. 1-4.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XVII. 27

⁵ *Ibid.*, XII. 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XIX. 55.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XII. 3, XIX. 55, II. 74, XV. 102, XVI. 9, 37.

⁸ XXVII and XXVIII. cf. *Raghu.*, XII. 3, XIX. 55, II. 75, XV. 102, XVI. 9, XVI. 37.

cribes the coronation he, in most cases, does refer to the Pauras and the Prakṛtimukhyas as well. Besides, he has to consider also the poetical and metrical exigencies. The fact that the Prakṛtimukhyas were summoned to witness a coronation may point to their legal status as a determining element in the succession of a king and they may in consequence, have proved an additional brake along with the Council of Ministers on the self-willed designs of the sovereign. It is noteworthy that with the approval of the representatives of the people and the ministers, the queen, bearing the foetus, was consecrated, and then alone she could sit on the golden throne and govern the kingdom with her 'command never disputed.'¹ Another allusion points in the same direction: "The group of ministers of that king who had gone to heaven saw the deplorable condition of the subjects without their master and unanimously made him who was the solitary fibre of the family, the king according to rule."²

When a king died, describes Kālidāsa, it was the duty of the ministers to see that no chaos and anarchy worked out the destruction of the State in the period of transition when power was to be transferred to the heir-apparent.³ The fear of anarchy was indeed rendered strong in case of a voluptuous ruler who had retired in order to serve well the ends of his libidinous desires, leaving the cares of the State to his ministers,⁴ and who had eventually lost the confidence of his people; and this was so when the death of such a king occurred leaving behind him no male heir but only his enceinte queen. Then, as in the case of Agnivarna, the ministers with the family priest consigned him secretly to fire in the palace garden, thus evading the public eye, under the pretext of a ceremony averting evil produced by disease.⁵ This point is duly supported by the *Arthasāstra* which says: "The minister shall thus avert the calamities in which the king is involved; long before the apprehended death of the king, he shall, in concert with his friend and followers, allow visitors to the king once in a month or two (and avoid their visits on other occasions) under the plea that the king is engaged in performing such rites as are calculated to avert national calamities, or are destructive of enemies, or capable of prolonging life or of procuring a son;"⁶ "or having gradually placed the burden of administration on the shoulders of the heir-apparent, the minister may announce the death of the king to the public."⁷

That the meetings of the Council of Ministers were not presided over by the king and their deliberations were not guided and controlled by him are facts evident from the message sent to him by the Chief Minister as we have discussed above, mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. In this regard Kālidāsa is borne out by many writers on Hindu polity. The *Sūkanṭhi* provides the Council

¹ मौलैः सार्धं स्थविरसचिवैर्हर्मसिंहासनस्था

राज्ञी राज्यं विधिवदशिषद्भुर्तुव्याहताज्ञा ॥ *Raghu.*, XIX. 57.

² *Ibid.*, XVIII. 36.

³ *Ibid.*, XIX. 52, 54.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XIX. 54.

⁶ *Bk.*, V. Ch. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*

with its own President (Pradhāna).¹ The *Arthasāstra* is not quite clear although it may be implied from Bk. I. Ch. 15 that the king attended the meeting of the Council. Epigraphical records come to Kālidāsa's help. Aśoka says in one of his Rock Edicts² that if any of his orders is shelved by his Council of Ministers (Paṛiṣā) after discussion he should be at once apprised of it. This could be done only if he had not a seat in the Council.

The above discussion would make it evidently clear that the ministers and the representatives of the people were essentially democratic elements and proved a considerable check on the arbitrariness of their sovereign. But here we must guard ourselves against accepting the position as described by Kālidāsa for the evidence is mostly of a traditional and idealistic nature, and we cannot accept that during the strong Gupta rule such a check by the ministers could have been actually possible. Agnivarṇa's may be cited as a case in point. We have no reference as to what would have been the course of action on the part of the king or that of his ministers if perchance they had differed in their opinions and a possible deadlock had ensued. The *Sūkanṭhi* comes to our help and it says that the king was *akṣama* in such a case.³ It makes Pratinidhi, one of the ministers forming the Council, 'press upon the king the business which must be done whether favourable or unfavourable.'⁴ He is not the representative of the king and Prof. Binoy Kumar Sarkar is quite off the mark when he translates Pratinidhi as the 'Viceroy.'⁵ "If the king fears their control then alone the ministers can be called good."⁶

Status and Designation of Ministers

The status of a minister was considerably high to which due regard was paid by the king. When Agnimitra orders his Minister to inform Virasena to march against the king of Vidarbha he makes use of a Pronoun like *bhavān*⁷ for him which indicates distinct honour. It is the same term as one used by the king of Vidarbha in his letter to Agnimitra.⁸ In the *Sākuntala*⁹ the King addresses his Minister with so dignified a phrase as Ārya, noble. 'Bhavān' and 'ārya' are terms seldom used for others than the ministers and the Purohita, who, as we shall see, besides being the king's preceptor, was also a member of the Cabinet. The king did not disregard the advice of his ministers even in his extreme wrath. Agnivarṇa, however, is an exception here also. When Agnimitra, highly enraged with the impudence and impertinence of the King of Vidarbha, orders his Minister to send biddings to the army corps under the command of Virasena for his extermination, he stops suddenly and enquires of his Minister if he thinks otherwise.¹⁰

¹ Ch. II. 150-155.

² I. A., 1913, p. 242.

³ *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 139.

⁴ *Sūkanṭhi*, Ch. II. 168.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 150-155. Translation.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁷ अथवा किं भवान्मन्यते । *Māl.*, p. 11.

⁸ *Māl.*, p. 11.

⁹ *Sāk.*, p. 198.

¹⁰ (*Vide* above, No. 2) *Māl.*, p. 11.

The latter, however, does not hold a contrary view and declares withal, quoting a political authority,¹ that an enemy who has but recently occupied a kingdom, is very easy to extirpate, owing to his not having taken roots in the hearts of his subjects, like a tree infirm on account of its being lately planted.² Thus the ministers while enjoying highly important share and wielding considerable authority and power in the government were treated with remarkable deference by the king.

Kālidāsa uses the terms *Mantri*, *Amātya* and *Saciva* as synonyms and in a general sense.³ Manu⁴ calls Chief Minister *Amātya*, while the *Arthasāstra*⁵ and the *Sukranīti*⁶ call him *Mantrin*. Kālidāsa does not make any such distinction.

Members of the Council of Ministers

We shall now proceed to discuss the possible members of the Council of Ministers on the strength of our scanty evidence on the point. We have already seen that the heir-apparent, Yuvarāja, held an office and was a functionary of the State who divided,⁷ as it were, the sovereignty of his father between the latter and himself. Kautilya makes him one of the members of the Council of Ministers and places him fourth after the Chief Minister.⁸ Kālidāsa does not give the number of the Council of Ministers but he names the officials who in treatises of Hindu polity have been referred to as members of the Council of Ministers and therefore we shall try to equate these particular officers with those thus named.

Chief Minister

The Minister, who reported to the King in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*⁹ of the resolve of the Council of Ministers on the issue of Vidarbha and who was further entrusted with the secret custody of the opinion of the King, must have been a privileged minister to whom the opinions of both the Council of Ministers and the King were confided. It was he who first learnt of the coincidence or difference of opinions of the King and his Council. He seems, therefore, to have been something like a Chief Minister of State. The *Arthasāstra* calls him simply *Mantrin*¹⁰ and gives his position as the first among the ministers.¹¹ Manu recommends a Brahmin for this post and advises the king to depend entirely on him and leave the execution of all resolutions to him.¹² Manu, however, calls him *Amātya*¹³ and not *Mantrin*. In him, he says, is vested the entire *daṇḍa* i.e., administration.¹⁴ In the *Divyāvadāna*,¹⁵ Rādhagupta, the Chief Minister, is styled *Amātya*.

¹ शास्त्रदृष्टमाह देव: Ibid., तन्त्रकारवचनम् Ibid.

² Ibid., I. 8.

³ Cf. *Raghu*, I. 34, VIII. 17, IX. 49, XII. 12, XIII. 66, 71, XVIII. 36, 53, XIX. 4, 7, 52, 54, 57; *Vik.*, p. 87, etc.

⁴ *Manusmṛti*, VII. 65.

⁵ Bk. V. Ch. II.

⁶ Ch. II. 168-73.

⁷ विभक्ता *Vik.*, V. 22.

⁸ *Arthasāstra*, Bk. V. Ch. 2.

⁹ Edited by M. R. Kale, p. 103.

¹⁰ *Arthasāstra*, Bk. V. Ch. 2.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² *Manusmṛti*, VII. 58-59, XII. 100.

¹³ Ibid., VII. 65.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ *Aśokāvadāna*.

Minister for Foreign Affairs

We read of a minister in charge of political correspondence who received political presents, letters and embassies from feudatory princes and other friendly or inimical foreign powers as is evident from the announcement of the Chamberlain in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V: "Your Majesty, the Minister begs to say—'Two girls skilled in arts, out of the presents sent from the Vidarbha country, were not sent to your Majesty as they were thought not to be in good trim of body owing to the fatigue of the journey. Now they have become fit to be received in audience by your Majesty. Your Majesty, therefore, will be pleased to give the order with respect to them.'"¹ This minister was thus analogous to a Foreign Minister of modern times. He used to send a report of the articles received in present from foreign powers to the king for the latter's orders as regards their disposal. He also negotiated political treaties at the command of the king and the Council of Ministers.² He may have held a portfolio similar to the *Sandhivigrahika* of the Gupta epigraphical records.³

Minister for Revenue and Law and Justice

Kālidāsa refers to a minister holding the charge of the two portfolios of Revenue and Law and Justice.⁴ Koṣa⁵ has been generally associated with the king and it is possible that the king was his own Finance Minister. It may be noted that Manu, whom Kālidāsa refers frequently, makes finance the control of the king.⁶ Otherwise the Minister Piśuna of the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* must be taken to have added to his two portfolios of Revenue and Law and Justice that of Finance as well. We have a reference to this minister as sitting in court and disposing cases.⁷ It is even possible that there were two ministers of Revenue and Law and Justice, one for each, and the confusion may be set right by admitting that each minister reported to the king cases arising out of his own department; and the particular case, referred to in the *Śākuntala*, although it may have involved high and intricate principles of Law and Justice, was probably, nevertheless, one pertaining to revenue law, and as such, was treated by the Revenue Minister. The Minister for Revenue was in charge of all the revenue administration. He received, counted and treasured all revenues⁸ and reported all cases arising out of the Finance Department to the king. The report was made by him by means of a document.⁹ The Minister for Law and Justice sat with the king

¹ *Māl.*, p. 94.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11, *ibid.*, 94.

³ Allahabad Pillar Inscription: the closing lines; Udaigiri Cave Inscription of Candragupta II, verse 3.

⁴ अर्थजातस्य गणनाबहुलतयैवमेव पौरकार्यमवेक्षितम् । तदेवः पत्रारूढं प्रत्यक्षीकरोत्विति । . . समुद्र-व्यवहारी . . . *Śāk.*, p. 219. Cf. मद्रचनादमात्यमार्येपिशुनं ब्रूहि । . . पौरकार्यं *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁵ *Raghu.*, V. I. 29, XVII. 60, 81.

⁶ नृपतौ कोशराष्ट्रे च *Manusmṛti*, VII. 65.

⁷ *Māl.*, pp. 198, 219.

⁸ अर्थजातस्य गणना बहुलतया *Māl.*, p. 219.

⁹ पत्रारूढं *Ibid.*, p. 219. पत्रमारोप्य *Ibid.*, p. 198.

when the latter heard cases in his seat of justice¹ (*vyavahārāsana*), and prepared a report of the cases thus disposed of. The *Sukranīti* says that the king on no account must act singly in judicial matters and he must "hear with the ministers the petitions and appeals of the people."² Kālidāsa here is closely keeping to the tradition. When the king was too indisposed to sit in the open court the Minister for Justice received petitions from the citizens and sent in the papers to be examined by the king in his seraglio having himself looked into them first. This has been graphically described by Kālidāsa as an incident of common practice as can be inferred from the following utterance of the King: "Speak to Minister Piśuna with my words thus—Owing to having kept awake for long, it was not possible for us to occupy the judgment seat to-day. Whatever business of the citizens may have been looked into by his honour should be handed over, after being put on record³."

We shall deal with Law and Justice and Revenue (or Finance) separately as two distinct departments for the sake of clarity.

Purodha

The priest or Purohita,⁴ who appears everywhere in the writings of Kālidāsa in connection with every State function, must have been associated with the administration. He plays the most important part in the consecration of the king. The king's attitude towards Purohita and preceptor is one of utmost reverence. Although Kālidāsa does not specifically refer to him to be a member of the Council of Ministers it may be conjectured with justice that he was one, for "he is very likely included in the 'seven or eight' Ministers of Manu⁵," and Kautilya names him next after the Chief Minister.⁶ It may be noted that Kālidāsa reverently follows directly or indirectly the two authorities named above. The evidence of the *Sākuntala*⁷ clearly shows that the Purohita, whose advice the King readily accepts, sits with the King in the Court and advises him. The *Apastamba*⁸ and the *Jātaka*s⁹ expect him to be an adept in the laws of the scriptures as well as in those of polity. Of him the *Arthaśāstra* observes: "Him whose family and character are highly spoken of, who is well educated in the Vedas, and the six Aṅgas, is skilful in reading portents, providential or accidental, is well versed in the science of government, and who is obedient, and who can prevent calamities, providential or human, by performing such expiatory rites as are prescribed in the *Atharvaveda*, the king shall employ as high priest. As a student his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master, the king shall follow

¹ मद्रचनान्ता . . ब्रूहि । चिरप्रबोधनाच्च सम्भावितमस्माभिरद्य धर्मासनमध्यासितुम् । यत्प्रत्यवेक्षितं पौरकार्य-
मार्येण तत्पत्रमारोप्यदीयतामिति Ibid., p. 198.

² Ch. I. 660.

³ *Māl.*, p. 198 (quoted *ante*).

⁴ पुरोहितपुरोगाः *Raghu.*, XVII. 13, पुरोधसा *ibid.*, XIX. 54.

⁵ Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 126.

⁶ *Arthaśāstra*. Bk. V. Ch. 2.

⁷ *Sāk.*, V.

⁸ *Dharmasūtra*. II. 5, 10, 13-14.

⁹ Vol. I. p. 437, II. p. 30.

him.¹ The *Sukranīti* is even more exacting in this regard. It says regarding the appointment of a Purodhā: "One who is versed in mantras and rituals, master of the three sciences, skilful at work, conqueror of the senses, subduer of anger, devoid of greed and passions, equipped with a knowledge of six Aṅgas (*Vedāṅgas*) and of the science of archery with all its branches, one who knows the moral as well as religious interests, one fearing whose anger even the king takes to virtuous ways of life, one who is well up in *Nītisāstra* and master of military implements and tactics is the Priest."² Such was the importance of this minister.

It is possible that the Commander-in-Chief, *Senāpati*,³ to whom the poet has referred, was a member of the Council of Ministers but of that we are not sure as there is no direct evidence in Kālidāsa bearing on the point. There is rather an evidence to the contrary. When the Vidiśā cabinet decides to send a regiment against the king of Vidarbha, *Senāpati* Virasena is on the front and an order has had to be sent to him.⁴ This may be regarded rather an adverse evidence. *Sukranīti*,⁵ actually passes him over. Kauṭilya,⁶ however, mentions him third after the Chief Minister.

Kālidāsa does not give a specific number of ministers forming the Council of Ministers and in this respect he follows Kauṭilya⁷ who would not have any rigid number, as against Manu⁸ who would have seven or eight of them. It may be noted here that Bṛhaspati⁹ advocated sixteen members, the Mānavas¹⁰ twelve, Uśanas¹¹ twenty to form the Council of Ministers. The *Mahābhārata*¹² makes the Council a pretty large body by giving it thirty-seven members chosen on the basis of caste representation.

Secretariat and the Imperial Departments

The government was technically known by the term *Lokatantra*¹³ and its administration was carried on by means of a highly organized secretariat comprising of several departments run under distinct heads. Kālidāsa makes a general reference to the *Tīrthas* or heads of departments in the following expression: "In this way employing the fourfold administration of government necessary to a king in its due order, as far as the eighteen *tīrthas*, he obtained its fruit."¹⁴ The term *tīrthas* has been fully explained before and its sense in-

¹ Bk. I. Ch. IX.

² Ch. II. 156-160.

³ *Sāk.*, pp. 63, ff.; *Māl.*, p. 11.

⁴ *Māl.*, p. 11.

⁵ I. 71-72.

⁶ *Arthasāstra*, Bk. V. Ch. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Bk. I. Ch. 15.

⁸ Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 126.

⁹ *Arthasāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. 15.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Kumb. ed. *Śānti*, Ch. 85, 7-11.

¹³ *Sāk.*, p. 154.

¹⁴ *Raghu*, XVII. 68.

dicating the eighteen heads of departments established. Kālidāsa while referring to this term does not specifically name the departments, and their heads, which may be given here from other sources.

The eighteen *tīrthas*, according to Caturdhara, a commentator on the *Mahābhārata*, are the following : "Minister, Priest, Yuvarāja or the Heir-apparent, King, Dvārāpāla or the Lord Mayor of the palace, the Lord Chamberlain, the officer in charge of Prisons, the Collector of Revenue, the Director of Royal Orders, Praveṣṭā, the Lord Mayor of the City, the officer drawing out the scheme of business, the officer in charge of Religion, the President of the House (Sabhādhyakṣa), the officer in charge of the maintenance of the Army, the officer in charge of the Home Defences the officer in charge of the frontiers of the Nation and the officer in charge of the Forests.¹

As shown below this list is mostly based on that furnished by Kauṭilya. A comparison with the following list of the *tīrthas* given by Kauṭilya will make it plain that the above list is based on it with only a few exceptions. Kauṭilya² mentions the following eighteen *tīrthas*:

1. Mantrin
2. Purohita
3. Senāpati
4. Yuvarāja
5. Dauvārika or the Lord Mayor of the Palace
6. Antarvaṁśika or the Lord Chamberlain
7. Praśāstṛ or the Minister of Prisons
8. Samāhartṛ or the Minister of Revenue
9. Sannidhātṛ or the Minister of Treasury
10. Pradeṣṭṛ
11. Nāyaka or the Generalissimo
12. Paura or the Governor of the Capital
13. Vyavahārika or the Chief Justice
14. Karmāntika or the Officer in charge of Mines and Manufactories
15. Mantri-Pariṣat-Adhyakṣa or the President of the Council
16. Daṇḍapāla or the Officer in charge of the Maintenance of the Army

¹ मंत्रीपुरोहितश्चैव युवराजश्चभूपतिः ।
पंचमो द्वारपालश्च षष्ठोऽन्तर्वंशिकस्तथा ॥
कारागाराधिकारी च द्रव्यसंचयकृत्तथा ।
कृत्याकृत्येषु चार्थानां नवमो विनियोजकः ॥
प्रवेष्टानगराध्यक्षः कार्यनिर्माणकृत्तथा ।
धर्माध्यक्षः सभाध्यक्षो दण्डपालस्त्रिपंचमः ॥
षोडशो दुर्गपालश्च तथा राष्ट्रान्तेपालकः ।
अटवीपालकान्तानि तीर्थान्यष्टादशैवतु ॥

² *Raghuvamśa* edited by G. R. Nandargikar, note on the above.

² *Arthasāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. 12.

17. Durgapāla or the Officer in charge of Home Defences

18. Antapāla or the Officer in charge of Frontiers.¹

While commenting on the term *tīrtha* the commentator Cāritravardhana quotes Kauṭilya.²

Kālidāsa does not refer to all of these eighteen heads of the departments but more than half of the list of the *Arthaśāstra*, quoted above, is covered by even specific references by the poet. He names the following of the list, namely, (1) Mantrin (the Chief Minister discussed above), (2) Purohita, (3) Senāpati, (4) Yuvarāja, (5) Dauvārika,³ (6) Antarvaṁśika (the Kañcuki of Kālidāsa who, in the Sanskrit plays, serves as Mahāpratihāra or the Lord Chamberlain), (7) Samāhartṛ (the Minister for Revenue and Treasury discussed above), (8) Paura (the Nāgarika of Kālidāsa), (9) Vyavahārika (the Minister for Law and Justice discussed above) and (10) Antapāla.⁴

A reference to the Council of Ministers has already been made in the foregoing pages, now the functions of other officials, high and low, may be mentioned. Besides those discussed above, the poet names the following high officials: Antapāla,⁵ Kañcuki,⁶ Nāgarika,⁷ Rāṣṭriya,⁸ Dharmādhyakṣa,⁹ Dūta¹⁰ and other important royal officers.¹¹ Of the lesser importance Kālidāsa mentions the following: bards¹² and heralds,¹³ scribes,¹⁴ draftsmen and writers (lekhaka), *Daivacintakāḥ*,¹⁵ bearers of royal writs,¹⁶ *Pratyavekṣakāḥ*,¹⁷ guards of the treasury¹⁸ and the harem,¹⁹ spies,²⁰ drivers of chariots²¹ and elephants,²² gate-

¹ The English equivalents of the terms have been given as translated by Jayaswal in his *Hindu Polity*, Part II, pp. 133-34.

² मंत्रिपुरोहितसेनापतिराजदौवारिकान्तर्वासिकप्रसास्तृसमाहन्तृसन्निधातृपार्षदाध्यापकदण्डकारकदुर्गपालास्तीर्थमिति कौटिल्यः। Quoted in the *Raghuvamśa* edited by N. G. Nandargikar, notes on Tīrtha XVII. 68.

³ *Śāk.*, p. 62.

⁴ *Māl.*, p. 10, अन्तपालदुर्ग Ibid., p. 9.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ *Śāk.*, p. 154; *Vik.*, p. 3.

⁷ *Śāk.*, p. 182.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 193-194.

⁹ राज्ञा धर्माधिकारे नियुक्तः Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁰ *Māl.*, pp. 88-89; *Raghu.*, V. 39.

¹¹ *Śāk.*, p. 49, अधिकारपुरुषाः *Raghu.*, V. 63.

¹² *Raghu.*, IV. 6, V. 65, 75, VI. 8.

¹³ वैतालिकाः *Śāk.*, p. 157; *Māl.*, p. 32, II. 12, *Vik.*, 1, 2.

¹⁴ *Māl.*, p. 88.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 71.

¹⁶ शासनहारिणा *Raghu.*, III. 68.

¹⁷ *Śāk.*, p. 198.

¹⁸ कोषगृहे नियुक्ताः *Raghu.*, V. 29.

¹⁹ अवरोधरक्षः Ibid., VII. 19.

²⁰ प्रणिधि Ibid., XVII. 48; *Ku.*, III. 6, 17; अपसर्पेः *Raghu.*, XVII. 51.

²¹ यन्तार, सारथि, etc. *Raghu.*, I. 54, 74. III. 37.

²² अघोरण Ibid., V. 48.

keepers,¹ stewards,² Kirātī³ and Yavanī.⁴

Antapāla was the officer-in-charge of the defences who protected the frontiers of the empire. There were frontier forts,⁵ garrisoned and well manned,⁶ which were under the direct control of the *Antapāla*. Virasena was such an *Antapāla* posted to guard the southern frontiers⁷ of Agnimitra's possessions. *Kaṇṇuki* of the plays is the same as the Pratihāra or Mahāpratihāra of the Gupta administration and the Antarvaṁśika of the *Arthaśāstra*. He was the Lord Chamberlain, an aged personality, held in high honour by the king and addressed with considerable deference and familiarity⁸ by him. He was the head of the entire establishment of the royal harem and had the whole force of the palace guards and the female Greeks under him. For the symbol of his authority he carried a golden staff (हेमवेत्र).⁹ This officer was confided with all the important secrets of the state for he acted as an announcer of opinions on both sides, i.e., the Council of Ministers as well as the king.¹⁰ *Pratīhārī*,¹¹ the female counterpart of the Gupta Pratihāra, evidently worked under him and dealt directly with the ladies of the royal seraglio. She also, like the *Kaṇṇuki*, carried a staff, but of cane.¹² *Nāgarika*, the *Nāgaraka*¹³ of the *Arthaśāstra*, was the Lord Mayor of the Capital and in charge of the city police. He watched the night offenders of the city and brought them to book. Kauṭilya says that "Like the Collector General, the officer in charge of the capital city (*nāgaraka*) shall look to the affairs of the capital."¹⁴ *Rāṣṭriya* was appointed to guard the peace of the kingdom (*rāṣṭra*). But from the context in which it is used it can be safely inferred that *Rāṣṭriya* was a synonym of *Nāgarika*.

Dharmādhikārī had the charge of the department of religion. It is evidenced by the speech of such an officer: "I, that person who is appointed by the king, the descendent of Puru, to (perform) the duty of (the superintendent of) religion, have arrived at this sacred grove to ascertain (if your) rites are free from obstacles."¹⁵ Thus we see that there was actually a department of the state to look after the ascetics in the forests and an officer was put in charge of it. It is to be noted that this department had long been inaugurated by the piety-loving Aśoka, the great Buddhist Mauryan emperor, who had appointed

¹ द्वारस्थाः *Ku.*, VI. 48.

² कुशलं विरचितानुकूलवेशः *Raghu.*, V. 76.

³ *Ibid.*, XVI. 57.

⁴ *Śāk.*, pp. 57, 224.

⁵ *Māl.*, p. 9; *Raghu.*, IV. 26.

⁶ *Raghu.*, IV. 26.

⁷ वीरसेनोनामं स भर्त्रा नर्मदातीरेऽन्तपालदुर्गे स्थापितः । *Māl.*, p. 9.

⁸ Vide *Śakuntala* and *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

⁹ *Ku.*, III. 41.

¹⁰ *Māl.*, p. 101.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, VI. 20, 26, 82.

¹² वेत्रग्रहणे *Ibid.*, VI. 26, वेत्रभृदा *Ibid.*, 82.

¹³ Bk. II. Ch. XXXVI.

¹⁴ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II. Ch. XXXVI.

¹⁵ यः पौरवेण राज्ञा धर्माधिकारे नियुक्तः सोऽहमविघ्नक्रियोपलम्भाय धर्मारण्यमिदमायातः । *Śāk.*, p. 40.

a set of officers called *Dharmamahāmātras*¹ whose duty it was to look after the promotion of religion preached by him through his edicts. The department appears to have endured till the time of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa mentions both the Purohita or Purodhā and Dharmādhikārī which shows that these were two distinct officers. We have already shown above that the Purohita was a high dignity of State and probably a member of the Council of Ministers. It is possible that the Dharmādhikārī, as a head of one of the eighteen tīrthas, worked under the guidance of the Purohita. It may be noted that both Caturdhara, a commentator on the *Mahābhārata* quoted above, and Govindarāja, a commentator on the *Rāmāyaṇa*,² mention Dharmādhyakṣa as one of the eighteen heads of departments. Kālidāsa clearly refers to the same. "...The place of the Purohita was taken," observes Dr. A. S. Altekar, "in our (Rāshtrakūṭa) period by an officer whose business it was to exercise general superintendence over religion and morality. *Paṇḍita*, the minister of morality and religion in the *Sukranīti*, seems to embody the tradition of the *Dharmamahāmātyas* of Aśoka, *Samana-mahāmātas* of the Andhras,³ and the *Vindhyasthitisthāpakas*⁴ of the Guptas. The tradition was continued in the north by the Chedis, one of whose records mentions *Dharma-pradhāna* in addition to *Mahāpurohita*.⁵ The office existed under the early Rāshtrakūṭa ruler Nannarāja in 708 A.D.⁶ and the officer bore the significant title of *Dharmānīkuṣa*. It is not unlikely that the descendants of Nannarāja may have continued the office when they rose to the Imperial position in the Deccan. One may be reasonably certain that at least under kings like Amoghavarsha I and Amoghavarsha III, who were more interested in matters spiritual than temporal, the office must have been revived, if it had been allowed to lapse under their predecessors." It may be remarked that both Dr. Jayaswal⁷ and Dr. Altekar seem to overlook the fact that the *Sukranīti* refers twice⁸ to a distinct department, of the religious establishments and the supervisor of charities, and puts *Dharmādhikārī* in charge of it. It is interesting to note that Kālidāsa uses the same term for this officer and entrusts him with the same functions as the *Sukranīti*. It seems that like Cedis, following an earlier tradition, Kālidāsa gives both the offices—of the Purohita as well as of the Dharmādhikārī. It was natural for his king to have the assistance of these two officers for he has been often enthusiastically styled by the poet as *Varnāśramānām rakṣitā Varnāśramarakṣaṇe jāgarūkaḥ*, *Stbiterabhettā*, *Niyantub* and the like.

Dūta was an ambassador of the State who was sent to foreign powers to negotiate treaties and alliances and to estimate by his superior intelligence and

¹ Pillar Edicts No. VII, Rock Edicts No. XII.

² II. 100, 36.

³ Nasik Inscriptions, E. I., VIII. p. 9

⁴ A seal of this officer was discovered at Vaisali by Bloach; R. A. S., 1903-4, p. 109.

⁵ Kumbhi Plates of Vijayasimha, J. A. S. B., XXXI, p. 116.

⁶ Malai Plates, I. A. XVIII., p. 230.

⁷ *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 169-70.

⁸ *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 135.

⁹ Ch. II. 240-41, Ibid., 327-28.

opportunity the state of the foe. May be, the numerous spies of the State who acted as so many eyes¹ to the king worked under Dūta. An official of this designation is the Minister of Diplomacy in both the *Manusmṛiti*² and the *Sukranīti*,³ but the poet does not mean any such implication in the reference. Besides the above enumerated officers there were other important 'officers of State' (*Rājapurūṣas*), who by their various services rendered the machinery of the government efficient. They held various offices and were entrusted with important duties that enabled them to be termed as *adhikārapurūṣas*.⁴ It is possible that the *Pratyavekṣakas* belonged to this class of officers whose duty it was to examine the place first which was to be later visited by the king and to see if some danger was not lurking there. They were thus the watchers of the safety of the king. Then there were the *Sāsanabhāriṇaḥ*,⁵ the bearers of the royal writs, who ran to and fro with the written commands of the king and the Heads of the various Departments of the State and thus contributed to a swift execution of affairs of the government. They have been mentioned also by the *Sukranīti*.⁶

There were further the lower officers who may now be mentioned. Bards, variously termed as *bandināḥ*,⁷ *bandiputrāḥ*,⁸ and *sūtāmājāḥ*,⁹ were more for pomp and dignity of the king than for actual business of State. Their business it was to sing the glories of the royal house on important occasions and in the morning and evening and to act as paraphernalia¹⁰ of the sovereign. They were also a noted feature of the Gupta times.¹¹ Heralds or *Vaitālikas* were necessary attendants of the king. Their duty was to announce the hours of the day as also perhaps of the night to the king, whose days and nights were divided in several periods assigned to different purposes in which he was expected to attend the State business. Thus the heralds reminded the king of the hours of the day and night and consequently of the respective duties allotted to be performed by him during those hours. *Lekhaka* was the scribe, writer and draftsman of the State. It was one of this class of officials who read to Agnimitra the letter sent by Vīrasena from Vidarbha to his sister, the queen of Agnimitra. *Daivacintakāḥ* were the soothesayers and fortune-tellers who were attached to the royal court. Besides these, there were several other petty officers, public servants and royal employees like the guards of the treasury and the harem, spies, drivers of chariots and elephants, gatekeepers, stewards, *Kīrātis* and *Yavanis*. *Rakṣināḥ*¹² were the city-guards and constables who led

¹ *Raghu*, XVII. 48.

² VII. 65-66.

³ Ch. II. 87.

⁴ *Raghu*, V. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 68.

⁶ Ch. II.

⁷ *Raghu*, IV. 6, VI. 8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, V. 75.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁰ *Vik.*, IV. 13.

¹¹ वन्दकजने Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Śkanda Gupta, verse 7.

¹² *Śāk.*, p. 182.

criminals to the courts of justice. They worked under¹ the Nāgarika and might have served as the day pickets and the night guards of the city. *Kirātīs* and *Yavanīs* were officers of the royal harem and acted as the keepers and bearers of the king's personal arms.² They were constant companions of the king at home and abroad. They acted even as body-guards and surrounded the king when he went out ahunting³ and for other sports.⁴ It was customary with ancient Indian kings to employ Yavana females as their attendants, particularly as the bearers of their arms. By the term Yavana are to be understood the Greeks or Ionians. The *Arthaśāstra* also enjoins upon a king to be surrounded by women at the time of hunting or at that of leaving the bed in the auspicious hours of the morning.⁵ The reference to Yavanīs is important inasmuch as we find in the writings of Megasthenes that when the king went out of his palace his palanquin was always surrounded by women bearing bows and arrows.⁶

Working of the Secretariat

The working of the secretariat was considerably advanced. All important cases were put on paper and submitted to the king for his perusal and orders of which perhaps a record was also kept in the imperial offices of the state after having imprinted them with the imperial seal. The existence of such a seal has been frequently warranted by Kālidāsa as we have seen before. The term used for the seal is *aṅka* the impression of a symbolic sign, and *Śāsanāṅka*, the seal of authority which was imprinted on the royal writs.

A quick despatch of business appears to have been a marked feature of the working of the secretariat. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* tells us that when Agnimitra received the information that his opinion on the issue of Vidarbha had been confirmed by the Council of Ministers, he ordered the Council to send a despatch to general Vīrasena, who had accomplished the conquest of Vidarbha, to act in the manner ordered.⁷ Vīrasena was the officer in charge of those parts of the Narmadā valley as also the field-marshal who could well execute the orders received from home on the point of the sword, if necessary. Too much consultation was considered injurious to the observance of secrecy⁸ about the matter.

Some Political Documents.

Here we may also add that the poet has left references to records⁹ and

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 224.

³ Ibid., p. 57.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XVI. 57.

⁵ Bk., I. Ch. 21.

⁶ *E. H. I.*, pp. 129-30.

⁷ पूर्वकल्पितसमुन्मूलनाय वीरसेनमुखं दण्डचक्रमाज्ञापय । *Māl.*, p. 11.

⁸ *Raghu.*, XVII. 50.

⁹ पत्रारूढं *Śāk.*, p. 219.

political documents¹ and letters² enclosed within envelopes³ (*Prābhṛtaka*). Four very condensed political documents are mentioned by Kālidāsa and they may be quoted in full to give an instance of political letters and other official documents. The first of them, addressed by Puṣyamitra, is as follows:—

“My blessings to you. Puṣyamitra, the General, having affectionately embraced his son, Agnimitra, of long life, writes from the sacrificial enclosure as follows: The horse which was let loose to go about unobstructed by me, consecrated for the Rājasūya, having appointed Vasumitra, surrounded by a hundred rājaputras (princes), its guardian, and which was to return after one year, was seized while wandering on the southern bank of the Sindhu by a cavalry squadron of the Yavanas. Then there was a fierce fight between the two armies.

Then Vasumitra, the mighty archer, having defeated the enemies, rescued my noble horse that was being forcibly led away.

I, then, whose horse has been brought back by my grandson, will offer the sacrifice now, like Sagara who had his horse brought by Amśumat. You should, therefore, come without delay, to witness the sacrifice with my daughters-in-law and with a pure mind⁴.”

This is a letter from Emperor Puṣyamitra to his son Agnimitra and it is one of the very few letters preserved in the Sanskrit literature. It is a remarkable document of the imperial secretariat which may sufficiently prove the existence of a high order of political transaction. This document is painstakingly precise. There is not a single word of useless import and not a phrase that can be removed from its context or can be improved upon. Its contents are thoroughly of a political nature except for some opening indispensable phrases of etiquette and affection. From the perfect political bearing of the draft one would hazard the suggestion that Kālidāsa actually copied it from an earlier document which was yet preserved in the secretariat of the imperial court⁵, to which perhaps he was attached.

The following is again a letter received by Agnimitra from the king of Vidarbha which registers a high water-mark of statecraft and political correspondence. The terms of stipulation are put forth in a very clear, positive and precise language.

“The illustrious one (i.e. Agnimitra) wrote to me, ‘Your cousin, prince Mādhavasena, who had promised to enter into a matrimonial alliance with me, was while coming to me, on the way attacked by your frontier guard and taken prisoner. He with his wife and sister, should be ordered to be set free by you out of regard for me.’ Now you know full well that such is the course of action of kings with respect to relatives of equal descent; therefore the honoured one should assume a neutral position in this matter; as for the prince’s sister she disappeared in the confusion of the capture: I will do my utmost to find her.

¹ Ibid., *Māl.*, pp. 88, 102.

² पत्रहस्ता *Śāle.*, p. 218, पत्रिका Ibid., p. 219; लेखं *Māl.*, p. 88.

³ सप्ताभृतं लेखं *Māl.*, p. 101, प्रभृतको लेखः Ibid., Cf. लेखं उद्घाटयति (opens) *ibid.*

⁴ *Māl.*, p. 102.

⁵ Cf. The Ayodhya Inscription of Puṣyamitra.

Now if your Majesty wishes that Mādhavasena should necessarily be caused to be set at liberty, please mark the terms:

“If the revered one will set my brother-in-law, the Mauryan minister, whom he has imprisoned, free, then I will immediately release Mādhavasena from confinement¹.”

The third is a document sent up to the king for his orders in which a revenue case has been reported by the Minister for Revenue. It runs as follows:—

“A leading merchant, named Dhanamitra, carrying on business by sea, died in a shipwreck. And childless, they say, is the poor man. His store of wealth goes to the king².”

This was the manner in which cases were reported to the king. The case with the decision thereon was put on paper (record), which was then sent to the king for his perusal and final order. The document in question is an excellent specimen of political organization of the business of the secretariat.

Lastly, there is on record another document sent up to the king by the Minister for Foreign Affairs which is a resume of all the presents received from a foreign power. Agnimitra listens to this document, received from General Virasena, being read to him by royal clerks (scribes³). It runs as below:—

“The Vidarbha king has been subjugated by the king’s victorious army commanded by Virasena and his relation, Mādhavasena, released from captivity; the ambassador, sent by him to the king with a present of very costly jewels and vehicles and a body of servants consisting mostly of accomplished girls, will see his Majesty tomorrow⁴.”

The functions of the Ministers and the Heads of Departments and of other officials, high and low, having been described, now a detailed reference to certain of the departments may be made.

¹ *Māl.*, I 7, and *ante* of *ibid.*

² समुद्रव्यवहारी सार्थवाहो घनमित्रो नाम नौव्यसने विपन्नः । अनपत्यश्च किल तपस्वी । राजगामी तस्यार्थसंचय इति । *Śāk.*, p. 219.

³ मंगलगृहे आसनस्था भूत्वा विदर्भविषयाद्भ्रात्रा वीरसेनेन प्रेषितं लेखं लेखकैर्वाच्यमानं शृणोति । *Māl.*, p. 88.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF DEPARTMENTS

Capital

The Capital, (*rājadhānī*), otherwise known as *mūla*¹, was the seat of the government and was governed directly under the eye of the king. "The king", says the *Sukranīti*, "living in the capital city should discharge his daily duties²." Here the royal court of justice³ was held every day where the hardworking sovereign despatched the business of the citizens⁴ of his kingdom.

The grandeur of the imperial court was rendered remarkable by the attendance of numerous dependant ruling chiefs. The courts wore an appearance of the Mughal durbār where the feudatories vied with one another for the favour of the emperor.⁵

The existence of the Council of Ministers at the capital would show that the heads of the various departments had probably their headquarters there.

When the king left the capital he caused it to be protected by suitable garrisons⁶. The capital, which served as the type for cities in general, was protected by a strong wall called *prākāra*⁷, *vapravalaya*⁸ and *pariveṣṭana*⁹ the gates of which were closed with huge doors from within by means of strong bolts¹⁰ (*argalā*). These ramparts of the city were encircled by a broad and deep ditch¹¹ (*parikṣhā*). The *Arthaśāstra*¹² and the *Sukranīti*¹³ both give a detailed description of the site, shape, and building, etc. of a capital. The latter observes with respect to a capital that it is "to have the beautiful shape of a half-moon or a circle, or a square, is to be surrounded by walls and ditches."¹⁴ The ramparts and the ditch must have proved great barriers against the efforts of an invading army in those days of strife when a fortress was considered a safe retreat¹⁵. The entire city

¹ *Raghu.*, IV. 26.

² Ch. I. 550. Cf. *Ibid.*, 434- "Having built (such a capital), the king, well protected, should live there with his subjects."

³ *Raghu.*, VIII. 18; *Śāk.*, p. 198.

⁴ *Raghu.*, VIII. 18; *Śāk.*, p. 219.

⁵ सम्राजश्चरणयुगलं प्रसादलभ्यं *Raghu.*, VI. 88.

⁶ समुत्तमूलप्रत्यन्तं *Ibid.*, IV. 26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XII. 71.

⁸ स वेलावप्रवलयां परिक्लीकृतसागराम् । *Ibid.*, I. 30.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XI. 52.

¹⁰ पुरार्गला *Ibid.*, XVIII. 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XII. 66; परिष *Śāk.*, II. 15.

¹² Bk. II. Chs. III and IV.

¹³ Ch. I.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 429-30.

¹⁵ दुर्गाणि दुर्ग्रहाण्यासन् *Raghu.*, XVII. 52.

(*nagara*) was under the protection of a *Nāgarika* as we have seen above. The administration of the metropolis¹ may serve as a model of the administration prevailing in other cities. There were numerous other towns² and rich coastal cities as may be inferred from the existence of extensive commerce by sea. We shall discuss this in due context.

Palace

The palace was a huge establishment with inner apartments³ and outskirts⁴. Palaces were variously named as *Vimānaparicchanda*⁵, *Mañiharmya*⁶, *Devacchandaka*⁷. There were several chambers in a palace. One of them was a fire chamber⁸, with an elevated verandah. It was here that the king retired everyday to admit the physicians and ascetics⁹ or to receive other kindred advents¹⁰. It was a chamber where the domestic sacred fire was kept ever kindled and the sacrificial cow waited. It was in consequence of its sacred character that the chamber was otherwise known as an auspicious room¹¹ (*maṅgala grha*). "Having seated himself in the room", says the *Arthaśāstra*¹², "where the sacred fire has been kept, he shall attend to the business of physicians and ascetics practising austerities; and that in company with his high priest and teacher after primary salutation (to the petitioners)." Thus the evidence of Kālidāsa has been corroborated by the *Arthaśāstra*. The inner apartments and outskirts of the palace as referred to by the poet have been fully described by the *Mānasāra*¹³, which refers to them by the terms *antaḥ-śālā* and *bahiḥ-śālā*.

The palace had a pleasure garden attached to it which was called *pramada-vana*¹⁴. It was so laid out and arranged that the ladies of the palace could walk about in it without being disturbed by strangers. The *Mānasāra* refers to it and locates it by the main gate of the palace¹⁵. A part of the palace garden was utilized for zoological purposes where wild animals and tamed apes¹⁶ were kept. It may be noted that the *Mānasāra*¹⁷ also has an identical idea with regard to the

¹ Ibid., II. 70, V. 40, XIV. 10, XVI. 22, 24, 38.

² प्राज्योतिष Ibid., IV. 81, माहिष्मती VI. 43. कुण्डिनपुर VII. 33, अयोध्या XIV. 29, XVI. 11-22 or साकेत XVIII. 36; विदिशा *Māl.*, pp. 89, 97, etc.

³ अवरोधगृहेषु Sak., V. 3.

⁴ अविरलजनसंपाते देवच्छन्दकप्रासाद आदृष्ट्य *Vik.*, p. 26. जनाकीर्णे Ibid., The court of justice was located thus in the outskirts of the royal palace.

⁵ M. U., 6.

⁶ *Vik.*, pp. 64, 65.

⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

⁸ अग्निशरणमार्गमादेशय *Śāk.*, p. 156; वसंश्चतुर्थोऽग्निरिवाग्न्यागारे *Raghu.*, V. 25.

⁹ *Śāk.*, p. 156.

¹⁰ *Māl.*, p. 88.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² अग्न्यागारतः कार्यपश्येद्देवतपस्विनाम् Bk., I. C. 19.

¹³ P. K. Acharya: *Indian Architecture*, p. 58.

¹⁴ *Vik.*, II. Raṅganātha quotes 'स्यादेतदेव प्रमदवनमन्तः पुरोचितं' इति त्रिकण्ठी.

¹⁵ P. K. Acharya: *Indian Architecture*, p. 58.

¹⁶ कुमारीः वसुलक्ष्मीः कन्दुकमनुधावन्ती पिङ्गलवानरेण *Māl.*, p. 85.

¹⁷ P. K. Acharya: *Indian Architecture*, p. 58.

keeping of tamed monkeys along with other animals within royal enclosures. A prison was also located in the palace as we read it in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*¹. It may be noted that the *Mānasāra*² also mentions the wisdom of building a prison in the palace and locates it in a 'rather out of the way place, such as the Brisha or the Antariksha part.' This is almost identical with the description given in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*³. A complete detail of building the palace is given in the *Sukraniti*⁴.

The harem lay within a secluded part of the palace and was protected by a well-organized body of guards known as *avarodharakṣakas*⁵. Like the later harems of the Mughal monarchs the royal seraglio was guarded by female officers who were mostly foreign stalwart Greeks (*Yavanī*.) These female guards were directly under the *Pratibhārakṣī*⁶ or the lady-keeper of the royal harem. *Pratibhārakṣī* or *Pratibhārī*⁷ as the feminine counterpart of the *Pratibhāra* of the Gupta administration. She bore a cane staff⁸ which was the symbol of her authority. She worked evidently under the *Kaṇṇuki*, the Lord Chamberlain, the *Antarvamsika* of the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Pratibhāra* of the Guptas. While giving a detailed description of the harem the *Arthaśāstra* says: "Eighty men and fifty women under the guise of fathers and mothers, and aged persons, and eunuchs shall not only ascertain purity and impurity in the life of the inmates of the harem, but also so regulate the affairs as to be conducive to the happiness of the king⁹." The *Sukraniti* also advocates the use of eunuchs in the royal harem. It observes: "Those who are sexless, who are truthful, sweet-tongued, come of respectable families and are of beautiful forms should be appointed in the inner apartments¹⁰." Kālidāsa does not make a specific reference to the appointment of eunuchs but it is very much probable that they were included among the class of guards styled by him as the *Avarodharakṣakas*¹¹.

The whole establishment of the palace was placed under the charge of the above mentioned *Kaṇṇuki*, who was picked up from among the honest servants of the king for the responsibility of his office required him to be upright and stern. His entrance in the plays is generally marked by his thoughtful observations on old age decrepitude; and the serene dignity which age imparts to his mien adds to the impression he makes on the reader. He was a strong man, he informs us, when he was first appointed to his office, perhaps middle-aged. But the older he grew the more qualified he became for his office and that is why he was not let off even in his old age as is clear from the verse he utters: "Every householder

¹ पातालवासं निगलपद्यावदुष्ट *Māl.*, pp. 64, 79.

² P. K. Acharya: *Indian Architecture*, p. 58.

³ पातालवासं *Māl.*, p. 64.

⁴ Ch. I. 435-54.

⁵ *Raghu.*, VII. 19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI. 20.

⁷ *Śāk.*, *Māl.*; *Raghu.*, VI. 20, 26, 82.

⁸ वेत्रप्रहणे *Raghu.*, VI. 26, वेत्रमृदा 82.

⁹ Bk., I. Ch. 20.

¹⁰ Ch. II. 371-72.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, VII. 19.

in early age, strives to obtain wealth; and when his burden (of the cares of his family) is taken off by his sons, he can enjoy rest; but our old age, daily wasting the body, is locked up in servitude. Alas! hard is the duty of serving in the harem¹." As it will be evident from the above quotation the Chamberlain was also entrusted with the care and service of the ladies. His office in this respect seems to have been analogous to that of the *Antarvamsika* of the *Arthasāstra*² and the *Striyadhyakṣa-Mahāmātra* of the Aśokan edict³. He was the head of the palace establishment in token of which he carried a golden staff⁴ (*hemavetra*, golden cane).

*Dauvārika*⁵ we have already discussed above. He is enumerated, as we have seen elsewhere, in Kauṭilya's list as 'the Lord Mayor of the Palace'⁶, one of the eighteen heads of departments of State. We are not sure if he was independent of the *Kaṇṇuki*. But being mostly in charge of the great gates of the palace, and controlling the entrance and exit of the palace, as his designation suggests, he could not be independent or even coordinate in authority with the Chamberlain. He was evidently subordinate to him in office. The context shows that he was certainly a much lesser officer than his predecessor and prototype of the *Arthasāstra*, although his importance cannot be underrated, since it was under his supervision, watch and vigilance, that the gates of the palace closed and opened and business passed within and without through them. Life-like standing figures of a *Dauvārika*, cut in high relief in stone, in the doorway, bearing a staff, may be witnessed among the exhibits of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Muttra. *Dauvārika*⁷, his female counterpart in office, served in the royal harem, in the manner of the Pratihāra who assisted the *kaṇṇuki* in the harem in the discharge of his duties.

Police

The Chief police officer of the town seems to have been the *Nāgarika* who was connected with the work of the police within the precincts of the city. *Nāgarika*, the *Nāgaraka* of the *Arthasāstra*, was perhaps like the *Koṣṭapāla* of later times, the head of the establishment of the guards of the city. We find this official in the *Sākuntala* leading⁸ a criminal to the Court of Justice with the help of his guards (*rakṣiṇab*). In the *Vikramorvaśi* also he is connected with the city administration. There again he is entrusted with the work of police by the king who commands him to 'hunt after the winged offender (a bird which had flown away with a gold chain of the king) when at eve' it goes to its resting place.⁹ There the term *Nāgarika* has been used in the plural number to

¹ *Vik.*, III. 1.

² *Bk.*, V. Ch. II.

³ Rock Edict No. XII.

⁴ *Ku.*, III. 41.

⁵ *Sāk.*, p. 62.

⁶ *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 133.

⁷ *Raghu.*, VI. 59.

⁸ *Sāk.*, pp. 182-186.

⁹ *Vik.*, p. 124 मद्रचनादुच्यन्तां नागरिकाः सायं निवासवृक्षाग्रे विचीयतां विहगाधमः । Cf. *Sāk.*, V.

नागरिकवृक्षा संज्ञापयैनाम् also सुष्ठु आर्यं नागरिकः खल्वसि ।

denote the whole establishment of the city administration. The reference by the king to the Nāgarika of the *Vikramorvaśī* suggests an officer of a higher grade than one who is referred to in the *Sākuntala*. This latter strikes one as a petty officer, perhaps placed immediately over the guards.

The guards who follow the Nāgarika of the *Sākuntala* are a typical set of constables much similar in mind and action to the modern policeman. The hands of one of them itch to fasten the flowers of death to the head of an alleged criminal.¹ But when the same is acquitted with rewards one of them eyes the money 'with envy'² and remarks cunningly with words pregnant with meaning that the Nāgarika has well served the fisherman. The latter in his turn offers half of his reward to them 'for the price of flowers'³ which is considered very legitimate and proper⁴ by one of them, and on which the Nāgarika himself remarks: "Fisherman, great as you are, you have now, become my dear friend. With liquor as its witness our first friendship is desired. So let us go to the liquor-seller's shop itself."⁵ From the passage quoted above it becomes evident that the integrity of the police was not high. Tips, though not bribes, were not only freely accepted but even courted by the police who were moreover addicted to the habit of drinking.

But, nevertheless, one fact must be borne in mind, and it is that the constables were very stern in their treatment with the fisherman, the supposed criminal, before a verdict of the court had been passed against him, so much so that they had been threatening him with a capital punishment. They did not accept bribe to the detriment of the aims of justice. The money accepted from the fisherman is not a bribe as it is received out of a reward money only when a verdict of not guilty has been passed, and not as a conditional stipulation before the hearing of the case. The ends of justice could not have suffered on account of such tips for they came to the Nāgarika as a result of the liberated fisherman's pleasure rather than as that of his embarrassment.

Law and Justice

The king's schooling in the scriptures as well as treatises on polity gave him a thorough knowledge of law with the help of which he was expected to administer justice. The punishment of the criminals 'in proportion to their crimes'⁶ required of the king a sharp grasp of the judicial laws⁷ which alone could give him an idea of the legal remedies in proportion to crimes. The king was the protector (*Goptā*) of his people and he applied law to the ends of justice. He was not the fountain of law but only its administrator as we find no refer-

¹ प्रस्फुरतो मम हस्तावस्य वधार्थं सुमनसः पितृदुम् *Śāk.*, p. 185.

² असूयया पश्यति *Ibid.*, p. 186.

³ सुमनो मूल्यं *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁴ एतावद्भुज्यते *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁵ धीवर, महत्तरस्त्वं प्रियवयस्क इदानीं मे संवृतः । कादम्बरीसखित्वमस्माकं प्रथमशोभितमिष्यते । तच्छौण्डिकापणमेव गच्छामः । *Ibid.*

⁶ यथापराधदण्डानाम् *Raghu.*, I. 6.

⁷ शास्त्रेष्वकुण्ठिताबुद्धिः *Ibid.*, 19.

ence in the writings of Kālidāsa to the king being in any way connected with the making of law. Laws already existed before the king ascended his throne and in his coronation oath he promised to follow them. The coronation oath as embodied in the *Mahābhārata* reads: "Whatever law there is here and whatever is dictated by ethics and whatever is not opposed to politics I will act according to, unhesitatingly. And I will never be arbitrary."¹ The *Sukraniti* enjoins upon the king to decide law suits according to the *Dharmaśāstra*.² He could not rise over the all-powerful Common Law of the Hindus. Besides the *Dharmaśāstras* and the treatises on polity there existed already the rājadharmā taught in the Rājānuśāsanaparva of the *Mahābhārata*. We find a reference even in the *Jatakas*³ to laws for kings inscribed on gold tablets. The king being the watchman of the *Varṇāśramadharmā* of the social orders, was required to be wakeful to look to the proper career of the people as prescribed by the *Varṇāśrama* laws. He was to see that these laws were well observed and not transgressed, that like the chariot driven by an expert charioteer people did not leave the righteous path even so much as the breadth of a line and kept close to the line of conduct enjoined upon them by the *śāstras*.⁴ The king, as chastiser of the wicked, was like Varuṇa, the God armed with the noose who also discharged a similar function.⁵

The art of government (*daṇḍanīti*) was the very science of punishment (*daṇḍanīti*). The penal law, therefore, was the very essence of administration. Criminals were to be chastised and brought to justice for the very existence of the State.⁶ The system of punishment was a thorough and positive code of law in which punishment was graded according to the gravity of the offence.⁷ The king governed his people with a mind free from passion and intoxication of power (*rajoriktamanab*).⁸ The effect of the *rajoguṇa* in a king is traceable in his whimsical, arrogant and vain, reckless and improper conduct. He was to act devoid of bias. The *Sukraniti* likewise observes that the king should look after law suits (*vyavahāras*) by freeing himself from danger and greed according to the dictates of the *Dharmaśāstras*.⁹ Holding the power of punishment in his hands, the king restrained (*niyamayasi*) those who had started on the illegal path (*vimārgaprasthitānām*), settled disputes (*prasaṁmayasi vivādam*) and thus contributed to protection. It was thought that apparent friends were generally made when riches abounded but in the king was consummated the duty of an

¹ यश्चात्रधर्मो नियुक्तो दण्डनीतिव्यपाश्चर्यः ।

तमशङ्कः करिष्यामि स्ववशो न कदाचन ॥ Śānti Parva, (Cal.) LIX. 107; Kumbakonum, LVIII, 116.

² Ch. IV. Sec. V. 9-11.

³ Vol. V. p. 125.

⁴ *Raghu*, I. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 9.

⁶ स्थित्यै दण्डयतो दण्डचान् *Ibid.*, I. 25. नियमनदसतां IX. 6; अपराधीशासनीयः *Vik.*, p. 123.

⁷ यथापराधदण्ड *Raghu*, I. 6.

⁸ राज्यं रजोरिक्तमनाः शाशास *Ibid.*, XIV. 85. Also cf *Śāk.*, VI. 23.

⁹ Ch. IV. Sec. V. 9-11.

ever affectionate relative for the people.¹ The king sat in his Court of Justice along with his Minister for Law and Justice² and others as is evident from the word *asmābhiḥ* used in plural. The *Sukranīti* enjoins: "The king must never singly try the cases of two parties or hear their statements. Neither the wise king nor the councillors are ever to try in secret."³ It further says: "He should hear with the ministers the petitions and appeals of the people."⁴ The *Arthaśāstra* has a similar injunction for its king: "Accompanied by persons proficient in the three sciences (*trividyā*) but not alone...."⁵ To this the *Sukranīti* adds that he should hear law suits attentively in company of the Chief Justice, Amātya, Brāhmaṇa and the Priest.⁶

The Court of Justice was situated in the outskirts of the palace⁷ where the king sat at the proper time (*kāle*) marked out by the śāstra and looked into the business of the citizens.⁸ It may be noted, as quoted elsewhere, that according to the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Daśakumāracarita*, the day of the king was divided into eight periods of which the second was assigned to the hearing of cases in appeals. The king sat in the seat of justice for a critical understanding of the nature of the business of the people⁹ and to give his decision thereon. He himself looked with great vigilance into those intricate cases of plaintiffs and defendants, which, owing to their doubtful nature, necessarily demanded a careful scrutiny.¹⁰

The seat of justice was variously known as *Vyavahārāsana*,¹¹ *Dharmāsana*¹² and *Kāryāsana*. The term *vyavahārāsana* denotes the real capacity of the king as a dispenser of legal justice adjudicating on the points of law. *Vyavahāra* means law. "*Vyavahāra*," explains the *Sukranīti*, "is that which by discriminating the good from the evil, ministers to the virtues of both the people and the king and furthers their interests."¹³ It refers to the king sitting in his judicial capacity in business hours closing about the forenoon.¹⁴ *Dharmāsana* signifies the righteous nature (*dharmakārya*)¹⁵ of the work of justice and *Kāryāsana* indicates an untiring zeal and work in the cause of justice. The law courts were much frequented and the phrases *aviralajanasampāta*¹⁶ and *janākīrṇam*¹⁷ strikingly sug-

¹ *Śāk.*, V. 8.

² मन्त्रचनात् etc., *ibid.*, p. 198, quoted *ante*.

³ Ch. IV. Sec. V. 12-13.

⁴ Ch. I. 166.

⁵ Bk., I. Ch. XIX.

⁶ Ch. IV. Sec. V. 9-11.

⁷ *Vik.*, p. 26.

⁸ स पौरकार्याणि समीक्ष्य काले *Raghu.*, XIV. 24.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XVII. 39, प्रकृतीमवेक्षितुं व्यवहारासनमाददे *Ibid.*, VIII. 18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XVII. 39.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, VIII. 18.

¹² *Vik.*, pp. 26, 30; *Śāk.*, pp. 154, 198.

¹³ Ch. IV. Sec. V. 7-8.

¹⁴ *Śāk.*, p. 154, V. 4, 5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁶ *Vik.*, p. 26.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

gest the scene presented by a modern court of law where the tide of the litigant people was ever swelling.

Criminal Law

Kālidāsa refers to a rather severe code of penal law. According to the criminal code as evidenced in the writings of the poet the offence of theft was punishable with death.¹ The fisherman of the *Śākuntala* was accused of theft alone, although of royal jewel, and yet he was considered doomed to destruction by means of either a stake, dogs or vultures.² The capital punishment for theft is much in keeping with the Code of Manu³ where a similar punishment for theft has been laid down. The same was the case in England down to the eighteenth century. The *Arthaśāstra* also directs capital punishment for simply entering a goldsmith's workshop.⁴ The death sentence was executed by impaling⁵ the condemned person and then throwing the remains of his body to be devoured by vultures⁶ or dogs.⁷ Before the execution it was customary to decorate the doomed criminal with flowers.⁸ Murder was legally punishable with death.⁹ Before execution, orders or royal writs¹⁰ were necessary to be issued and passed to the proper authorities conducting the execution.

From the above record it would appear that the penal code was severe and legal penalties of criminal breaches of law were harsh. From a scene in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* it may be inferred that even women offenders could be put in fetters.¹¹ Despite the severity of the criminal law thieves¹² (*pātaccara*) and burglars¹³ (*gaṇḍabbedakāḥ*) and waylayers were not unknown and the poet's assertion that theft, not being in practice was to be found in books alone,¹⁴ is sadly exposed to criticism unless it be supposed to refer to an ancient regime, which it does. A verse¹⁵ in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* warrants the existence of waylayers who used to waylay even armed merchants with their superior forces. "There appeared a host of waylayers," says the narration, "bow in hand and shouting, whose chests were covered with the quiver-straps, who wore plumes of peacocks' feathers that hung down to their ears and who were irresistible

¹ यमसदनं प्रविश्य प्रतिनिवृत्तः *Śāk.*, p. 186. वधार्थं 185 आत्मनोवधमर्हता *Vik.*, V. 1.

² शूलादवतार्य *Śāk.*, p. 187 गृध्रबलिर्भविष्यति शूनोमुखं वा द्रक्ष्यसि *Ibid.*, p. 186.

³ *Manusmṛti*, VIII.

⁴ Bk., II. Ch. 13.

⁵ शूलादवतार्य *Śāk.*, p. 187.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ वधार्थं सुमनसः पिनदुम् *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁹ इत्थं गते गतघृणः किमयं विधत्तां वध्यस्तवेत्यभिहितो वसुधाधिपेन *Raghu.*, IX. 81.

¹⁰ पत्रहस्तोरजशासनम् *Śāk.*, p. 186.

¹¹ निगलपद्यावदृष्ट *Māl.*, p. 64 निगलबन्धनेन कृता p. 79.

¹² *Śāk.*, p. 183.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

¹⁴ श्रुतौ तस्करतास्थिता *Raghu.*, I. 27.

¹⁵ *Māl.*, V. 10.

at the first onset.¹ The picture, it may be observed, is one of a frontier robbery.

The severity of the criminal law, however, may be easily explained. Kālidāsa was depicting the deeds of an age considered very ancient even in his times and themes of these deeds were naturally drawn from the epics. Therefore, in order to save himself and to rise above the possible anachronism, he has tried to apply to the old conditions the system of law as codified in the *Mānavadharmasūtra* and the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*. That is why he repeatedly returns to the treatises on polity and law already considered old in his time and perhaps only partially in practice. Otherwise the award of capital punishment for the crime of theft would be preposterous and highly irreconcilable when read along with his patronising injunctions like the following: "Whoever imposes severe punishment becomes repulsive to the people, while he who awards mild punishment becomes contemptible."² Thus he enjoins upon the king to take a middle course as regards the award of criminal punishment. His ideal in criminal punishment is *yathāparādhadaṇḍa* the sense of which would be entirely lost if we think that he is betraying himself and his times while depicting some of the older tales in his narratives. The suggestion of capital punishment might have been made in way of an irony and a satire on the older systems of law and punishments, which were indeed very disproportionate to the offence, and the irony of the poet depicting the severity of the archaic administration must have been appreciated by the public witnessing the play.

Prison

The prison³ was located in an underground dungeon, as is evident from the phrase *pātālavāsam*,⁴ in an out of the way part of the royal palace. We have already seen that the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Mānasāra* refer to the existence of the prison in the outskirts of the palace. We have a reference to chains and cellers in the phrases *nigalapadyā*⁵ and *nigalabandhane*⁶.

Civil Law

There are comparatively fewer references to civil law in the writings of Kālidāsa. One singularly positive reference to it may be read in the *Sākuntala* Act VI, where the king orders his Minister for justice to look into the cases filed to him by the citizens⁷ and then to submit a report thereon to him. The Minister reports to him the only case⁸ heard that day due to the heaviness of business as follows:—

"A leading merchant named Dhanamitra, carrying on business by sea,

¹ Ibid.

² न खरो न च भूयसा मुहुः *Raghu.*, VIII. 9.

³ कारागृह *Raghu.*, VI. 40.

⁴ *Māl.*, p. 64.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., p. 79.

⁷ p. 198, text quoted *ante*.

⁸ *Śāk.*, p. 219, text quoted *ante*.

died in a shipwreck. And childless, they say, is the poor man. His store of wealth goes to the king."

After reading the document the king orders the Minister to enquire if some one among his wives is quick with child. On enquiry it is learnt that one of Dhanamitra's wives has had her *Puṁmsavana* ceremony performed only recently. The king orders the Minister to restore the property of Dhanamitra to his family with the remark that 'surely the foetus deserves the paternal property.'¹ The above quotation also incidentally shows that a regular record of tried cases was kept. This evidence is by no means peculiar to Kālidāsa. The *Jātakas*,² refer to them in their phrase—*Viniścaya-Pustaka*.

Right of Inheritance of the Widow

From the above document it appears that the property of a deceased person in the absence of a male heir lapsed to the treasury of the Crown. It also appears that a widow had no right to inherit in her own right the property of her husband. The Minister had probably made enquiries as to whether Dhanamitra had a male issue, and on learning that he had none had decided that his large fortune should lapse to the Crown. Kālidāsa is rather hasty in his description regarding the devolution of wealth inasmuch as he purports to dispossess a widow without male child of all her property in favour of the Crown. As a matter of fact, almost all the Smṛtis make the king recipient of a man's wealth only when a long list of reversioners is exhausted. Thus Nārada³ would give the king this right only in the absence of all—a son, a daughter, a daughter's son, sakulyas, bāndhavas, and sajātis. Vasiṣṭha⁴, Yājñavalkya⁵ and Viṣṇu⁶ are even more exacting and they introduce after the list of the six kinds of dayādas even the ācārya and his pupils before the wealth of the deceased can be appropriated by the king. Nārada⁷ gives the widow only the right to maintenance and that also on the condition that she remains chaste and keeps the bed of her deceased husband undefiled. It is further significant that Yājñavalkya⁸, Viṣṇu⁹ and Brhaspati¹⁰ make the widow the first rightful successor to the property of her deceased husband. Brhaspati takes a very strong position in favour of the widow. He says that the widow is the acknowledged half of her husband's body (*śarīrādha*¹¹), and so when the husband dies half of his body lives in the form of his widow. And when it is so, how can, he asks, any body get over the rights of the half-living husband?¹² He asserts that in the presence of all the dayādas it is the chaste widow who

¹ ननु गर्भः पित्र्यं रिक्त्वमर्हति—Ibid.

² Vol. III. p. 292.

³ *Nāradaśāstram*, Dāyabhāga, Trayodasa Vyavahārapada, 50-51.

⁴ *Vasiṣṭhaśāstram*, 17th Adhyāya, 81-82.

⁵ *Yājñavalkyaśmṛti*, Dāyabhāga Prakaraṇa, 8, 135-36.

⁶ Quoted in the commentary on *ibid*.

⁷ *Nāradaśāstram*, Dāyabhāga, 13, 26.

⁸ Dāyabhāga, 8, 135.

⁹ Quoted in the Commentary on *ibid*.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

¹¹ *Ibid*. शरीरार्धं स्मृता भार्या

¹² जीवत्यर्धशरीरेऽर्थं कथमन्यः समाप्नुयात् ॥ *Ibid*.

is the rightful successor¹ of all the movable and immovable property². Further, he enjoins upon the king to deal with all the kinsmen of the deceased as one does with thieves if they stand in her way to inheritance³.

Evidence

In matters of evidence due care was taken to enquire into the environments and conduct of a witness. A virtuous witness was naturally given preference over a deceitful one as may be inferred from the ironical remark⁴ of a character in the *Sākuntala*: The statement of the person, who since his birth has never been taught deceit, is without authority; let those forsooth, by whom the deceiving of others is studied as a science, be of authoritative words!

The person with whom a part of the stolen property was found was compelled to restore the whole. This procedure was adopted in connection with the location of stolen property. The idea was that "he with whom a portion (of the stolen property) is discovered must restore the whole of what is claimed⁵." In the illustration the stand taken is on legal ground. A thief is forced by law to restore the whole when a part is recovered from his custody; the presumption is that he must have stolen the whole of it.

The above record of dispensing justice is remarkable. The anxiety of the king for his subjects was admirable. He proclaimed that he was to be taken assuredly for a relative that may have been lost by any of his subjects⁶. Such was his zeal for their welfare! There was the idea of *bandhutva* in regular practice. The same idea (*bandhurivaprajānām*) is embodied in a phrase used with respect to Bandhuvarmā, a vassal of Kumāra Gupta⁷. The same inscription at another place refers to the members of a guild as beloved by kings as their own sons (*sutavatpratimāmitāḥ*⁸). When the king was so wakeful in administering justice to the people and awarding adequate punishment to the criminals and legal remedy and relief to the wronged, there could indeed be little chance of crimes to prosper in the land. The diseases supposed to take their rise from the perpetration of social crimes would vanish (*janapade na gadaḥ*)⁹. Peace and prosperity would naturally prevail in the kingdom, and the following enthusiastic acclamation of a certain ideal ruler by the poet would not be far from truth: "When he was reigning over the earth, even the breeze—did not dare disturb the garments of

¹ ०पत्नी तद्भगहारिणी *ibid.*

² जंगमं स्थावरं हेमं रूप्यधान्यरसावरम् *ibid.*

³ चौरदण्डेन शासयेत् *ibid.*

⁴ आजन्मनः शाठ्यमशिक्षितो यस्तस्याप्रमाणं वचनं जनस्य ।

परातिसिद्धानमधीयते यैर्विद्येति ते सन्तु क्लिप्तवाचः ॥ *Sāk.*, V. 25.

⁵ यदि हंसगता न ते नतभ्रूः सरसो रोषसि दुःस्पर्धं प्रिया मे ।

मदखेलपदं कथं नु तस्याः सकल चौरगतं त्वयागृहीतम् ॥ *Vik.*, IV. 32.

also of हंस प्रयच्छ मे कान्ता गतिरस्यात्वयाहता ।

विभावितैकदेशेन देयं यदभियुज्यते ॥ *ibid.*, 33.

⁶ *Sāk.*, VI. 23.

⁷ Mandasor St. Ins. of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarmā, verse 26.

⁸ *Ibid.*, verse 15.

⁹ *Raghu.*, IX. 4.

drunken women fallen asleep on half the way to pleasure ground.¹ The rule of the paradise, therefore, was aptly considered as nothing but a prosperous reign².

Finance

The income of the State was brought to the office of accounts, chequed and treasured under the supervision of the Minister in charge of the Department of Revenue³. The *Arthasāstra* mentions a department of Accounts and deals with it at length in a chapter entitled the 'Business of keeping up Accounts in the office of Accounts⁴.' The Mauryan King Aśoka also refers in one of his edicts⁵ to a department of *Gaṇanā* which very probably was in existence.

The sources of the State revenue as mentioned by Kālidāsa may be discussed under the following heads: 1. Land Revenue; 2. Irrigation; 3. Excise; 4. State monopolies and other activities; 5. Taxes; 6. Conquests; 7. Presents and tributes; and 8. Lapses of property to the Crown.

Land Revenue

The State claimed one sixth of the produce of land from the people in return of the protection that it gave to their person and property⁶. "Protecting asceticism from obstacles and wealth from robbers the king was made the enjoyer of one sixth of their earnings respectively by the Āśramas and the different castes according to their respective capacities⁷." The *Sākuntala* makes the king enjoy a *bhāga*⁸, which signifies a tax. The word is formed by the addition of *dheya* to *bhāga* without any change of meaning. *Bhāga* has been explained by Kāṭīlya⁹ in the sense of portion of land produce payable to the government. Manu lays down that if a king protected his subjects well, he would receive a sixth¹⁰ part from them. He also lays down that a king should receive from his subjects a sixth, eighth or twelfth part of the crops, according to the fertility of the soil¹¹. The *Sukranīti* is more severe and recommends a realization of one-third, one-fourth or one-half from places which are irrigated by tanks, canals and wells, by rains and by rivers, respectively¹². It advocates the realization of one-sixth from barren and rocky soils¹³. "Both the customary receipts

¹ *Raghu*, VI. 75.

² ०रिद्धं हि राज्यं पदमैन्द्रमाहुः Ibid., II. 50.

³ Vide *ante* where Council of Ministers are discussed.

⁴ Book II. Ch. 7.

⁵ परिषा पि यूते आञ्जपयिससि गणनायं हेतुतो च व्यंजनतो च the Fourteen Rock Edicts, III. Girnar.

⁶ षष्ठंशमुर्व्या इव रक्षितायाः *Raghu*, II, 66, Cf. also Ibid., V. 8, XVII. 65; *Śāk.*, p. 76, II. 13,

V. 4.

⁷ तपो रक्षन्स विघ्नेभ्यस्तस्करेभ्यश्च संपदः ।

यथा स्वमाश्रमैश्चक्रे वर्णैरपि षडंशभाक् । *Raghu*, XVII. 65.

⁸ Act. II.

⁹ *Arthasāstra*, Book II. Ch. VI.

¹⁰ सर्वतो धर्मं षड्भागो राज्ञो भवति रक्षतः *Manusmṛti*, VII.

¹¹ Ibid., 130.

¹² Ch. IV. Sec. II. 227-229.

¹³ Ibid., 230.

of a king," says Nārada, "and what is called the sixth part of the produce of the soil, form the royal revenue, the reward for the protection of his subjects¹." Kālidāsa, however, suggests the principle of the sixth part. This he calls the sustenance or the living allowance (*ṛtīh*) of the sovereign². Land revenue was the first and foremost source of income which was rather strictly realized. Its collection was so thorough that symbolically even the spiritual earnings of the hermits in the penance groves were not spared and at one place it has been said that the wealth which arose from the castes or social orders was perishable but the foresters indeed paid the state the sixth part of their penance, which was imperishable.³ As a matter of fact, we have a reference showing that even ascetics paid in kind their dues of the land produce, and it has been said that the sixth part of the rice collected by the ascetics due from them to the king was placed on the bank of the river to be taken away by the royal officers⁴. The principle of realizing land revenue from even the ascetics has been accepted by the *Arthasāstra* as well, as will be evident from the following extract quoted from it: "Fed by this payment, kings took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects (*yogakṣemāva hāb*), and of being answerable for the sins of their subjects when the principle of levying just punishments and taxes has been violated. Hence hermits, too, provide the king with one-sixth of the grains gleaned by them, thinking that 'it is a tax payable to him who protects us'⁵." From the above discussion it follows that the taxes had been fixed by law, both by treatises on polity and by the sacred common law. There could not thus be a tussle between the king and his people on the point of taxation and both could refer to the established laws if an occasion wanted it. The *Sūkanīti* asserts that "God has made the king, though master in form, the servant of the people, getting his wages (sustenance) in taxes for the purpose of continuous protection and growth⁶."

Irrigation

We have a reference to *setu*,⁷ which, among other things, meant irrigation works which, to explain in the terms of *Arthasāstra*, were the source of crops; the results of a good shower of rain are attained in the case of crops below irrigational works⁸. Since the mainstay of the State income was the land revenue the maintenance of a system of irrigation was quite in the fitness of things. It may have been maintained for a further realization of revenue and for an increase of the grain produce. It must be remembered that the revenue of land was not fixed and so with the increase in the grass produce the king's revenue, which was one-sixth of the land produce, also proportionately increased. This reference of

¹ Nārada, XVIII. 48 (Jolly).

² *Sāk.*, V. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, II. 13.

⁴ नीवारणष्ठभागमस्माकमुपहरन्त्विति *Ibid.*, p. 76. Cf. तान्युच्छृष्टाङ्कितसैकतानि *Raghu.*, V. 8.

⁵ अन्यद्भागधेयमेतेषां रक्षणं निपतति *Sāk.*, p. 76.

⁶ Ch. I. 375.

⁷ सेतुवातागजबन्ध *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.

⁸ *Arthasāstra*, Book VII. Ch. 14.

Kālidāsa to a system of irrigation may be corroborated by the *Arthaśāstra* and by facts from history. The *Arthaśāstra*¹ notices such a department as of irrigation yielding revenue, and Megasthenes², the Greek ambassador at the court of the Mauryan emperor Candragupta, makes a mention of it in his description of the Mauryan administration.

Excise

Although there is no evidence in Kālidāsa of a tax levied on liquor shops, their existence in a large number is attested to by him. He refers to them as a common sight by the side of streets³; and it cannot be imagined that such a source of income should have been left untaxed when we find the realization of revenue to have been so thorough as not to exempt even the ascetics. It may be noted in this connection that the *Arthaśāstra*⁴ makes them yield enormous revenue, where it also gives directions as to how liquor shops should be decorated in order to attract notice and to give comfort to their customers.

State Monopolies and Other Undertakings.

The construction of bridges and running of ferry, farming, rearing of cattle and catching of elephants⁵ were the chief State monopolies which yielded much income. Mines, which were exhaustively dug, appear to have been very rich in minerals⁶. They were so important a source of revenue in ancient India that the *Arthaśāstra* devotes a full chapter⁷ to them and says that they 'are the source of whatever is useful in battle.'⁸ Elephants also must have yielded considerable income in the market of ivory after they had been utilized for the military purposes of the State. They might have been even sold alive. The *Arthaśāstra* considers elephant forests as a source of elephants and as such advocates their preservation⁹.

Several other undertakings of the State brought no less income to the coffers of the Crown. Construction of bridges¹⁰ (*setu*), keeping of pasture lands and rearing of the cattle (*pārtā*) were some other profitable engagements of the State. Bridges might have yielded an income in the shape of ferries, and if we care to explain the phrase *setu* in light of the interpretation given by the *Arthaśāstra* on *setubandha*, we can derive from it the sense of 'building of any kind'¹¹. There might have been a nominal tax on the grazing of cattle in almost free State pastures which the *Arthaśāstra* considers to be the source of cows, horses and camels

¹ Ibid., Book II. 24.

² E. H. I., p. 140.

³ *Sāk.*, p. 188.

⁴ Book II. Ch. 25.

⁵ सेतुवातगिजबन्धमुख्यैः *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.

⁶ Ibid., XVII. 66, XVIII. 22. III. 18; *Māl.*, V. 18.

⁷ Book II. Ch. 12.

⁸ Book. VII. Ch. 14.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ *Ku.*, VII. 34.

¹¹ Book. III. Ch. 8.

to draw chariots¹. *Vārtā* may be properly explained in the light of the *Arthaśāstra*, which says: "Agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade constitute *vārtā*. It is most useful in that it brings in grains, cattle, gold, forest produce (*kūpya*), and free labour. It is by means of the treasury and the army obtained solely through *vārtā* that the king can hold under his control both his and his enemy's party²." The *Sukranīti* offers almost the same explanation of *vārtā*. "In *Vārtā*," it says, "are treated interest, agriculture, commerce and preservation of cows³." It appears that the government had also some *Naṣul* land which they caused to be farmed⁴ and which formed one of the State undertakings.

Taxes

Trade and commerce by land and sea flourished and great commercial magnates, *naigamas*⁵ and *sārthavāhas*⁶, paid sumptuously to their lord whose protection of the trade routes had made the transit of the articles of merchandise from and to different corners of the country possible and safe. The princely merchants poured streams of wealth⁷ (*dhārāsāro*) into the coffers of the State, both in way of presents—the *naṣāra* of later times—and in that of levies on merchandise. As regards taxes on merchandise Kālidāsa does not specifically refer beyond the fact that the traders yielded much wealth to the government. This could be only in the two ways mentioned above. The *Arthaśāstra*⁸ details the taxes on items of merchandise, and so does the *Sukranīti*⁹. Customs and octroi duties may have formed levies on the inland trade and they would have been included in these on the merchandise for Kautīlya¹⁰ refers to these also.

Conquests

Enormous riches were obtained through conquests¹¹. Conquerors overran the country and realized horses¹², elephants¹³, heaps of gold¹⁴ and other precious presents.¹⁵

¹ Book. VII. Ch. 14.

² Book. I. Ch. 4.

³ Ch. I, 311-12.

⁴ क्षेत्रैःसस्यं *Raghu.*, XVII. 66. On the various undertakings of the State Kāmandaka quoted by the commentator, has the following:—

कृषिर्वाणिज्यपथो दुर्गं सेतुः कुञ्जरबन्धनम् ।

खन्याकरधनादानं शून्यानां च निवेशनम् ॥

अष्टवर्गमिमं साधुः स्वयं वृद्धोऽपि वर्धते ॥

⁵ धारासारोपनयनपरा नैगमाश्चाम्बुवाहाः *Vik.*, IV. 13.

⁶ *Sāk.*, p. 219; *Raghu.*, XVII. 64.

⁷ *Vik.*, IV. 13, text quoted *ante*.

⁸ Book. V. Ch. II.

⁹ Ch. IV. Sec. II.

¹⁰ Book. V. Ch. II.

¹¹ Cf. *Raghu.*, IV.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV. 70.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 84; महासाराणि रत्नानि etc., *Māl.*, pp. 88, 94.

Presents, technically known as *Upāyana*¹, came also from foreign powers and foiled adversaries who paid enormous tributes in money. Horses², elephants³ and heaps of gold⁴ are referred to have been received as presents from conquered and befriended rulers. Elephants⁵ and precious stones were received from the land of Kāmarūpa⁶. The Pulindas of the Vindhyas, we read, brought presents⁷ to Kuśa marching with his armies through the mountains. The presents received⁸ by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Agnimitra from the king of Vidarbha may be instanced to give an idea of the articles which were generally received by an overlord or an equal independent ruler. They included, besides other articles, a body of servants consisting mainly of accomplished girls, costly jewels, vehicles, such as elephants, palanquins, chariots, horses, etc. These may be taken as an income of the king as against that enumerated above as income of the State. It may be mentioned here that we read of similar articles of presents received by Samudra Gupta during his conquests⁹. Another occasion on which presents were received by the king was his travel in the countryside when he was brought visually before his loving subjects¹⁰.

Lapse of Property to the Crown

Last, but not the least source of income was the lapse of the property of a deceased citizen to the treasury of the Crown in the absence of a male heir. A document containing all information regarding such a case as one described in the *Sākuntala*, Act VI, was prepared by the Minister in charge of the department and sent to the king for his perusal and sanction for attachment¹¹. Large fortunes may have in this way lapsed to the Crown.

Payment in Cash or Kind

Revenue could be paid either in cash or kind. The reference to one-sixth of the land produce as land revenue renders it clear that it could be paid in kind. It could be paid in cash as well. In the report of the Minister there is a reference to the 'calculation of a collection of treasury'¹², i.e. revenue received from various quarters. The counting of money may point to the payment of revenue in cash or to an auditing of accounts of the revenue received in both cash and kind. Octroi duties and levies on merchandise, etc., may have been paid in cash.

¹ उपायन *Raghu.*, IV. 79, XVI. 32, IV. 84; *Māl.*, pp. 88, 94.

² *Raghu.*, IV. 70.

³ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 83.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, XVI. 32.

⁸ महासाराणि रत्नानि बाहनानि शिल्पकारिकाभूयिष्ठं परिजनमुपायनीकृत्य *Māl.*, p. 88 (referred to again in *Ibid.*, p. 94).

⁹ Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

¹⁰ हैयगवीनमादाय घोषवृद्धानुपस्थितान् *Raghu.*, I. 45.

¹¹ *Sāk.*, p. 219.

¹² अर्थजातस्य गणना *Ibid.*

We find mention of gold coins (*Suvarṇa*) made by Kālidāsa in his writings as we shall see later.

The end of Revenue

Taxes (*balī*¹) were levied and revenue realized from the people for their own benefit. Their realization never contemplated the personal comforts of the king. The budget of the State was so adjusted that the people derived benefit (*prajānāmevabhūtyartham*) from it in a thousand ways. The sun draws water from the earth, affirms the poet, only to restore it to her a thousand times as much. The king no less a benefactor, must act in the manner of the sun². The degree to which this theory was actually put in practice is not quite evident and we may suppose that it may have differed with the types of kings, despotic or benevolent, or with the strength or weakness of ministers asserting in the popular cause. The reference is perhaps made to the various works of public utility on which the revenues were mostly spent.

Salary

There were several items of expenditure as well. Most of the public works were charged on the income. The administration, caprices of the kings, salaries of officials were all outlets of expenditure. Officials of the State drew regular salaries and we have one chapter of the *Arthaśāstra*³ devoted to the discussion of the Civil List. The king himself has been indirectly referred to in a similar context as drawing a *veśana*⁴. This is in accordance with *Apastamba*, who says that the king's salary must not exceed that of the Amātyas or Gurus⁵. Of other officials receiving monthly salary we have direct evidence regarding the teachers of fine arts⁶ and Purohita⁷. If the latter was a member of the Council of Ministers he must have drawn a huge pay as mentioned by Kautilya⁸.

King's Ownership in Land

The king's right to the sixth portion of the produce of land, exercised unsparingly, and the lapse of property to the crown, point to his ownership in the soil of his territory, although Kālidāsa has frequently referred to the king's claim to the land revenue as one in lieu of protection (*rakṣā sadṛśameva bhūḥ*).

Treasury

The government treasury was rich and means were adopted to fill it, for it

¹ *Raghu.*, I. 18.

² प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो बलिमग्नहीत् ।
सहस्रगुणमुत्सृष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रवेः ॥ *Ibid.*

³ *Book V. Ch. 3.*

⁴ दिदेश वेतनं तस्मै रक्षासदृशमेव भूः ॥ *Raghu.*, XVII. 66.

⁵ गुरुनमात्याश्च नातिजीवेत् *Dharmasūtra*, II. 9, 25, 10.

⁶ किं मुद्या वेतनदानेनैतेषाम् *Māl.*, p. 17.

⁷ दक्षिणां मासिकीं पुरोहितस्य *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁸ *Arthaśāstra*, *Book V. Ch. 3.*

was considered one of the most important limbs¹ (*aṅgāḥ*) of the State. It had its own employees and keepers². We read of wealth being carried by hundreds of mules (*vāmi*) and camels³ (*uṣṭra*) from the royal treasury, actually counted at fourteen crores⁴ of coins in one case.

Coinage

The age of Kālidāsa witnessed extensive trade and commerce both by land and sea for which the existence of an advanced and elaborate system of coinage has to be presupposed. The revenues except that from land itself, as has been seen above, were mostly paid to the government in terms of cash, and the Minister for Revenue received from the various quarters of the empire the collection of treasures which he counted⁵. The counting of fourteen crores⁶ of wealth itself cannot yield any sense unless we understand it in terms of coins. Then, besides, we find reference in the writings of Kālidāsa to *niṣka*⁷ and *suvarṇa*⁸ which were the current coins of his times. It may be noted that the latter circulated in the currency of the Imperial Guptas⁹. The *Amarakośa*¹⁰ equates *niṣka* with a *dīnāra* or Dinarius of the Romans. *Suvarṇa* was a coin of gold, generally sixteen *māṣas* in weight. It seems to have been the legal tender of the age. Kālidāsa mentions no other coins except those made of gold, and consequently, we cannot gather directly from his writings whether silver or copper coins were also recognized as the legal currency of the land. We know from the coins of the imperial Guptas, however, that they were current in various types and were of gold, silver, copper and alloy¹¹.

Grant of Land

In this very context it will be proper to make a reference to the government grant of land to Brahmins which the poet mentions¹². Such villages as were granted to them showed signs of Brahmanical possession in the form of the *yūpas*¹³ or sacrificial posts to which animals were tied. It may be added that Kāuṭilya¹⁴ also advises such a grant. The grants by the Imperial Guptas and other dynasties of such villages which we come across in epigraphical records are too many to be recounted here.

¹ *Raghu.*, I. 60; Cf. *Amarakośa*. स्वाम्यमात्यसुहृत्कोशराष्ट्रदुर्गबलानि च.

² *Ibid.*, V. 29.

³ अथोष्ट्रवामी शतवाहितार्थं *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵ *Sāk.*, p. 219.

⁶ *Raghu.*, V. 21.

⁷ *Ku.*, II, 49; *Māl.*, p. 88.

⁸ शतसुवर्णं *Māl.*, p. 88.

⁹ *E. H. I.*, pp. 328-29. Also Cf. *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*.

¹⁰ साष्टे शते सुवर्णानां हेम्युरोभूषणेपले । दीनारे च निष्कोऽस्त्री Quoted by the Commentator.

¹¹ *Vide J. Allan: Catalogue of Gupta Coins*.

¹² ग्रामेष्वत्तमविसृष्टेषु *Raghu.*, I. 44 कुशावतीं श्रोत्रियसात्सकृत्वा *Ibid.*, XVI. 25 ब्राह्मण इति कलयित्वा राजा परिग्रहोदत्तः *Sāk.*, p. 182.

¹³ यूपचिह्नेषु यज्वनाम् *Raghu.*, I. 44.

¹⁴ *Arthasāstra*, Book, II. Ch. I.

The Army

The poet has referred at several places to the traditional four columned¹ army², namely, the infantry³, cavalry,⁴ chariots⁵ and elephants.⁶ But the reference to the chariots is only traditional because they, as a means of warfare, had become extinct long before the time of Kālidāsa. He alludes to the above divisions of the army to describe very ancient warfare, the rest three of course remained the means of fighting in India for a very long time after the poet. The poet has added to the traditional four divisions of army a fifth division, that of a fleet of warboats⁷. Countries inhabiting the sea coasts mainly depended upon their squadrons of ships for their defence (*nausādbhanodyatān*). The people of the lower Ganges, in the delta formed by that river, defended themselves by means of their boats⁸. Particular countries utilized particular armies, of horses, elephants or boats as they suited them. The Persians⁹ and Greeks,¹⁰ for example, used cavalry, the people of Kāliṅga¹¹ or Orissa elephants and those of the lower Ganges¹² ships.

Kinds of Soldiers

The poet refers to the traditional six kinds of forces¹³ or soldiers. He does not, however, mention them specifically. But on the strength of the *Amara-kośa*¹⁴, quoted by the commentator, the same may be enumerated and explained in the following manner: 1. *Maulas* or hereditary soldiers of the king; these have been referred to in the *Sukranīti*¹⁵ also; 2. *Bhṛtyas* or those paid by the king; 3. *Suhṛts* or those who belong to the allies or are well disposed towards him; 4. *Srenīs* or forces furnished by the trade guilds in the State; the Mandasor Pillar Inscription refers to a few members of a *Sreṇi* or guild as skilled in the science of archery and valiant masters of the military art¹⁶; 5. *Dviṣads* or the forces of the kings inimically disposed towards his enemy; and 6. the *Ātavikas* or the foresters. These last are cruel, rapacious and hardy, and therefore, best suited to lead an attack¹⁷.

¹ चतुः स्कन्धेव *Raghu.*, IV. 30.

² सेना *Ibid.*, IV. 32 चम् 30, पताकिनी 82, VII. 59, XI. 52; दंडचक्र *Māl.*, p. 11.

³ पत्तिः पदाति *Raghu.*, VII. 36.

⁴ पाशचात्यः अश्वसाधनैः *Ibid.*, IV. 62, 71; अश्वानीक *Māl.*, p. 102; *Raghu.*, VII. 36.

⁵ *Raghu.*, I. 36, 39, 40, III. 42, IV. 30, 82, 85, VII. 36; *Vik.*, I. 5.

⁶ *Raghu.*, IV. 29. गजसाधन 40, VI. 54, VII. 36

⁷ नौसाधनोद्यतान् *ibid.*, IV. 36, 31.

⁸ *Ibid.*,

⁹ *Ibid.*, IV. 62.

¹⁰ *Māl.*, p. 102.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, IV. 40.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV. 36.

¹³ *Ibid.*, IV. 26, XVII. 67.

¹⁴ मौलं भृत्यः सुहृन्नेषी द्विषदाटविकंवलम् *ibid.*, IV. 26 (comment).

¹⁵ Ch. IV. Sec. VII.

¹⁶ Verses 16 and 17.

¹⁷ *Hit.*, III. 96; *Kām. Nīti.*, VIII. 23.

Elephants, which made up one of the most important columns of the Indian army, were caught by the officers of the State from preserved forests¹. Kautilya speaks of their great utility² and mentions Kalinga as one of the places from where they were mostly brought³. Kālidāsa, as we have already seen, associates elephants with the countries of Kāmarūpa⁴ and Kalinga⁵, the dense forests of which must have yielded large herds of them. Refractory elephants were held up by means of chains on their feet⁶. Horses were equally favoured. Pointed mention is made of the excellent breeds of horses licking salt⁷ got from the countries of Vanāyu⁸, i.e. Arabia, and Kambuja⁹. Arabia is well known for the excellence of its steeds. The *Arthaśāstra*¹¹ also refers to Vanāyu horses. Kālidāsa speaks of horse stables and of a particular speed¹², perhaps gallop, of horse.

A comprehensive list of war implements can be made from the writings of the poet. We find very frequent references to *astra* and *śastra* which the *Sukranīti* explains as two distinct kinds of weapons. The former, it says, is one which is thrown or cast down by means of charms, machines, or fire, while the latter is any other weapon, for example, sword, dagger, etc¹³. The following offensive weapons¹⁴ have been mentioned by him; *dhunus*¹⁵ and *bāṇa*¹⁶, *śūla*¹⁷, *triśūla*, *sakti*¹⁸, *vajra*¹⁹, *paraśu*²⁰, *cakra*²¹, *asi*²², *bhīṇḍipāla*, *parigha*²³, *mudgara*²⁴, *bala*, *ksurapra*²⁵,

¹ *Raghu*, XVII. 66, XVI. 2.

² *Arthaśāstra*, Book II. Ch. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Raghu*, IV. 83.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁶ त्रिपदी *Ibid.*, 48, शृङ्खल V. 72.

⁷ लेह्यानि सैन्धवशिलाशकलानि वाहाः *Ibid.*, V. 73.

⁸ वनायुदेव्याः *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, IV. 69. सदश्वभूयिष्ठ *Ibid.*, 70. Kambuja has been referred to by the *Arthaśāstra*, Book II. Ch. 30, also as yielding fine horses.

¹⁰ Book II. Ch. 30.

¹¹ पटमण्डपेषु V. 73.

¹² *Ibid.*, IX. 55.

¹³ Ch. IV. Sec. VII. 381-82.

¹⁴ आयुध *Raghu*, VII. 52, 59.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 8, VII. 56, XI. 40, 43, 46, 72, IV. 62.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 31, III. 53, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 64, IV. 77, V. 55, VII. 38, 49, 59, IX. 72, XI. 29, XII. 96, 103, XV. 24; *Ku.*, III. 27; *Vik.*, p. 127.

¹⁷ *Raghu*, XV. 5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XII. 77.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, IV. 68, XII. 79, XV. 22.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XI. 78.

²¹ *Ibid.*, VII. 46.

²² *Ibid.*, 68.

²³ *Ibid.*, XII. 72.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, IX. 62, XI. 29.

*bhalla*¹, *gadā*², *brahmāstra*³, *gandharvāstra*⁴ or *mohanāstra*⁵, *slings*⁶, *śatagbhī*⁷, *khaḍga*⁸, and *kūṭasālmali*⁹. These were mostly the offensive weapons with which the army was equipped. The poet refers to the use of most of these after they have been enchanted¹⁰ or poisoned.¹¹ These may now be explained.

Dhanus was made of a long flexible rod the ends of which were joined with a string called *jyā*¹². Kautilya refers to bows made of tāla (palmyra), of cāpa (a kind of bamboo), of dāru (a kind of wood), and śṛṅga (bone or horn respectively called karmuka, kodanḍa, drūṇa, and dhanus¹³). It may be noted that the poet mentions all the above kinds of the bow except the drūṇa but without distinction. The *Arthasāstra* likewise mentions bow strings as made of mūrva (Sansviera Roxburghiana), arka (Catotropis gigantea), śaṇa (hemp), gavedhu (Coix Barabata), veṇu (bamboo bark), and snāyu (sinew¹⁴). Hands marked with scars of the bow string were considered the sign of a great and tried warrior¹⁵. *Dhanurveda*¹⁶ was one of the Upavedas and contained the science of warfare and the use of the bow and arrow. It was one of the items of study for the prospective soldier¹⁷. Arrows were of various kinds made of long cane or reed sticks with heavy and sharp ironpointed¹⁸ blade-heads and feather-tails. "The edges of arrows," says the *Arthasāstra*, "shall be so made of iron, bone or wood as to cut, rend or pierce."¹⁹ The following sorts of arrows have been mentioned by the poet: one with the feather of a bird called *kaṇka*²⁰ or crow, and another with one of peacock²¹; a third kind was a long column-like²² arrow, a fourth bore the form of a snake²³, a fifth had a point like the crescent moon²⁴ and a sixth that of an eagle²⁵. Then there were arrows which formed a halo of radiating light as they were shot²⁶. There

¹ Ibid., IV. 63, VII. 58, IX. 66.

² Ibid., VII. 52.

³ Ibid., XII. 97.

⁴ Ibid., VII. 61.

⁵ Ibid., V. 57.

⁶ क्षेपणीयाश्मनि Ibid., IV. 77.

⁷ Ibid., XII. 95.

⁸ Ibid., VII. 51.

⁹ Ibid., XII. 95.

¹⁰ Ibid., V. 59.

¹¹ सविषमिव शल्यं Śāk., VI. 9.

¹² Raghu., III. 59.

¹³ Arthasāstra, Book II. ch. XVIII.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Raghu., XI. 40.

¹⁶ Vik., p. 128.

¹⁷ गृहीतविद्यो धनुर्वेदे Ibid.

¹⁸ Raghu., V. 55.

¹⁹ Book II. ch. XVIII.

²⁰ Raghu., II. 31.

²¹ Ibid., III. 56.

²² Ibid., 53.

²³ Ibid., 57.

²⁴ Ibid., 59.

²⁵ Ibid., 57; cf. गह्वरमतं अस्त्रं XVI. 77.

²⁶ स्फुरत्प्रभामण्डलमस्त्रं Ibid., III. 60.

were those that bore a golden hue¹ and those again which had their points like the blade of a razor² (*ṣurapra*). These last have been referred to by the *Su-kranīti* as well. These were high to the navel and had the lustre of the moon³. There were arrows or weapons which could pierce through an armour⁴. Soldiers of taste and position had their arrows inscribed with their names⁵ or monograms⁶. The following example of such an inscription bearing the name of the owner may be quoted: "(This) arrow, a destroyer of enemies' lives, pertains to the bowman, prince Āyus, the son of Urvaśī and Aila."⁷ Arrows were kept in a quiver⁸.

Sūla was a pike and *trisūla* a trident. They were very like a spear or javelin. The difference between the two seems to have been that of blades. The former possessed only one blade point while the latter was furnished with three such points which had branched off like a fork. Both of these are known to the *Arthaśāstra* which classes the former among weapons with edges like a plough-share (*balamukhāni*⁹) while the latter among movable machines¹⁰. *Sakti* was a spear or javelin commonly used by a car-warrior. Made of iron it was plated with gold and adorned with bells.¹¹ It has been described in the *Ramāyaṇa* as furnished with eight bells, as giving out a frightful yell, as made full of art and guile by the wily Maya, as sure of aim, as destructive to the enemy's life, and as flying rapidly and leaving behind it a fiery track. It has been mentioned in both the Allahabad Pillar Inscription as well as the *Arthaśāstra*. The latter classes it with *balamukhāni*¹² and the commentator explains it as "A metallic weapon four hands long, and like the leaf of *karavīra* and provided with a handle like a cow's nipple."¹³ *Vajra* was a thunderbolt, a kind of club made of iron.¹⁴ *Paraśu* was the battle axe. It has been classed by the *Arthaśāstra* with the razor-like weapons¹⁵ and the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta refers to it. *Cakra* was the discus and had diagonal bars in the middle and pointed projections on the periphery. The points of these projections were sharp like razor blades¹⁶. Kauṭilya¹⁷ and Sukra,¹⁸ like

¹ Ibid., 64.

² Ibid., IX. 62, XI. 29.

³ *Su-kranīti*, ch. IV. Sec. VII. 427.

⁴ कंकटभेदि आयुधैः Ibid., VII. 59.

⁵ स्वनामचिह्नं सायकं *Raghu.*, III. 55. बाणाक्षरैरेव परस्परस्य नामोर्जितं चावभूतः शशंसुः Ibid., VII. 38. Ibid., XII. 103; *Ku.*, III. 27; *Vik.*, p. 127.

⁶ स्वनामचिह्नं सायकं *Raghu.*, III. 55.

⁷ उर्वशीसंभवस्यास्यमैलसूनोर्धनुष्मतः ।

कुमारस्यायुषो बाणः संहृती द्विषदायुषाम् ॥ *Vik.*, V. 7.

⁸ *Raghu.*, II. 30, VII. 56.

⁹ Book, II. ch. XVIII.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *Mabābhārata*, VII. 106, 129.

¹² Book II. ch. XVIII.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., (Commentator).

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ *Indo Aryans*, Vol. I. p. 312.

¹⁷ *Arthaśāstra*, p. 102.

¹⁸ *Su-kranītisāra*, p. 237.

Kālidāsa, regard it as a razor-like weapon, and, according to the latter, it was six cubits in circumference. The former places them among razor-like weapons. According to Vaiṣampāyana it is a sort of circular disc with a quadrangular hole in the middle¹. *Asi* was a long sword. *Bhindipāla* from all accounts² seems to have been a heavy rod thrown against the enemy like a missile. Its special work was 'battering, cutting, breaking, dealing strokes like those of the *lagūda*³ or stick. Both *asi* and *bhindipāla* have been mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription and the *Arthaśāstra*,⁴ in the latter, with slight variation (*asiyaṣṭi*, perhaps a longer kind and *bhindivāla*). Kautilya classes *bhindivāla* among *halamukhāni*.⁵ *Parigba*⁶ was a club studded with iron-spikes.⁷ *Mudgara* was a staff-hammer of iron. It has been classed by the *Arthaśāstra* with the movable machines.⁸ *Hala*, like the plough-share, was an equally heavy weapon and must have been used in very early times. *Bhalla* was the spear or javelin-like weapon called *bbālā* in the Hindi vernacular. This name was also borne by a kind of arrow⁹ because of its similarity in shape. *Gadā* was a club made of iron. It has been enumerated by the *Arthaśāstra* as one of the movable machines.¹⁰ *Brahmāstra* was a missile never missing its object (*amogha*). It has been described as appearing like the body of the great serpent (*śeṣa*) wearing the ring of his formidable hood with its blazing points being divided into ten splinters in the sky¹¹. *Gāndhārvāstra* or *Mohanāstra* was supposed to be a 'prayoga' or hypnotic practice causing sleep. 'Prayoga' and 'Sambhāra' signified the shooting or the thrusting back into the quiver of an arrow. Prayoga means repetition of a certain *mantra* to endow the arrow with a peculiar virtue which enables it to assume a particular form or to bring about a certain result, while *sambhāra* the repetition of the counter *mantra* which takes away from the arrow the peculiar virtue it was endowed with and it becomes again an ordinary arrow. The initiation in this prayoga was effected by making the hero sip water with his face turned towards the north and then accept the *mantra*¹². Slings were also used in warfare and Kālidāsa credits the mountaineers with much skill in throwing stones with slings¹³. Kautilya¹⁴ refers to three classes of these, viz., *Yantrapāśāṇa*, *Goṣpaṇapāśāṇa* and *Muṣṭipāśāṇa*. *Satagbni* is classed by some among immovable machines killing a hundred persons at a single discharge as the etymology of the word signifies. But most probably it was a club pierced with innumerable sharp iron

¹ Oppert's *Weapons*. Army Organization, etc.

² J. A. O. S., XIII. p. 290; *Ram.*, pp. 1382, 1403; *Arth.*, p. 101; *Oppert.*, p. 13.

³ *Agni Purāṇa.*, p. 405.

⁴ Book., II. ch. XVIII.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ परिघः परिघातिनः *Amarakośa* quoted by the commentator.

⁷ Commentator. लोहबद्धकाष्ठानि यस्मिन्

⁸ Book II. XVIII.

⁹ *Raghu.*, IV. 67.

¹⁰ Book II. ch. XVIII.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, XII. 98.

¹² *Ibid.*, V. 59.

¹³ *Ibid.*, IV. 77.

¹⁴ *Arthaśāstra*, Book II ch. XVIII.

spikes all round its surface, as the commentator explains, and it resembled the *Kūṭasālmali* of Yama as the poet suggests through the simile. *Kūṭasālmali*, literally, is the silk-cotton tree containing innumerable thorns on its surface but it was also the name of the particular arm of Yama¹, the god of death. Kauṭilya classes *Satagbhi* among the movable machines and the commentator explains it as "A big pillar with an immense number of sharp points on its surface and situated on the top of a fort wall²." *Khaḍga*, lastly, was a short sword.

Of the defensive weapons we read of the coat of mail³, helmet⁴ and steel gloves⁵ protecting the body above the legs and below the neck, the head and the arms respectively. Of these the first two have been mentioned by the *Arthasāstra*⁶ and the first by the *Sukranīti*⁷. The stern days of warfare made the use of an armour necessary for the soldier, and this is why we find frequent mention of them in the writings of the poet. The strength to bear an armour was the sign of the beginning of youth⁸.

Other Equipments of the Army

The army was supplied with other equipments besides weapons which were banners and ensigns⁹, tents¹⁰ and instruments of music¹¹. Banners were the colours of the army and their number was so very preponderant that it derived one of its synonyms—*patākeṇi*¹²—from them. It seems that different ensigns belonged to different heroes. They were of various patterns like those of the fish¹³ and the eagle¹⁴ (*patrarathendra*).

Banners and Ensigns

The pattern which bore fish for its ensign was so contrived that its mouth easily opened by the force of the wind, and, receiving the dust of the army, it looked like a real fish drinking the new turbid waters¹⁵. The reference to the eagle banner is remarkable as this happened to be the flag of the Imperial Guptas which we learn from their inscriptions and coins¹⁶. Besides

¹ कूटशाल्मलिरिति व्युत्पत्त्या वैवस्वतगदाया गौणी संज्ञा Commentator.

² *Arthasāstra*, Book II. ch. XVIII.

³ वर्म *Raghu*, VII. 48, VIII. 94, कङ्कुट VII. 59; कवच *Vik.*, p. 131.

⁴ शिरस्त्राण *Raghu*, IV. 64, VII. 49, 57, 66.

⁵ हस्तावाप *Śāk.*, p. 224.

⁶ Book II. Ch. XVIII.

⁷ Ch. IV. Sec. VII. 432-33.

⁸ वर्महर *Raghu*, VIII. 94; *Vik.*, p. 131. (कवचाहः)

⁹ ध्वजा *Raghu*, III. 56, VII. 40, 60, IX. 45, XII. 85, केतु V. 42, VII. 65; *Śāk.*, I. 30, वैजयन्ती *Raghu*, VI. 8.

¹⁰ *Raghu*, V. 41, 49, 63, 73, VII. 2, XI. 93, XIII. 79, XVI. 55, 73; *Vik.*, p. 121.

¹¹ तुर्य *Raghu*, VII. 38, षष्ठा 41, जलज 63, 64.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV. 82.

¹³ मत्स्यध्वजा *Ibid.*, VII. 40.

¹⁴ स्पष्टाकृतिः पत्ररथेन्द्रकेतोः *Ibid.*, XVIII. 30.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, VII. 40.

¹⁶ Samudra Gupta's gold coins—Standard type, Chandra Gupta II's gold coins—Archer type.

choice ensigns of individual heroes, it appears that those peculiar to gods and heroes were also used¹. They were sometimes made of China silk². With regard to banners it would be well to quote below Hopkin's observation³:—

"The standard of a great knight is well spoken of as the upholder of the whole army. They (flags) are not, however, national, but individual.... We have next to distinguish between ensign and banner. At the back of the car, perhaps on one side, rises a staff, straight up high from the floor. The main staff, I incline to think, was in the back middle of the car while the little flags were on the sides. The staff bore the design at its top and apparently below the staff floated the flag. The flag pole was often the first objective point of the foes' arrows. When the symbol falls, the whole party falls into dismay and disorder. On the top of the staff was placed the *dhvajā* or *ketu*; the former meaning sometimes the whole arrangement, the staff, image or banner; the latter, the symbol or banner alone. This image was the likeness of some animal, as a boar or flamingo. Thus the Vānara or apesign of Arjuna was laced on the top of the *dhvajā*, and his car is usually termed 'the car with the ape standard.'"

Tents Camp

The army on its marches encamped in tents⁴. The term used for a tent is *upakāryā*⁵, which means a tent prepared for temporary residence. The row of tents that accommodated the army was known as *senāniveśa*⁶. Tents were generally made of cloth⁷ (*paṭamaṇḍapa*, canopy or tent of cloth). Horses were kept in stables in huge tents of cloth⁸. The following is the description of a camp thrown into confusion by an elephant in rut: "The animal in a moment threw the whole camp into confusion which became empty of the chariot horses which broke through their reins and took to flight, in which the chariots were overturned with their axles broken and in which the warriors were unable to protect their ladies⁹."

Instruments of Music of the War

The marches of the army and the progress of battle were accompanied with music. The instruments of music which were ordinarily used during the marches of an army or the progress of a battle were the following: *tūrya*¹⁰, the war-horn, *duṇḍubhi*¹¹, *ghaṇṭā*¹², bells, and the conch¹³. That, last named, was blown to open

¹ महाशिवध्वज *Raghu*, III. 56.

² चीनाशुकमिव केतोः *Sāk.*, I. 30.

³ *J. A. O. S.*, XIII. p. 243 ff.

⁴ *Raghu*, V. 41, 49, 63, VII. 2, XI. 93, XIII. 79, XVI. 55, 72.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, V. 49, VII. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 73.

⁸ दीर्घेषु पटमण्डपेषु *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VII. 38.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, X. 76.

¹² *Ibid.*, VII. 41.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VII. 63, 64.

and end war. But at the end it was blown only by the victor.¹

Women in Army

From a solitary reference² by Kālidāsa it appears that women also accompanied the army in its marches. He clearly mentions that these were women companions of warriors.³ In this regard he is supported by Kāuṭilya who says that women with prepared food and beverage should stand behind uttering encouraging words to fighting men.⁴

There was a particular military ceremony which was performed in the army and was known as *Vājinirājānā*.⁵ It was performed by the king or the general on the ninth of Āśvina, or on the eighth, twelfth or the fifteenth day of the bright half of Kārtika, before taking the field. It consisted in the general purification of the king's Purohita, the ministers and all the various component parts of the army, together with the arms and implements of war, by offering oblations to the sacred fire, waving lights before idols, etc. and reciting the sacred *mantras*. *Vāji*, it may be noted, stands for both a horse and an elephant, and the ceremony, *Vājinirājānā*, is so called because the lustration of the horses and the elephants is its essential part.⁶

Battle

Battles were generally fought in especial martial arrays called *vyūha*,⁷ of which there were several kinds. A *vyūha* was a position in which a general drew up his army after ascertaining from due consideration of circumstances what would be the most advantageous position. When the actual battle began and the four parts of the army faced the enemy, the infantry fell on foot soldiers, the warrior in the chariot on one fighting in the car, the horseman on the rider of horse, and the elephant rider on one on elephant.⁸ The morality of battle expected a soldier never to strike again a fallen foe.⁹

An Archer in Action

We have an instance in the *Raghuvamśa* of an archer in action.¹⁰ He was so quick in operation, says the poet of an ideal soldier, that he was seen putting neither the right nor the left hand into the mouth of the quiver. To an observer it seemed that the arrows flying from his bow were not taken from the quiver by either of his hands, but that the bow-string itself, produced them as it were. One of his hands held the frame of his bow and the other pulled its string. The

¹ Ibid. 63.

² Ibid., V. 49.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Arthaśāstra*, Book X. ch. 3.

⁵ *Raghv.*, IV. 25.

⁶ *Raghuvamśa* by N. G. Nandargikar, Note.

⁷ *Raghv.*, VII. 54.

⁸ Ibid., 37.

⁹ पूर्वप्रहृता न जवान Ibid., 47.

¹⁰ Ibid., 57-58.

left and right hands were used respectively for the purpose by ordinary archers, but an exceptionally skilled archer could also hold the frame by his right hand and pull the string with his left, which act was technically called *savya-sācīva*.¹

Postures in Fighting

On the term *ālīḍha*² used by Kālidāsa, Mallinātha quotes a lexicon³ according to which there are five postures which archers assume when fighting of which it is one. *Alīḍha* is one in which the right foot is advanced and the left is bent back.⁴ Vallabha mentions eight such postures.⁵

Discipline

The discipline among the Kṣatriyas had reached a high standard. The boy of a Kṣatriya, who was expected to become a soldier in due course, was trained from an early age. In fact his training as a soldier commenced as soon as he grew strong enough to draw the bow. The idea of protection was considered implied in the very epithet of a Kṣatriya.⁶ And how could he protect the people without his bow? Therefore it was that a true Kṣatriya never parted with his bow and arrow and that is why we find the son of Purūravā saluting his father with his bow placed between his hand folded for the purpose of doing obeisance.⁷ The vast army, living upon war,⁸ had a perfect training in the art of throwing missiles. It may be noted that the soldiers relished wine and drank deep.⁹

The entire army was the charge of a Commander-in-chief, Senāpati.¹⁰ When the king¹¹ or the heir-apparent¹² led the army in person he assumed the office of the field marshal.

Envoys and Espionage

Kālidāsa refers to envoys in the word *dūta*.¹³ Kautilya¹⁴ gives an elaborate account of the duties of an envoy. *Dūta* was a diplomatic officer sent to the court of a foreign power to safeguard his master's interest and to gather all the requisite information of the strength and weakness of the foe and transmit it

¹ Ibid., VII. 57.

² Ibid., III. 52.

³ स्थानानि धन्विनां पञ्च तत्र वैशाखमस्त्रियाम् ।

त्रिवितस्त्यन्तरौ पादौ मण्डलं तोरणाकृति ॥

अन्वयं स्यात्समपदमालीढं तु ततोऽग्रतः ।

दक्षिणो वाममाकुञ्च्य प्रत्यालीढविपर्ययः ॥ Yādava.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Vallabha's comment on the word.

⁶ क्षतात्किल त्रायत इति *Raghu.*, II. 53.

⁷ चापगर्भमजलिं बध्वा (Different reading) *Vik.*, p. 127. M. R. Kale's edition.

⁸ कृतास्त्रः *Raghu.*, XVII. 62; सापरायिकः Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., IV. 42, 56.

¹⁰ *Māl.*, p. 11; *Sāk.*, pp. 63 ff.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, IV.

¹² Ibid., V. VII. XVI. 31-32.

¹³ *Māl.*, p. 88.

¹⁴ *Arthasāstra*, Book I. ch. 16.

to the home government. We read in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of an envoy¹ sent to the court of *Agnimitra* by the king of Vidarbha with numerous presents.

The poet alludes to the system of espionage in an unmistakable language. He calls spies 'rays of political light'² and speaks of a certain king that nothing in his 'territory was unseen by him who threw rays of political light in the shape of spies all over the country.'³ Sleeping at the proper (scheduled) time the king was 'kept awake by spies who were ignorant of each other's office and especially deputed to move among enemies and friends.'⁴ The spies (*cara*, *apasarpa*, *pranidhi*)⁵ were employed as secret agents to gather information of importance in enemy's territory and report to the government. Kāuṭilya⁶ and the *Sukra-nīti*⁷ deal in detail with the department of the spies and the Mauryan administration actually ran an elaborate system of spies.⁸

The spies may have worked under the direct control of the envoy as has been mentioned in the *Arthasāstra*.⁹ This department was naturally the charge of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Release of Prisoners

The release of prisoners on important occasions was an established custom. Such an occasion was the birth of an heir¹⁰ to the kingdom. On the custom of liberating prisoners on the occasion of the birth of a child Vallabha quotes the following: "On the consecration of an heir-apparent, the birth of a son, or on the successful extermination of a conspiracy the liberation of prisoners should be effected."¹¹ The coronation of a king, as also perhaps that of the heir-apparent, was an occasion when a release of all sorts of prisoners, including cattle, beasts of burden and birds, thus making it even ideally perfect, was effected.¹² On such an occasion even prisoners condemned to death¹³ were pardoned and set free. Sometimes a release of prisoners was effected for averting the bad influence of stars maliciously disposed towards the king.¹⁴

Festivals were also suitable occasions for setting prisoners at liberty. The *Mālavikāgnimitra*¹⁵ furnishes us with an illustration of a release of prisoners on such an occasion by the king: "Servants, even though they have committed

¹ *Māl.*, p. 88.

² दीधिते: *Raghu.*, XVII. 48.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XIV. 13, 32, XVII. 48; *Ku.*, II. 6, 17.

⁶ *Arthasāstra*, Book I. ch. 12.

⁷ Chs. I and II.

⁸ V. A. Smith: *Early History of India*, pp. 145-47.

⁹ Book I. chs. 12 and 16.

¹⁰ सुतजन्महर्षितः *Raghu.*, III. 20.

¹¹ युवराजाभिषेके च परचक्रावमर्दने । (Perhaps from the *Kāmandakanītsāra*). पुत्रजन्मनि वा मोक्षो बद्धस्य हिविधीयते ॥

¹² *Raghu.*, XVII. 19, 20.

¹³ वधार्हाणां अबध्यताम् *Ibid.*, XVII. 19.

¹⁴ दैवचित्तकौविशापितो राजा । सोपसर्गं वो नक्षत्रं । तदवश्यं सर्वबन्धमोक्षः क्रियतामिति । *Māl.*, p. 71.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 17.

a crime, ought not to be kept in confinement on festive days—with this thought I got them set free and they came to bow down to me (in gratitude).” The hour of victory, which made the capital gay and furnished the people with an occasion of excessive mirth and merriment, was such a festival¹ (*Utsavadivasa*). It is possible that the Aśokan innovation of liberating prisoners on auspicious days² was continued under this very head of the *Utsavadivasa*. Kālidāsa thus makes a mention of all such occasions (as a conquest and the birth of an heir-apparent) as Kauṭilya³ enjoins upon a king as fit for liberating prisoners.

Provinces and Political Divisions

For the efficiency of administration the empire, or the kingdom, as the case was, was divided among several provinces. Each province was made the charge of a Viceroy appointed ordinarily from among the royal kinsmen. Agnimitra, the son of emperor Puṣyamitra and the hero of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, was such a Viceroy who held his court at Vidiśā, the seat of the southern viceroyalty of his father's empire. Kālidāsa, however, treats him as a sovereign king, free to declare war⁴ and conclude peace,⁵ assisted by a Council of Ministers.⁶ The poet designates him with almost godly epithets like *Bhagavān Vidiśeśvara*.⁷ This looks like a peculiar case although the assistance of a Council of Ministers has been already referred to in the Aśokan edicts.⁸

Frontiers

The frontiers⁹ (*pratyanta*) themselves must have formed provinces. They were protected by strong fortresses¹⁰ on the boundary line which were well guarded by garrisons.¹¹ The charge of these important forts was given to an officer called *Antapāla*.¹² It appears that such an important office was ordinarily held by a royal relation. We know that during the Maurya period the princes of the royal blood had the charge of provinces and frontiers. Aśoka had been the Governor once of Ujjain and at another time of Takṣaśilā¹³ while his son Kuṇāla that of Takṣaśilā.¹⁴ The southern frontiers of Agnimitra in the Narmadā valley were guarded by Virasena the king's brother-in-law, who was a half-brother to the Chief Queen Dhārīṇī.¹⁵ It may be noted that the *Artha-*

¹ मौद्गल्य, यज्ञसेनस्यालमूरीकृत्यमोच्यन्तां सर्वेबन्धनस्थाः Ibid., p. 103.

² Pillar Edict No. V.

³ *Arthasāstra*, Book II. ch. 36.

⁴ *Māl.*, p. 11.

⁵ Ibid., p. 100, V. 13. 14.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 100, 101.

⁷ Ibid., Act. IV.

⁸ Jaugada and Dhauri separate Rock Edicts and Siddhapura Inscription.

⁹ *Raghu.*, IV. 26; अन्त *Māl.*, pp. 9, 10.

¹⁰ अन्तपालदुर्ग *Māl.*, p. 9; *Raghu.*, IV. 26.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, IV. 26.

¹² *Māl.*, p. 10.

¹³ *Divyāvadāna*, p. 372; *Mahāvamśa*, V. 46.

¹⁴ *Divyāvadāna*, p. 430.

¹⁵ भ्रात्रा वीरसेनेन (विदर्भविषयात्) Ibid., p. 88, अस्ति देव्या वर्णावरो भ्राता वीरसेनो नाम स भर्त्रा नर्मदातीरेन्तपालदुर्गे स्थापितः Ibid., p. 9.

śāstra also refers to the frontiers and their guards (*antapāla*) in the following expression: "There shall be constructed in the extremities of the kingdom forts manned by boundary guards (*antapāla*), whose duty shall be to guard the entrances into the kingdom."¹

Feudal States

The feudatory states were free in matters of internal administration and formed with the provinces integral units of the empire. Numerous references to feudatory chiefs, as seen above, presenting themselves at the metropolis for winning the pleasure of their suzerain and following him in his tours of conquest, as also for getting the titles to their respective states renewed, may show that even the dependencies served as provinces and their chiefs as so many Vice-roys.

Further Political Divisions

Below is given a list of all the political divisions, both sovereign and subjugated, referred to by Kālidāsa. The north-western and northern lands and beyond were held by the *Pārasikas*², *Hūṇas*³ and *Kambojas*.⁴ The north and north-eastern frontiers were occupied by the hill tribes of the *Kirātas*⁵ and the *Utsava-sāṅketas*,⁶ and the far north-eastern part (Prāgjyotiṣa) was ruled by the king of the *Kāmarūpas*.⁷ The 'eastern countries' (*Paurastyan*)⁸ included *Subma*,⁹ *Vaṅga*,¹⁰ *Utkala*¹¹ and *Kaliṅga*.¹² The south comprised of the country of the Malaya mountain¹³ and of the *Pāṇḍyas*,¹⁴ the south-west boundary was inhabited by the *Keralas*¹⁵ and the west was called *Aparānta*.¹⁶ Besides the above, the poet refers to the following as well: *Magadha*,¹⁷ *Vīdarbhā*,¹⁸ *Aṅga*,¹⁹ *Avanti*²⁰, *Anūpa*²¹, *Sūrasena*²²,

¹ Book II. ch. 1.

² पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं *Raghu.*, IV. 60.

³ तत्र हूणावरोधानां *Ibid.*, 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 83, 84.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹² *Ibid.*, 38, 40, VI. 53.

¹³ मलयद्रुपत्यका *Ibid.*, IV. 46.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 49, VI. 60.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, VI. 20.

¹⁸ *Māl.*, p. 88, V. 2; *Raghu.*, V. 39, 61, VII. 32.

¹⁹ *Raghu.*, VI. 26.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

²² *Ibid.*, 45.

Kadambas,¹ the *Uttarakosalas*² and others (*anye*)³, who, perhaps, were not important enough to require a mention. The geographical identification of the above has been attempted in the chapter on Geography.

Immigration and Formation of Villages

Kālidāsa also refers in a verse⁴ to villages formed by immigrants due to their rush from elsewhere on account of overpopulation (*svargābbhiṣyandavamanam*) and to the founding of colonies (*kertvevopāniveśitām*). While explaining the verse in reference Mallinātha gives it a political character by quoting a whole passage from the *Arthaśāstra*⁵ which used the very phrase *abhiṣyandavamana* of Kālidāsa and thus precurses him. It runs as follows: "Either by inducing foreigners to immigrate (*pardeśāpavāhanena*) or by causing the thickly populated centres of his own kingdom to send forth the excessive population (*svadeśābbhiṣyandavamanenavā*), the king may construct villages either on new sites or on old ruins (*bhūta-pūrvamabbhūtapūrvam vā*).

Efficiency of Administration

With a benevolent ruler as the head of the government treating his subjects as his own children and working incessantly for their welfare, and with several departments carrying out the work of governance, the efficiency of administration was assured. The roads, the royal highways⁶, says Kālidāsa, were secure, and caravans wandered at ease at home and abroad, over mountains, forests and rivers⁷. It may be that this description is ideal, for the poet himself refers in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* to an attack on a royal party by forest robbers. But the incident occurs in a frontier forest the safety of which may not have been ensured due to the disputed nature of its possession. Ordinarily the roads of travelling were quite safe, which fact is amply borne out by the evidence of Fahien, who travelled in the Gupta dominions without any danger of molestation. The fear of chastisement was so great that even the breeze, says the poet, did not dare disturb the garments of drunken women fallen asleep on half the way to the pleasure ground.⁸ The king, taking a moderate course, suppressed all calamities⁹, whether earthly or heavenly¹⁰, through his political and religious actions¹¹, and to surpass every thing he even announced to his people to consider him in place of all the relations who were dead¹². Thus affectionately he strove

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., IX. I. XVIII. 7.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., XV. 29.

⁵ भूतपूर्वममृतपूर्वं वा जनपदं परदेशप्रवाहेण स्वदेशमिष्यन्दवमनेन वा निवेशयेत् Book II. ch. 1.

⁶ राजपथं *Raghu*, XIV. 30. राजवीथी XVIII. 39; महापथ *Ru*, VII. 3.

⁷ *Raghu*, XVII. 64.

⁸ Ibid., VI. 75.

⁹ *Māl.*, V. 20; *Raghu*, I. 63.

¹⁰ देवीनां मानुषीणां . . . आपदानां *Raghu*, I. 60.

¹¹ Ibid., XVII. 81.

¹² *Śāk.*, VI. 23.

to win the heart of his subjects. And it is no wonder if the people became restless in the absence of their king and drank his person, as it were, through their eyes¹ on his return. Laxities of all kinds tended to disappear in the kingdom and nothing inauspicious² touched the shadow of the people. Crimes had been much lessened and mostly restricted to the uncivilized tracts of the forests³. The poet declares in the *Bharatavākya* of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*⁴: "As for any other object of wish on part of the subjects, such as the removal of public calamities, there is none that cannot be accomplished while Agnimitra is their protector (*Goptā*)."

¹ *Raghu*, II. 73

² *Ibid.*, V. 13

³ *Māl.*, V. 10 अटविकेभ्यो *Ibid.*, p. 99

⁴ *Ibid.*, V. 20.

BOOK III
SOCIAL LIFE

CHAPTER IX

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY AND MARRIAGE

The picture of society as disclosed in the works of Kālidāsa is both graphic and varied. In the following pages is described the social life of the Indian people as reflected in the writings of the great Sanskrit poet. The description evidently is traditional, but since in this respect the Hindu community has hardly changed, it may as well reflect Kālidāsa's own age.

Structure of Society

Hindu society was composed of the four traditional castes or *Varṇas*¹, viz, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. A fifth class, composed of the fowlers², men living by net³, i.e. fishing⁴, Cāṇḍālas, and the like, has also been mentioned. This class, as the *Arthaśāstra*⁵ and the *Sukraniti*⁶ say, lived outside the walls of the city. This fact has been attested to by Fahien also who says that when the Cāṇḍālas entered the city they forewarned the caste Hindus of their approach by the sound of wooden sticks⁷. The various other foreign elements may also be classed with them. The three upper classes were technically known as *Dvija*⁸ or the twice-born, for the Upanayana Saṃskāra or ceremony, which they underwent, was supposed to give them a second birth conferring upon them the status which they enjoyed, particularly over the Śūdra, the fourth *Varṇa*. Himself a 'non-transgressor of the established order' (*śihiterabhettā*),⁹ the king was the 'protector of the *Varṇas*' (*Varṇāśramāṇām rakṣitā*) and to him was entrusted the responsibility of looking after the proper and righteous conduct of his people. It was in this capacity that the king merited the appellation of a 'charioteer' (*niyantubh*), who drove the chariot of righteousness to which were yoked his own people

¹ वर्णचतुष्टय *Raghu.*, XVIII. 12; वर्ण XV. 48; वर्णानां *Śāk.*, V. 10; वर्णाश्रमाणां *Raghu.*, V. 19, XIV. 67; *Śāk.*, p. 162.

² लब्धकैः *Śāk.*, p. 56; इवगणिवागुरिकैः *Raghu.*, IX. 53.

³ जालोपजीवी *Śāk.*, p. 186.

⁴ अहं जालोद्गालादिभिर्मत्स्यबन्धनोपायैः कुटुम्बभरणं करोमि । *Ibid.*, p. 183; धीवरः *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁵ Book II, ch. 4, p. 49.

⁶ Formation of forts and bridges.

⁷ James Legge: *Fahien's Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, p. 43.

⁸ द्विजेन *Raghu.*, V. 23. द्विजेतरतपस्विषुतं *Ibid.*, IX. 76.

⁹ *Ibid.* III. 27.

whom he so led that they did not leave the righteous path even to the extent of a line¹.

Castes

People are thus described to have solemnly adhered to the conduct of life recommended by the scriptures. Although laxities were not altogether unknown in the free, merry and aesthetic society of Kālidāsa, for we have at least one allusion² in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* to a General who was of a mixed-caste (*varṇavarāḥ*—born of a woman of a lower caste), of a Kṣatriya father and a Vaiśya or a Sūdra mother, nevertheless, the above was the ideal for the achievement of which the king strove with his people. Infringements of caste rules were rare and the king was always alert to put down the transgression (*apacāraḥ*) of those rules³. The leaders of society were anxious to keep their blood pure⁴ and the transgressor was very severely dealt with. Kālidāsa, who stands as a great supporter of the Varṇāśramadhrama, comments applaudingly on the death punishment meted out to the son of a 'non-twice born ascetic' by Rāma, thus supporting the idea that a Sūdra could not perform austerities⁵, for his duty was only to serve the three upper classes and his penances would mean a transgression of the caste rules. The vision of Kālidāsa is indeed 'Brahmanical and he deliberately repeats the condemnation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the Sūdra who threatened the security of the established order⁶.

The highest of the three qualities (*sattva*) was supposed to belong to the Brāhmaṇas, the highest of the three castes, and the next to that (*rajas*) to the next lower caste, the warrior or Kṣatriya caste, as it is clear from the words of Paraśurāma, now subject to the prowess of Rāma: "You have indeed turned even the disgrace of my defeat into a favour on me resulting in excellent fruit, since you have removed from my nature the passions inherited from my mother and reduced me to peacefulness, the proper quality of my paternal descent⁷." The poet strikes at the etymological explanation of the root from which the word Kṣatriya, the style of the second Varṇa is derived. It is indeed from 'the protection from harm' that the word Kṣatra has originated and become prevalent in that sense in the world⁸.

Caste and Vocation

In ordinary course of life the four castes pursued their respective callings and nobody looked down upon the apparent low earnings of a despised profession, although, at times, we do find a mocking tendency in a boaster of a higher caste with regard to such a vocation. In the *Abhijāna Śākuntala* we have such a reference where a fisherman having been attacked injudiciously on the

¹ Ibid. I. 17.

² वर्णविरो भ्राता *Māl.*, p. 9.

³ *Raghu.*, XV. 47, 48, 49.

⁴ संततिः शुद्धवंश्या हि Ibid., I. 69.

⁵ Ibid., XV. 53.

⁶ A. B. Keith: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 99.

⁷ *Raghu.*, XI. 90.

⁸ Ibid., II. 53.

point of his calling by a guard, presumably from the Kṣatriya caste, retaliates in a proper manner boldly justifying the pursuit of his profession. The fisherman enunciates one of the most important propositions of the Hindu social structure and adduces the example of the Brāhmaṇas. The pursuit of the different castes was supposed to be *sahaja* or born together, that which is enjoyed on account of one's birth. A Śrotriya, who is a learned Brāhmaṇa well versed in the Vedas, cannot be heartless, yet he has to be cruel in the act of killing animals in sacrifices, because that forms part of his *sahajakarma*. Similarly, the fisherman asserts, he follows his profession of catching and killing fish, not because he is naturally cruel of disposition, but because he has to pursue his *sahajakarma*¹. The verse, embodying the sense of the above discussion, seems to assert that whatever the allotted actions may be they must not be abandoned. The caste of the fisherman has been alluded to as a 'jāti' which under the schedule of Yājñavalkya would mean a mixed caste.

Of the four castes the most frequent reference is made to the two upper Varṇas, the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya. We learn that the wearing of the sacred thread had almost become a privilege² of the Brāhmaṇas who were mainly recognized by their Upavīta. The principal means of livelihood in case of a Brāhmaṇa seems to have been his earnings through priesthood³ (*dakṣiṇā*) to which several references have been made by the poet. The principal duty of a Kṣatriya was considered to be warfare. A distinction has been made between the son of a pure and that of a mixed Kṣatriya. The son of the former underwent all the ceremonies necessary for a twice-born.⁴ A Kṣatriya boy took his lessons in archery⁵ (*dhānurvede*) and saluted his elders by placing his bow, the principal sign of a Kṣatriya⁶, between his joined hands⁷. This meant that a Kṣatriya could put off his weapon under no circumstances. Of the Vaiśyas also we read in terms of Naigamaṣas⁸, Śreṣṭhi⁹, Vanija¹⁰ and Sārthavāhas¹¹ trading extensively by land and sea.

Āśramas, the Stages of Hindu Life

The *āśramas*¹² or stages of life, also four in number, divided the life of a Dvija into four stages, those of the Brahmacārī or the pupil, the Gṛhastha or the

¹ *Śāk.*, VI. 1.

² पित्र्यवंशमुपवीतलक्षणं *Raghu.*, XI. 64.

³ गृहीतदक्षिणोऽस्मि etc., *Māl.*, pp. 33, 88.

⁴ क्षत्रियकुलीनस्य जातकर्मादिविधानं *Vik.*, p. 128.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁶ मातृकं च धनुर्जितं दधत् *Raghu.*, XI. 64.

⁷ चापगर्भमञ्जलिं बद्ध्वा प्रणमति *Vik.*, p. 117.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV 13.

⁹ *Śāk.*, p. 219.

¹⁰ *Māl.*, I. 17; p. 98.

¹¹ समुद्रव्यवहारी सार्थवाहो धनमित्रो नाम नौव्यसने विपन्नः *Śāk.*, p. 219.

¹² शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानां यौवने विषयैषिणाम् ।

वार्धके मुनिवृत्तीनां योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम् ॥ *Raghu.*, I. 8.

आश्रम also in *Raghu.*, V. 19, VIII. 14, XIV. 67; *Śāk.*, p. 162.

householder, the Vānaprastha or the forest-dweller, and the Sanyāsī or the complete renouncer. Although the scenes attaching to the stage of renunciation described by the poet refer to a very ancient state of the Hindu society and it is not safe to generalize on this evidence that the four stages of life were actually in practice. Kālidāsa, in fact, could not imagine a life which did not consummate in the last stage of a dvija, that of sanyāsa. His Raghu instals his son in his place and retires to a life of penance for 'never indeed do those born in the solar-line continue to live as a householder in the presence of an able successor'¹. Such a recluse put on barks of trees² and lived beyond the gates of a city³. This was the last āśrama⁴. The first, that of the Brahmacārī, was occupied in the studies of the Vidyās, in case of Brāhmaṇa⁵, and in the practice of archery and study of the four Vidyās in that of Kṣatriya⁶. After the period of study the brahmacārī was allowed to marry and enter on the life-stage of a householder⁷. Of all the four stages the stage of the householder was deemed the most important⁸ for it fed all the rest of them. "The scheme of four stages", says Dr. Keith, "is in many ways perfectly adopted to Indian life, for it starves no side of a man's life⁹." Hindus studying the various Vidyās in the stage of a Brahmacārī, leading the life of comfort as a householder, practising asceticism in the old age ended their life in the last stage by means of Yoga and thus completed the allotted span of their existence¹⁰. This state of social life did exist, in howsoever crumbled a form, during the time of Kālidāsa as is evidenced by his references which are both emphatic and frequent.

The poet refers to a number of Saṃskāras which will be treated in the chapter on Religion. Here only one of them—Marriage—may be discussed as it is more of a social nature.

Marriage, one of the Saṃskāras, was a necessary rite to be performed by a dvija. Every religious rite, even the everyday sacrifice to Agni, was to be performed jointly with the wife and hence Kālidāsa emphasises her necessity for man, 'for the practice of religious duties in company'¹¹ (*sahadharmaçaraṇāya*) with her. The stage of the householder (*grhasthāśrama*) was considered the most important¹² of the four āśramas, since it fed the rest of them, and therefore a brahmacārī, who had acquired a knowledge of the fourteen sciences¹³, settled down

¹ *Raghu.*, VII. 71.

² तस्यैवल्कवाससो Ibid., VIII. 11.

³ निवसन्नावसथे पुराद्वहिः Ibid., 14.

⁴ आश्रममन्त्यमाश्रितो Ibid.

⁵ उपासविद्यो Ibid., V. 1. समाप्तविद्येन Ibid., 20. चतस्रोदश Ibid., 21.

⁶ गृहीतविद्यो धनुर्वेदे *Vik.*, p. 128; also of. क्रमाच्चतस्रः . . . ततार विद्याः *Raghu.*, III. 30.

⁷ *Raghu.*, V. 10.

⁸ सर्वोपकारक्षममाश्रमं ते Ibid.

⁹ A. B. Keith: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 98.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, I. 8.

¹¹ *Sāk.*, p. 165. सहधर्मचारिणी Ibid., p. 260; *Ku.*, VIII. 29; सहधर्मचारिणं Ibid., 51; क्रियाणां खलु धर्म्याणां सप्तत्यो मूलकारणं Ibid., VI. 13.

¹² सर्वोपकारक्षमं *Raghu.*, V. 10.

¹³ Ibid., III. 30. Ibid., V. 20; Ibid., 21.

as a married householder. The negotiation of marriage was a concern of the family priest or at least of a Brāhmaṇa as, for instance, we find the Saptarṣis,¹ a set of Brāhmaṇas, begging the hand of Pārvatī from her father for Śiva so graphically described in the *Kumārasambhava*.

Types of Marriage

We read of four types of marriage referred to in the works of Kālidāsa. They are as follows: *Svayamvara*² or the self-choice of a husband; *Prājāpatya*³, in which the father of the bride gave her away to the bridegroom after decorating her person with ornaments; *Gāndharva*⁴, in which the parties themselves negotiated their marriage without the knowledge or intervention of their elders, and in which no marital rites were observed; and *Āsura*⁵, in which the father accepted bride-money from the bridegroom.

A very graphic description of *Svayamvara* is given in the sixth canto of the *Raghuvamśa* which may be described below to point out the incidents of a marriage of free-choice, and which may serve also as a type.

Svayamvara

The guardian of the bride sent out invitations to kings to come in person or send their crown-princes to attend the *Svayamvara*⁶. Kings reached the city of the bride with their armies⁷ where they were received by the host at the principal city gate⁸ and were taken to the royal palace the entrance of which was decorated with auspicious articles like big vessels full of water⁹, (*pūrṇakumbha*). There assembled a host of personages to attend the function with jealous feelings, eager to win the hand of the bride.¹⁰ But it is to be noted that due care was taken on the part of the arriving kings to ascertain whether the family of the king inviting them to attend the *Svayamvara* was worthy enough for their matrimonial connection.¹¹ Dawn was announced to the sleeping royal guests by the bards of the host with panegyrical songs.¹² Later, the kings, bedecking their persons with attractive and agreeable attire, seated themselves on the costly thrones in the picturesque gallery of the arena of the *Svayamvara*, built for the occasion, reaching them by flights of steps.¹³ A huge throng of citizens assembled to witness the

¹ *Ku.*, VI. 31, 65, 78, 79.

² *Raghu.*, V. 39, 64-76, VII. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, VII. 13, 15-28; *Ku.*, VII. 73-89.

⁴ *Śāk.*, III, 20, *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁵ दुहितृशुल्कसंस्थया *Raghu.*, XI. 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*, V. 39.

⁷ प्रस्थापयामास ससैन्यं *Ibid.*, V. 40.

⁸ नगरोपकण्ठे *Ibid.*, 61, द्वार 63.

⁹ द्वारविमिवेशितपूर्णकुम्भाम् *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹¹ श्लाघ्यसंबन्धमसौ विचिन्त्य *Ibid.*, 40.

¹² *Ibid.*, 65.

¹³ मञ्च *Ibid.*, VI. 1.

Svayamvara, and surveyed¹ the suitors. The Svayamvara was supposed to be presided over by Saci². Now there appeared bards who recited the glory of the assembly of the princes, representing both the solar and the lunar races³. Then, when the sweet fragrance of the floating 'fume of burning sandal-wood of excellent quality, spread around rising above the banners'⁴ and auspicious 'trumpet sounds having extended to the end of the cardinal points swelled by the blowing of the conch'⁵, the maiden princess, who was about to choose a husband (*patimavarā*), decked in wedding dress, took her seat in a palanquin, borne by men and looking beautiful by her train of attendants, entered on the 'royal road' built between the galleries⁶. Naturally all eyes were attracted to her, and kings who had betrayed their passion for her, began to draw her attention by various insinuations and meaning gestures⁷. A certain king, for instance, started turning round a pleasure lotus⁸, another began to set to its proper place the displaced garland⁹; a third scratched the golden footstool with his foot¹⁰; a fourth tore the ketaka flower with his nails¹¹; there was another who started talking with his neighbour by bending a little¹² and yet another was busy adjusting his crown¹³ as though it had slipped off its proper place.¹⁴ At last the chief of the attendants, the principal friend of the princess and keeper of the entrance of the royal harem (*Pratihhararakṣī*), as bold as a man having full knowledge of the exploits achieved by, as also of the pedigrees of the kings, led the maiden princess from king to king¹⁵. Like the flame of a nightly moving torch the self-choosing maiden (*patimavarā*) proceeded forth, and as she passed on rejecting and leaving the kings behind her, they turned pale and gloomy and wore a dim and dusky appearance like the buttress of a mansion on the royal highway when the torch had passed beyond it¹⁶. Then at last, she stopped in front of one whom she adored and considered equal to her status in family, beauty and youth (*kulena kāntyā vayasā navena*), and who was endowed with excellent virtues (*guṇaiśca*), particularly with worthy humility, to make him her choice, for, indeed, a gem must necessarily be obtained by gold¹⁶. With modesty worthy of women she got placed through her companion (*dhātrīkarābhyām*) the long 'garland of choice' round the neck of her chosen lord¹⁷, and thus ended the Svayam-

¹ Ibid., 7.

² Ibid., VII. 3.

³ Ibid., VI. 8.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 9.

⁶ Ibid., 10.

⁷ Ibid., 12.

⁸ Ibid., 13.

⁹ Ibid., 14.

¹⁰ Ibid., 15.

¹¹ Ibid., 17.

¹² Ibid., 16.

¹³ Ibid., 19.

¹⁴ Ibid., 20.

¹⁵ Ibid., 67.

¹⁶ Ibid., 79.

¹⁷ प्रत्यग्रहीत्स्वरणस्रजेव Ibid., VI. 80, cf. also ibid, 81, 83.

vara amidst the resounding cheers of the citizens, who gave vent to their feelings through a unanimous utterance, unpleasant to the ears of the disappointed throng of kings¹.

It may be noted in this connection that in such a Svayamvara very naturally the choice may have been already made in the heart of the bride which was practically given effect to in a legal way in the presence of a host of kings and spectators; for it is entirely inconceivable how the chief maid attending on the princess who was expected to be very clever should not have easily influenced the princess's mind in the choice of her husband. The practical display of the Svayamvara was meant, it appears, for the formal approval of the social authority unless it was marked by some feat of prowess which was a condition precedent to the winning of the hand of the bride.

The Svayamvara thus over, the bride and the bridegroom proceeded to the palace under the shade of various auspicious decorations like arches, banners and other articles of beauty on the king's highway². All windows of the house of citizens opening on the road-side were filled with faces, the ladies having hurried to them to have a look at the procession³. Then the bridegroom reaching the royal palace decorated with auspicious articles and paintings got down from the elephant that he mounted⁴. Now started the various ceremonies of the marriage proper which was performed in the manner of Prājāpatya. It should have been described while dealing with incidents of the Prājāpatya form of marriage but may be quoted here also for the purpose of clarity.

The bridegroom was seated on a valuable lion-throne where he accepted the *madhuparka* mixed with other articles of pūjā, along with precious gems, and a pair of silken robes⁵. This was analogous to the present dvāra-pūjā. He was led to the bride by the well-disciplined guards of the harem⁶. There, after receiving the pūjā, and the priest having worshipped the fire with oblations, the bridegroom was joined with the bride in marriage⁷. He accepted the hand of the bride⁸ and the couple made rounds of the sacred fire⁹. The bride performed the lāja-visarjana ceremony as instructed by the priest¹⁰. The oblation emitted forth an agreeable fragrance of the tender leaves of the śami tree and of the 'lāja' or parched rice¹¹. The snātakas, royal kinsmen, i.e., the father or the guardian and unwidowed mothers with living children, in order of their respective ranks threw wet rice on the couple sitting on the golden lion-throne¹².

In the end the rest of the assembled kings were entertained with pūjā after

¹ Ibid., 85.

² Ibid., VII. 4.

³ Ibid., 5-12.

⁴ Ibid., 17.

⁵ Ibid., 18.

⁶ Ibid., 19.

⁷ Ibid., 20.

⁸ Ibid., 21.

⁹ Ibid., 24.

¹⁰ Ibid., 25.

¹¹ Ibid., 26.

¹² Ibid., 28.

which they left for their respective kingdoms. The newly married husband also left with his wife taking with him the dowry on the completion of the marital rites¹. It was no wonder if the disappointed kings confederated to revenge themselves on a common enemy, and waylaid him². The practice of Svayamvara obviously prevailed among the Kṣatriyas, particularly the nobles and the kings, of early times.

/Prājāpatya

Kālidāsa considers the Prājāpatya as the best form of marriage and binds his principal deity Śiva with his consort with the incidents of this very form in the seventh canto of the *Kumārasambhava*. In this form of marriage the father of the bride adorned his daughter with ornaments and gave her away to the bridegroom after the completion of the necessary rites as is enjoined by the Code of Manu. Sometimes the suitor through his agent approached the father of the bride and begged his daughter's hand in marriage. This was done at times in the presence of the bride herself as in the case of Pārvatī who blushed scarlet and naturally diverted her attention to the counting of petals of the lotus which she held in her hand³.

The following narration occurring in the seventh canto of the *Kumārasambhava* gives a full account of the incidents of a Prājāpatya marriage and its rites. The marriage referred to in this canto is that of Śiva and Pārvatī. It is as follows:

Preliminary Rites and the Bride's Decoration

The father of the bride with his kinsmen made preparations for the marriage of his daughter on an auspicious date (*tithi*), generally falling in the Śukla-pakṣa, the bright-half of the lunar month⁴. The highway leading to the house of the bride was lined with flags, made of China silk and decorated with bright golden floral arches⁵. Friends and relatives of the bride embraced her and presented ornaments to her⁶. When the blessed hour of the *Maitra mubhūrta* approached and the *Uttaraphālgunī* joined the moon women began the bride's toilet, the application of cosmetics, etc. Ladies who performed her toilet were required to be unwidowed dames, who had borne male children⁷. The bride was adorned with the *dūrvā* grass which was considered very auspicious, and she was given to wear a silken robe beneath her waist while she held an arrow in her hand⁸, perhaps only when the bride was a Kṣatriya. Sandal oil and *kāleyaka* were applied to her body and *lodhra* dust was besmeared over her person. Then she received another robe and was led by ladies to the bathroom facing the pavilion of four pillars⁹, which was

¹ Ibid., 29, 30.

² Ibid., 31.

³ *Ku.*, VI. 84.

⁴ ऋद्धौ तिथौ जामित्रगुणान्वितायाम् Ibid., VII. 1.

⁵ Ibid., VII. 3.

⁶ Ibid., 5.

⁷ Ibid., 6.

⁸ Ibid., 7.

⁹ Ibid., 9.

more like a chamber than an ordinary pavilion decked with pearls and paved with sapphires, while the sweet sound of the choicest music breathed around. In the bathroom women poured over her limbs streams of water from golden urns¹; and then after she had been arrayed in the fairest white costume², she was led by chaste and unwidowed dames to a court with canopies. There they seated her on a *vedī*³ with her face to the east⁴. They dried her body with incense and decked her hair with flowers. They crowned her temples with a chaplet of fragrant grass⁵. Then again her face was painted in beautiful forms of leaves with white *aguru* mixed with yellow *gorocana*⁶. Her cheeks were dyed with glowing saffron, or with *gorocana* and *lodhra* dust; bunches of *yava* or barley were hung from her ears⁷, and tints were applied to her lips⁸. Her feet were dyed⁹ and unguent was applied to her eyes¹⁰. Her neck and arms were adorned with gems and precious stones. Gold ornaments¹¹ were next put on by her, standing before an auspicious mirror¹². Thereafter her mother decorated her with the golden dye of the nuptial line, and fastened the woollen-band¹³ on her wrist. This *kautuka-sūtra*, the auspicious thread generally dyed yellow, worn round the wrist by the bride is generally taken away on the third day after the conclusion of marriage. The fastening of the *kautuka-sūtra* thus done, the bride worshipped the *kula-devatā*, the deity of the family, and then proceeded to the elderly ladies, in order of seniority¹⁴, to receive the blessings like one embodied in the following words: *akhaṇḍitam prema labhasva patnyuh*—May you obtain the undivided love of your husband¹⁵!

The buss and hurry was no less marked in the house of the bridegroom than in that of the bride. The bridegroom was also decked with articles¹⁶ worthy of his station in life by the ladies of his family. He was anointed with cosmetics like *aṅgarāga* and adorned with jewels on the head, wrists, neck, arms and ears. He put on a silken shawl woven with the figures of flamingoes¹⁷, applied the tik mark of *haritāla* and *manasfilā*¹⁸, and then stood before a looking-glass¹⁹. The marriage party then marched to the house of the bride's father accompanied

¹ Ibid., 10.

² Ibid., 11.

³ Ibid., 12.

⁴ प्राङ्मुखी Ibid., 13.

⁵ Ibid., 14.

⁶ Ibid., 15.

⁷ Ibid., 17.

⁸ किञ्चिन्मधूच्छिष्टविमृष्टरागा Ibid., 18.

⁹ Ibid., 19.

¹⁰ कालाञ्जनं Ibid., 20.

¹¹ Ibid., 21.

¹² आदर्शबिम्बे Ibid., 22.

¹³ Ibid., 23, 24, 25.

¹⁴ Ibid., 27.

¹⁵ Ibid., 28.

¹⁶ प्रसाधने Ibid., 30.

¹⁷ Ibid., 32.

¹⁸ Ibid., VII. 33.

¹⁹ Ibid., 36.

with auspicious music¹. The bridegroom was accorded the honour of a king inasmuch as he was accompanied by attendants with an umbrella (*ātapatra*) and fly-whisks (*camara*²).

Auspicious Decorations in Marriage

On the occasion of marriage houses and roads through which the procession of the marriage party passed were decorated with auspicious articles (*māṅgalasamviddhābhī*³). The gates of the houses were decorated with pitchers full of water (*pūrṇakumbha*⁴). Other articles considered auspicious were musk (*nirgarocanā*), clay brought from places of pilgrimage and sprouts of *dūrva* grass, etc⁵. The highways were decorated with arches painted with the figures of rainbow arches⁶ and flags (*dhvajā*⁷).

Marital Rites

The party of the relations of the bride, with their persons well-adorned, proceeded on elephants to receive the procession of the bridegroom.⁸ The gates of the city were thrown open and flowers were strewn over the procession.⁹ Women climbed the roofs of their houses to have a look at the procession.¹⁰ The highway (*patha*) was decorated with flags and arch-ways under which the procession walked on receiving the auspicious *akṣata* thrown over it.¹¹ The bridegroom was received and seated with due ceremony. Honey and milk along with rich gems and a pair of silken robes were given to him, while priests chanted the hymns.¹² At length he was led to the bride by well-behaved attendants.¹³ The priest laid the hand of the bride on that of the bridegroom.¹⁴ Now the symbols of Śiva and Pārvatī, as presiding marital deities were formed and worshipped.¹⁵ The couple then trod round the sacred fire thrice in solemn rite¹⁶ and at the biddings of the priest the bride threw the parched grain into the fire in due order.¹⁷ Thereafter the officiating priest blessed the bride and her spouse in the following manner: "This sacred flame is the witness of your marriage. Be a faithful husband and a true

¹ Ibid., 40.

² Ibid., 41, 42.

³ *Raghu*, VII. 16, X. 77; *Śāk.*, p. 129.

⁴ *Raghu*, V. 63.

⁵ *Śāk.*, p. 127.

⁶ *Raghu*, VII. 4.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ *Ku.*, VII. 52.

⁹ Ibid., 55.

¹⁰ Ibid., 56.

¹¹ Ibid., 63, 69.

¹² Ibid., 72.

¹³ Ibid., 73.

¹⁴ Ibid., 76.

¹⁵ Ibid., 78.

¹⁶ Ibid., 79, 80.

¹⁷ Ibid., 81.

wife.¹” The bridegroom addressed his wife: “Look up, gentle lady, do you see the brightness of the polar star? Your faith must shine like that unchanging ray.”² And to it the bride replied: “Yes, I see” (*dr̥ṣṭā*). Here ended the Vedic rites and commenced the Laukika⁴ ones. The couple was seated on a golden *āsana* or seat, placed on a square *vedi* and the auspicious moistened grain was scattered over them.⁵ Thus were concluded the rituals pertaining to the Prājāpatya form of marriage.

Consummation of Marriage

After the ceremony of marriage was over the period of mirth and merriment commenced. Some sort of a dramatic performance was given by maids, who ‘entwined expressive dance in graceful play,’ and whose eloquent motions with an actor’s art showed to the life the passions of the heart. These maids were accomplished in the *vṛttis* like the Kāuśikī.⁶ The couple was then left alone to proceed to the bridal bower where a soft bed of flowers had already been prepared and where auspicious golden pitchers had been placed.⁷ This last incident perhaps points out to the act of consummation of marriage. This practice is still current in Bengal. The night of consummation is called *Subhāgrāta* in the U. P. In the narrative of the marriage given by Kālidāsa the bridegroom and the bride started on an excursion of pleasure,⁸ a honeymoon.

Gāndharva

The *Gāndharva* form of marriage was entirely an affair of love which consummated in a union without the proposal of marriage. It proceeded entirely from free love and mutual inclination of a youth and a maiden, and was concluded with the mutual consent and agreement of the couple without consulting their relatives. It was then ratified as a *fait accompli* under the Hindu law of *Factum Valet* by the parents of the contracting parties as is clear from the following verse: “Here elders were not regarded by her; nor were the kinsmen consulted by you too. In a matter done singly by each, what should another say to either.”⁹ This is the disappointed expression of one who feels for the folly of such a union as the *Gāndharva* form of marriage sanctions. The Hindu rules of matrimony do not, in fact, approve explicitly of courtship. The problem of marriage was thought to be very important and its grave responsibility was not to be left to the discretion of the young folk. This is why Kālidāsa praises ‘a discreet daughter waiting for the consent of her father,’ in the event

¹ Ibid., 83.

² Ibid., 85.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., 88.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., 91.

⁷ Ibid., 94.

⁸ प्राणिपीडनविधेरनन्तरं . . . कामदोहद् Ibid., VIII. 1.

⁹ Śāk., V. 16.

of her marriage who does not rush to contract a marital agreement of her own free-will.¹ Elders must help their youngsters in search of a proper match with their vast experience of the world for the way is too dark for individual experiments. This is why a suppressed reproach is implied by Kālidāsa in the above expression of Gautamī—*‘ekkekame va charie bhaṇāmi kim ekkamekkassa.’* Mistakes by youngsters, indeed, would be too many and mistakes in marriage among Hindus are irretrievable for they result in an extinction of life in society. “Therefore,” observes Kālidāsa, “a union, especially when in private, should be formed after careful examination. Friendship towards those, whose hearts are unknown, thus turns into hostility.”² Matrimonial connection should always follow a careful scrutiny of the other party; especially when such an agreement is secretly entered into, this examination becomes all the more obligatory. Otherwise friendship turns into enmity in the case of persons whose hearts are not previously acquainted with each other.

We are not sure if the Gāndharva marriage was permissible at the time of Kālidāsa. The custom had become long obsolete and from the above injunctions of the poet himself it is evident that it was at least not prevalent during the time of the poet, except, perhaps, in case of a few laxities which he seems to deprecate. The most explicit reference to the Gāndharva marriage is found in the union of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā described in the *Abhijñāna Śakuntala*. This is obviously a traditional reference to an archaic incident which has been supported by the poet only by quoting instances from times still more archaic, as in the following: “Many daughters of kings and sages are reported to have been married by the Gāndharva form; and they were congratulated by their fathers.”³ Nevertheless, this verse suggests the idea more of a subdued permission, even in those ancient days of the epics to which this verse refers, than of a form of marriage actually prevalent in society. To Kālidāsa it is not at all a homely incident but one the sanction for which he is constrained to quote from instances, not contemporaneous, but only ‘reported’ (*śrūyante*) as old and archaic even during the days of Duṣyanta.

Āsura

There is an indirect reference made to the Āsura form of marriage in the phrase *dubitrśulkaśamsthayā*,⁴ i.e. by the condition of the Sulka or bride-money of his daughter. In the Āsura form of marriage payment of some consideration to the relatives and the father of the bride with a view to marrying the bride is imperative. This form of marriage differs from the Brāhma form inasmuch as consideration plays an essential part in it while in the Brāhma it does not. Āsura form of marriage might not have been unknown to the times of Kālidāsa for this is the last resort of the desertless people who have money but not worth, and who always remain, in every society.

¹ श्री साभिलाषापि गुरोरनुज्ञां धीरेव कन्या पितुराचकांक्षा । *Raghu*, V. 38.

² *Śāk.*, V. 24.

³ *Śāk.*, III. 20.

⁴ *Raghu*, XI. 38.

Departure of the Bride

A stanza occurring in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* describes the typical Hindu attachment to the daughter. She has been alluded to as another's property and as being guarded by the father as a trust or deposit (*vyāsaḥ*).¹ The typical mind of the contemporary society is reflected in the following verse: "People suspect a married woman, whose only resort is her kinsmen's house, to be otherwise (i.e. unchaste), although she is chaste. Hence a woman is desired by her kinsmen to keep near her husband, although not liked by him."² Resorting to a state of independence was looked down as a grave offence³ on the part of a married woman and, as said above, a woman living in the family of her kinsmen was considered to be transgressing social rules and compromising her own status as a wife, whereas even slavery in the house of her husband was considered commendable.⁴ It is therefore natural that a father should have felt greatly relieved by sending away her daughter to her husband.⁵ At the time of her departure the bride was decked with auspicious adornments (*prasthāna-kautuka*)⁶ like the applying of *gorocana* and clay brought from holy places and sticking of the sprouts of *dūrvā* grass.⁷ She wore auspicious silk garments,⁸ white like the moon, dyed her feet with lac-dye, and put on ornaments. She took another pair of silk garments which served as the upper and lower pieces of her robe. Then she was asked to make rounds of a newly kindled fire.⁹ When ready to leave her old home she was blessed to take a route free from obstacles and thorns and guarded by auspiciousness (*śāntānukūlapavanaśca śivāśca pañthāḥ*).¹⁰ Then the father spoke thus: "Serve your elders, act the part of a dear friend towards your co-wives; though ill treated by your husband never go against him in anger, be extremely courteous towards your servants; be not puffed up in fortune; in this way do young women attain the position of housewives; the perverse are the banes of their family."¹¹ The reference to *grhīṇīpada* in the stanza is notable for the position of the *grhīṇī* or matron was considered most honourable for a woman. Kaṇva concludes his advice by the exhortation: "Having become for a long time the co-wife of the Earth, bounded by the four oceans, and having settled your son by Duṣyanta, an unrivalled warrior, you will make your abode in this tranquil hermitage again along with your husband, who will have transferred the responsibility of his family on him."¹²

¹ *Śāk.*, IV. 21.² *Ibid.*, IV. 17.³ ०पुरो भागे स्वातन्त्र्यमवलम्बसे *Ibid.*, p. 178.⁴ पतिकुले तव दास्यमपि क्षमम् *Ibid.*, V. 27.⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 21.⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 125.⁷ *Śāk.*, p. 127.⁸ परिवेहि संपदं खोमजुगलं *Ibid.*, p. 133.⁹ वत्स इतः सद्यो हुताग्नीन्द्रदक्षिणीकुण्डम् *Ibid.*¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IV. 10.¹¹ *Ibid.*, 17.¹² *Ibid.*, 19.

Although the blessing is addressed to a prospective queen, the spirit embodied in it is typical.

The above verse may also serve to suggest that the daughter once having gone to the house of her husband, may be, never returned to her original home, as the sage enjoins upon Śakuntalā to return to his hermitage only at the end of her life as a householder and at the commencement of Vānaparstha stage. May be, such a custom prevailed among kings and nobles, as it is even now a practice with certain families of native chiefs.

Age of the Couple

The marriageable age was considered to fall in the post-puberty period. The bride was ever conscious of the love she was making and of the rituals she was a witness to. We have seen above that on several occasions she was required to assent to certain features of the marriage ceremony.¹ It is really inconceivable how a girl could have gone out to choose her husband in a Svayamvara unless she was intelligent enough to grasp the sense and estimate the degree of responsibility she had soon to shoulder. The post-puberty marriage is well evidenced in the fact that Kālidāsa alludes to the bride's and bridegroom's state of horripilation at the touch of each other.² The idea is also brought home by the fact that the poet speaks of the preparation of a marriage-bed soon after the connubial rites are over.³ How could this be possible unless the couple were of mature age. The age of Śakuntalā may be instanced in this connection. But if, perhaps, some may object that since Śakuntalā was the daughter of a Kṣatriya, the rule of marriage at eight did not apply to her, the examples of Anusūyā and Prīmīyavādā may be cited. They were Brāhmaṇa and although they were of the same age as Śakuntalā, the sage did not much worry about their marriage, but merely remarked that they also were *pradeya* (bestowable).⁴

The custom of marrying in order of age seems to have been established in the time of Kālidāsa, in pursuance of which the eldest married first and the youngest last. A younger brother marrying before his elder brother was called *Parivettā* in the manner of one ascending the throne and enjoying royalty before his elder brother and such one, therefore, has been referred to by the same term.⁵ The son of a Brāhmaṇa married after his period of study as it is reflected in the reference of Kautsa, the pupil of Varatantu. He was allowed to marry and make a home⁶ (*grhāya*). The son of a Kṣatriya likewise married after his period of training.⁷ A prince observed celibacy at least till he became sixteen years old, when he was able to bear the weight of a coat of mail. Then he observed the ceremony of tonsure (*godāna*) and married.⁸ It was seen that he was of the mar-

¹ Ku., VII. 85.

² Ibid., 77.

³ Ibid., also cf. Ibid., 95.

⁴ Śāk., p. 144.

⁵ Ragh., XII. 16 cf. Amarakośa परिवेत्तानुजोऽनूढे ज्येष्ठे दारापरिग्रहात् quoted by Mallinātha.

⁶ अनुमतो गृहायं Ragh., V. 10.

⁷ Ibid., III. 30, 32.

⁸ Ibid., V. 40.

riageable age fixed for a Kṣatriya prince by the scriptures (*dārākriyāyogadasān*).

Dowry

The custom of giving dowry existed although, unlike now, it was not a condition precedent to the marriage. When the ceremonies of marriage were over the bridegroom received a dowry¹ (*baraṇam*) from the guardian of the bride in proportion to the guardian's means and zeal (*sattvānurūpa*). The daughter was given away with the ornaments decking her person (*maṅgalālāṅkṛtā*)² and these ornaments along with the presents received by her from her relatives on the occasion of her marriage,³ became her *strīdhana*.

Polygamy

Although the Prājāpatya marriage prevailed, and people, in general, wedded a single wife, plurality of wives was not unknown. Nobles and rich men were often wedded to several wives.⁴ All kings, portrayed by Kālidāsa in his plays, indulge without exception in a multiplicity of wives. The following makes it clear how co-wives lived in peace: "Even to the extent of admitting a rival, noble ladies who love their husbands, honour their spouses; the great rivers bear to the ocean the waters of many a tributary stream."⁵

Caste-marriage

Ordinarily it was expected that a man should marry a woman of his own caste and it appears from the passage quoted below that a girl of the hermitage in ordinary course could marry a hermit alone. The Clown says: "Then indeed let your Majesty quickly rescue her, that she may not fall into the hands of some hermit whose head has turned greasy with the oil of the iṅgudi fruit."⁶ But, nevertheless, intercaste-marriages were not unknown, and we have a reference to such a marriage in the phrase *varṇāvaraḥ*⁷, i.e. born of a lower caste. In the story Virasena (a general and half-brother of queen Dhārīṇī), born of a step-mother of lower caste, is mentioned.

Some Remarks on Marriage

As we have seen above, marriage was meant for the accomplishment of an end which was the 'performance of the social and religious duty in company'⁸ (*Sahadbharmacarāṇāya*); this phrase was an essential injunction of the priest on the

¹ Ibid., VII. 32; cf. Mallinatha: हरणं कन्यायै देयं धनम् । यौतुकादि तु यदेयं सुदायो हरणं च तत् इत्यमरः

² Ku., VI. 87.

³ Ibid., VII. 5.

⁴ अथरोषे महत्यपि *Raghu*, I. 32; बहुबल्लभा राजानः श्रूयन्ते *Sāk.*, p. 105. बहुपत्नीकेन Ibid., p. 219; ज्येष्ठमातरम् *Vik.*, p. 140.

⁵ *Māl.*, II. 14, V. 19.

⁶ *Sāk.*, p. 73.

⁷ *Māl.*, p. 9, text quoted *ante*.

⁸ *Sāk.*, pp. 165, 260; *Ku.*, VIII. 29, 51; cf. also *Ku.*, VI. 13.

couple, and in consequence of it the wife was termed a *dharmapatnī*¹. Wife was considered the chief necessity for the performance of rites of those that were righteous and were ever busy in the observance of religious duties (*kriyāṇām khalu dharmyāṇām satpatnyo mūlakāraṇam*). The wedlock itself was considered a result of 'affection to which real love was tied'² (*bhāvavandhanaprema*). The phrase *bhāvabandhana* has been explained by Vallabha by the phrase *cetovṛttigumphanam* which suggests a complete fusion of the feelings of two hearts. *Prema* is kind and tender behaviour towards one whom we love; *bhāva* is the mind, the feeling which in the present passage is equivalent to love. So marriage, in spite of its cold responsibilities of religion, was impregnated with affection. Affection itself was supposed to be the perfect abnegation of two persons who were desirous of blending their beings into one. The bridegroom therefore has been called an *arhat* while the wife a very 'image of righteous observances'³ (*satkriyā*). It was the union of a gem with gold⁴. It was a fusion of two hearts in this life as well as in other lives to come (*manoḥi janmāntara saṅgatiijñam*)⁵. It was a union of Prakṛti and Pratyaya.⁶ In fact the importance of marriage in the time of Kālidāsa, as even before and after, could not be overrated as it was the main source from which an *aurasa putra*⁷ a legitimate male child, could be obtained. The absence of such a son was considered an extreme misery.

It may be mentioned in this connection as pointed out by Prof. A. B. Keith⁸ that "the wedlock of Śiva and Pārvatī, as described in the *Kumārasambhava* is not an adventure, a mere sport, no episode of light love as that of Zeus with Danae or many another. Their nuptials and their love serve as the prototype for human marriage and human love, and sanctify with divine precedent the forces which make the home and carry on the race of men." Śiva is won only by an uncommon zeal of affection which endows the slender and weak frame of Umā with enough strength to endure the extraordinary hardship and severity of the penances which could put even the most austere ascetics to shame⁹. Śiva is won, but this victory of Umā cannot be consummated into a union with him without the positive sanction of the Prājāpatya form of marriage.¹⁰ Her hand is sought from her father, who does not only sanction the proposal but also tacitly consents to the austerities of his daughter to win the love of her would-be husband which may even amount to a sanction to love; otherwise it would have been only a union not for *sahadharma* *caranāya* but for the attainment of the pleasures of lust or *kāma*. Where the cause of union was *kāma*, *dharmācarana* or the performance of social and religious duties could not be an effect, as in the case of the marriage of Duṣ-

¹ *Śāk.*, VI. 24.

² *Raghu.*, III. 24.

³ *Śāk.*, V. 15.

⁴ *Māl.*, V. 18; *Raghu.*, VI. 79.

⁵ *Raghu.*, VII. 15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XI. 56.

⁷ *Śāk.*, p. 242.

⁸ *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 87.

⁹ *Ka.*, VI. 29.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, V. 86; cf. *Ibid.*, VII.

yanta and Sakuntalā on whom the punishment of religious indignation fell severely. The *Kumārasambhava* and *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* respectively show the merits and demerits of Prājāpatya and Gāndharva forms of marriage. The *Śākuntala* points to the unworthiness, insecurity and the hollowness of a Gāndharva marriage, and the consequent suffering which it entailed on the couple so much so that they had to part, and later on they were united only when the wrong had been made good by the subjective torture of Duṣyanta, and by Sakuntalā having perceived the sin of making love in a hermitage.

Wife

Kālidāsa quotes an interesting view about the relation of the husband and wife. To the husband he gives complete authority over his wife (*dāreṣu prabhatā sarvato mukhī*). In the *Śākuntala* Sāradvata retorts angrily in the face of Duṣyanta on the latter's declining to accept Sakuntalā as his wife: "This then is your wife, accept or reject her. Meet verily is the 'alround' dominion of the husbands over their wives¹." This view has its nearest approach to that propounded by Manu when he says that the legal effect of the gift of the wife to her would-be husband is demonstrated in the latter's complete ownership over her (*pradānam svāmyakāraṇam*²).

The works of Kālidāsa reveal a high status of the wife, since they give the reader repeatedly the idea that wedded love alone is capable of producing successful results in religious rites³. When Siva conceives this truth and looks upon the chaste Arundhatī, his yearning for the ethereal pleasures of wedlock grows remarkably⁴. "Only the foolish distinguish," says Kālidāsa, "between man and woman; the good respect both equally⁵." Siva's regard for Arundhatī is not a bit less due to the reason of her sex, as to the good the "distinction in terms of the male and female is of no account⁶."

The wife was endeared and loved by her husband, who bore a highly respectful attitude towards his consort⁷ (*arcitā*, highly respected, *lit.* worshipped). Very naturally did the wife, separated in the rainy season from her husband, eagerly await the return of her lord at the commencement of the rains, and so when the clouds began to hover over her head, she looked up to them with unaccountable pleasure as they were considered the herald of her beloved⁸. The reference to brushing aside with the hand of the hair from their forehead in the act of looking up to the clouds points to the custom of chaste women refraining from oiling and combing their hair⁹. A wife's conduct of life is reflected in that of the consort of the yakṣa who may be taken for a type living at home in the ab-

¹ उपपन्ना हि दारेषु प्रभुता सर्वतोमुखी *Śāk.*, V. 26.

² *Manusmṛiti*, V. 152.

³ क्रियाणां खलु धर्म्याणां सत्पत्यो मूलकारणम् *Ku.*, VI. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ अचिता तस्य कौसल्या *Raghu.*, X. 55.

⁸ *M. P.*, 8.

⁹ उद्गृहीतालकान्ता: *M. P.*, 8; cf. *M. U.*, 21.

sence of her husband. She is entirely unmindful of her clothes and sits to sing the glories of the family of her lord to the tune of the *viṇā* placed on her thighs. She wipes off the constantly falling drops of tears from her *viṇā* and forgets even the most thoroughly practised *mūrccchanā*¹. She is either counting flowers placed on the threshold to indicate the number of days yet remaining in the return of her husband or performing several auspicious rites. These aforesaid, says Kālidāsa, were the ways in which wives separated from their husbands often employed themselves to while away the period of separation². In the absence of her husband the wife gave up sleeping on the bedstead and slept on the ground.³ She left her hair unoiled and uncombed, as said above. She never cut her nails nor did she undo her tresses to make fresh ones⁴. Thus she renounced every sort of toilet and decoration⁵. Her eyes remained without unguent, her eyebrows lost their charms for want of wine⁶. The tresses were knitted by her husband on his return⁷. In her grief she kept herself employed in painting her lord's portrait, in playing with the domestic parrot⁸, or in making her tame peacock dance with the clappings of her hands⁹.

When a wife died in coverture her dead body was decorated with ornaments and patterns of painted foliage before being consigned to fire¹⁰. It may be noted that funeral decorations have been described by Āśvalāyana¹¹.

The following verse describes the person of a wife observing a vow: "Clad in a white silk garment decked only with ornaments indispensable to auspiciousness, and having her hair marked with the holy *dūrvā* grass, appears to be reconciled with me from her very person, while its haughty deportment given up under the pretext of a vow¹²." Married ladies during their coverture put on certain ornaments, which even the poorest lady could not dispense with as auspicious tokens of their good fortune. It further appears that the fine blades of the *dūrvā* grass, which even to the present day are held sacred by Hindus, were worn in their hair by women observing a vow. A person during the performance of a *vratā*, or rather any religious observance, must be free from the spiritual enemies of humanity, such as lust, anger, avarice, arrogance, etc. The phrase '*ujjhi-tagarva*' is significantly used to denote this.

The wife was recognized by her husband as the 'matron, counsellor (lit, minister) in reference to the domestic affairs, a friend in retirement, and a dear pupil

¹ M. U., 23.

² Ibid., 24.

³ Ibid., 25.

⁴ Ibid., 29.

⁵ Ibid., 30.

⁶ Ibid., 32.

⁷ मयोद्वेष्टनीयां Ibid., 29.

⁸ Ibid., 22.

⁹ Ibid., 16.

¹⁰ Ku., IV. 22; Māl., p. 45.

¹¹ प्रेतं स्नपयित्वा नलदेनानुलिप्य नलदमालां जपामालां वा प्रतिमुच्य मूलतो हलवाससः पदमात्रमच्छिद्यशेषेण प्रत्यागन्नेन प्राक्शिरसमाविः पादमाच्छादयेयुः परिधानीयं चान्यद्द्वयः *Grhyapariśiṣṭha*, Adhyāya III. Khanda I.

¹² *Viś.*, III. 12.

in the fine arts¹. The chaste wife², who was indeed a devotee of her living god, her husband³, considered the fulfilment of all her desires in that of her lord's⁴.

The wife addressed her husband with the usual epithet of *Āryaputra*⁵, i.e. son of the venerable one, viz. the father-in-law. Her devotedness to the husband was remarkable. She aspired for his undivided love⁶ and all her decorations in toilet were meant for a mere satisfied glance of her husband⁷.

Widows and the Custom of Sati

The custom of *sati* or wife of a deceased husband immolating herself to death on the funeral pyre of her husband has been alluded to by the poet in the phrase 'wives following their lords to heaven' (*pativartmagā*). The custom is further illustrated in the instance of Rati preparing to throw herself upon the burning remains of her husband⁸. This custom is commended by the poet as being natural and as an ordinary matter of course even in connection with the lifeless and inanimate things¹⁰.

Many allusions to widows¹¹ show that they existed in society. At the time of marriage the bride and the bridegroom were adorned with auspicious decorations by *unwidowed* dames¹² which may refer to the custom of keeping the widows away from all auspicious occasions. In the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* there is mention of the widows of a great merchant, Dhanamitra¹³. A widow who bore a foetus was obliged to live on and keep away from the funeral pyre of her deceased husband¹⁴. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* also refers to a widow "whose sorrows of widowhood were renewed¹⁵." One of the rites performed by a widower¹⁶ was to place a fire-pan before him and then to proceed anywhere.

In spite of the fact that the society at the time of Kālidāsa led a free and outdoor life, it cannot be inferred in the face of unmistakable evidence that purdah or seclusion of women was entirely discarded. We have more than a dozen

¹ गृहिणी सचिवः सखी मिथः प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ । *Raghu.*, VIII. 67.

² पतिव्रताः *Ku.*, VI. 86. पतिव्रताधर्ममधिकृत्य *Śāk.*, p. 240.

³ पतिं पतिदेवताः *Raghu.*, IX. 17, XIV. 74.

⁴ *Ku.*, VI. 86.

⁵ *Māl.*, pp. 48, 57.

⁶ अखण्डितं प्रेम लमस्व प्रत्युः *Ku.*, VII. 28.

⁷ स्त्रीणां प्रियालोकफलोहि वेषः *Ibid.*, 22.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV. 33; cf. मरणव्यवसायबुद्धि *Ibid.*, 45; चितां *Ibid.* 35, 36.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 20; त्वामनुयामि *Ibid.*, 21; also cf. *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁰ शशिना सह याति कौमुदी सह मेघेन तडित्प्रलीयते ।

प्रमदाः पतिवर्त्मगा इति प्रतिपन्नं हि विचेतनैरपि ॥ *Ibid.*, IV. 33.

¹¹ नववैधव्यमसह्यवेदनं *Ku.*, IV. 1; पुनर्नवीकृत्यवैधव्यदुःखया *Māl.*, p. 99.

¹² *Ibid.*, VII. 6.

¹³ बहुधनत्वाद्बहुपत्नीकेन तत्र भवता भवितव्यं *Śāk.*, p. 219.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, XIX. 56.

¹⁵ *Māl.*, p. 99, text quoted *ante*.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, XV. 98.

references to restricted harems, variously known as *avarodha*¹, *antahpura*² and *śuddhānta*³, meaning a seraglio.

The Custom of Purdah

It is probably not just to say, therefore, that the seclusion of womenfolk took hold of the Hindu society with the advent of the semitic element. The evidence in Kālidāsa conclusively shows that purdah as a custom was not unknown. The terms referring to the Hindu harem give the sense of seclusion, to whatever little extent it may be, and of a jealously preserved chastity thanks to which the harem received the sacred name of *śuddhānta*. They should not, however, be interpreted to mean a complete seclusion of women. Women were on no account immured in the zenana as now. We find references to women enjoying bath⁴ in a river publicly which may show that there was no unqualified restriction to their appearing in public. But this may not be interpreted to mean that they moved about in society unchecked and unhindered. Modesty was considered a capital virtue among women, and we have allusions to veiled faces. Sakuntalā feels bashful to go near elders in company with her husband, which again must not be mistaken for purdah. It is sheer modesty which restrains her from appearing before elders in the presence of her husband, and hence her veil⁵. When out of her house, she covered her body with a shawl⁶, or some such other mantle, and put on a veil as is evidenced in the following passage: "Who could she be possessed of a veil and with the loveliness of her body not fully manifested⁷." Also in the passage below we find a like allusion: "Keep apart your bashfulness for a moment and remove your veil⁸."

Women were never restricted to go out on business. Not only did they attend the ceremonies like marriage⁹ in the house of a neighbour or relation, but they even kept watch in certain cases over their sown fields of rice and sugarcane, where they sang merrily in a chorus sitting under the scanty shade afforded by the sugarcanes¹⁰.

Some Remarks about Women

The daughter was endeared and caressed, and her birth was not deprecated. She was the very life of the family¹¹ (*kulajīvitā*), and in case of wealthy persons, perhaps she also was nursed by nurses like male children. She played by

¹ Ibid., I. 32, IV. 68, XVI. 25, 58, 71; *Śāk.*, VI. 12.

² *Raghu.*, XVI. 59, *Ku.*, VII. 2, *Śāk.*, p. 104 *Māl.*, II. 44.

³ *Raghu.*, III. 16, VI. 45; *Śāk.*, I. 15.

⁴ *M. P.*, 33.

⁵ अन्वगुणवती *Śāk.*, V. 13, Ibid., p. 168.

⁶ Ibid., V. 13.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., p. 168.

⁹ बन्धुस्त्रियो *Raghu.*, VII. 16; *Ku.*, VII. 6.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, IV. 20.

¹¹ कन्यैः कुलजीवितं *Ku.*, VI. 63.

preparing sand *vedikās* on river banks and with dolls¹ *kṛtrimaputrakaiḥ* and balls² (*kandukaiḥ*).

From the *Kumārasambhava* we learn that Sarasvatī went to Śiva after his marriage and sang in Sanskrit verses. To Śiva she spoke in chaste Sanskrit but Umā she blessed in simple Prakrit style³. This should not come as a surprise and may not be supposed to suggest that it was so because women could not understand Sanskrit, for generally all the Sanskrit plays make women speak Prakrit alone, and Kālidāsa is only conforming to a literary tradition. In the plays even queens speak Prakrit, and it is absolutely inconceivable how they could not have grasped the sense of Sanskrit while they were constantly addressed in Sanskrit by their husbands, royal ministers and chamberlains. It may be further pointed out that ladies like Mālavikā were highly accomplished in fine arts. Parivrajikā was learned in several subjects like medicine and fine arts. Her accomplishment entitled her to sit in judgment over the merits of two veteran professors of dramatic art.

Nevertheless, unsophisticated and uncharitable remarks were not wanting regarding women. Women were regarded by some as cunning since their very birth and we have a reference in the words of Duṣyanta to the idea of the people who considered that they were by their very nature endowed with a presence of mind⁴. Their natural cunning which did not need be acquired from external teaching was most manifest in the cuckoo whose young ones were brought up by other birds which lost them as soon as they were able to fly up⁵. They were even at times considered objects of satisfying the carnal lust of man⁶.

Still one can never forget that the status of the woman as mother was considerably high. She was indeed a gem⁷ (*strīratna*) whose attainment was much appreciated, for it was she who gave birth to the male child so very essential to perpetuate the line and to appease the hunger and thirst of the manes. And naturally the husband was congratulated when he was attended by the mother of a valiant son⁸. A repentant husband naturally wished to be preceded forth⁹ by his wife when he went to see a sage, who had the knowledge of his guilt and was appeased by the presence of the wife. It may be remarked that in obvious preference to several men Śakuntalā had been appointed by Kaṇva to look after his guests in his absence¹⁰.

Importance of a Son

Kālidāsa has dwelt long on the importance of a son. In course of about

¹ Ibid., I. 29.

² Ibid.; and *Māl.*, p. 85.

³ *Ku.*, VII. 90.

⁴ इदं तत्प्रत्युत्तममिति स्त्रैणमिति . . . *Śāk.*, p. 172.

⁵ Ibid., V. 22.

⁶ *Raghu.*, XIV. 35.

⁷ स्त्रीरत्नलाभं Ibid., VII. 34.

⁸ *Māl.*, V. 16.

⁹ *Śāk.*, p. 255.

¹⁰ दुहितां शकुन्तलामतिथिसत्कारायनियुज्य Ibid., p. 22.

eight verses (65-71) in the first canto of the *Raghuvamśa* he has shown the emptiness of the life of a sonless man. The ancestors, he asserts, do not accept with delight their shares in the obsequies performed by a sonless descendant due to the anxiety of their losing them in the next generation¹, and their sighs of grief render hot the libation of water offered to them by their descendant². The extinction of the male³ line is a great misfortune, for the merits resulting from the austerities and alms are for the happiness in the next world, but the son begotten on the wife of pure blood (*śuddhavamśyā*) is indeed the cause of happiness both here and hereafter⁴. The sonlessness, which keeps one from paying the last debt (*ṛṇamantyam*), is an unbearable misery⁵, for the son alone is the means by which this last debt—the act of procreation through a male child—is settled⁶. Son is the cause of the line as also that of endless fame⁷. All the wealth of the family, where there is no son, is rooted out at the end of the last male descendant⁸. That is why there was a great merriment on the birth of a son⁹, who was characterized as the seed¹⁰ and sprout¹¹ and the prop of a family¹². It was for the son, and for him all the more, that the brassier of the mother got wet with the oozing milk¹³. And naturally it was a great pleasure to watch the running child with his locks of hair falling constantly¹⁴ on his temples and cheeks. What exhilaration it was to watch such a child when it was one's own and what a reflective melancholy when it was not!¹⁵

The purity of blood was carefully guarded and eagerly sought to be preserved. The wife was, therefore, sought to be drawn from a pure family¹⁶ as is implied in the phrase *santatiḥ śuddhavamśyā hi* (child born of a woman of pure extraction). A legitimate son¹⁷ (*aurasa*) was a necessity and, he, again, was expected to bear a striking resemblance with the father both in form¹⁸ and qualities.¹⁹

¹ *Raghu.*, I. 66; *Śāk.*, VI. 25.

² *Raghu.*, I. 67.

³ प्रजालोपनिमीलितः *Ibid.*, 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁵ असंतानत्वं वर्जयित्वास्य न किमपि *Vik.*, p. 121. लोचनीयम् cf. *Raghu.*, I. 71.

⁶ ऋणनिर्मुक्तसाधनम् *Raghu.*, X. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II. 64.

⁸ *Śāk.*, p. 221.

⁹ *Raghu.*, X. 76.

¹⁰ बीजं *Śāk.*, VII. 15.

¹¹ कुलांकुर *Ibid.*, VII. 19.

¹² वंशस्थिते *Vik.*, V. 15.

¹³ *Śāk.*, VII. 12.

¹⁴ चलकाकपक्षकैः *Raghu.*, III. 28.

¹⁵ *Vik.*, V. 9.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, I. 69.

¹⁷ औरस इव पुत्रे *Śāk.*, p. 242.

¹⁸ सदृशप्रजम् *Raghu.*, I. 65.

¹⁹ पुत्रं लभस्वात्मगुणानुरूपम् *Ibid.*, V. 34.

FOOD AND DRINK, DRESS AND TOILET

Food

Kālidāsa refers to the following items of food: *yava*¹ or barley including perhaps wheat also, rice of various kinds like the *śālī*² and the *kalamā*³; *tila*⁴ or sesamum; sugar with its several kinds like the *guḍavikāra*⁵ and *matsyaṇḍikā*,⁶ and its sweetmeat preparations of round-balls⁷ (*modaka*); milk⁸ and its various preparations like butter⁹, clarified butter,¹⁰ curds,¹¹ *khira* or *payaścara*¹² and the like; honey,¹³ meat¹⁴ of various kinds; fish,¹⁵ various spices like peppers,¹⁶ cardamoms¹⁷ and cloves,¹⁸ and salt;¹⁹ and innumerable fruits like the sweet mango.²⁰

ITEMS

Cereals

Indian food during the time of Kālidāsa was nutritious and vigorous. Barley, wheat, and rice were the staple food of the people. Of rice there were several kinds like the *śālī*, *kalamā*, and *nivāra*. Sugarcanes produced *guḍa* and sugar. *Guḍavikāra* was a particular stage in the preparation of sugar. *Matsyaṇḍikā* was one of the many kinds of sugar.²¹ It was globular in shape like the eggs of fish as the phrase would suggest. Various preparations of sweetmeat (*modaka*)

¹ यवाँकुरैः *Raghu.*, IX. 43; प्रम्लानबीजाँकुर Ibid., VII. 27.

² *Rit.*, III. 1, 10, 16, IV. 1, 8, 18, V. 1, 16; *Raghu.*, XV. 78, XVII. 53.

³ *Raghu.*, IV. 37; *Ku.*, V. 47.

⁴ *Śāk.*, p. 94.

⁵ *Rit.*, V. 16.

⁶ एदं खु सीहुवाणुवेजेदस्स मच्छण्डिआ उवणदा *Māl.*, p. 42.

⁷ मोदक *Vik.*, p. 75; मोदखण्डिआ *Māl.*, p. 81 मोदखण्डि आ *Śāk.*, p. 62; खण्डमोदअसरिसोअ *Vik.*, p. 65.

⁸ *Raghu.*, II. 63.

⁹ नवनीत *Māl.*, p. 57.

¹⁰ हैयंगवीन *Raghu.*, I. 45.

¹¹ सिंहरीणी *Vik.*, p. 71.

¹² *Raghu.*, X. 51, 54.

¹³ *Ku.*, VIII. 72.

¹⁴ सुल्लमंसभूदठो आहारो *Śāk.*, p. 55; भवं वि सूणापरिसरचरो विअगिद्धो आमिसलोलुओ भीरुओअ *Māl.*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁵ लोहिअमच्छो *Śāk.*, pp. 184, 206.

¹⁶ मारीच *Raghu.*, IV. 46.

¹⁷ एला Ibid., 47.

¹⁸ लवंग Ibid., VI. 57; *Ku.*, VIII. 25.

¹⁹ सैन्धवशिला *Raghu.*, V. 73.

²⁰ रसालं *Vik.*, p. 71.

²¹ मत्स्यण्डिका नाम शर्कराविशेष—Commentator, *Māl.*, p. 42.

were made with sugar. Apart from its various uses in food, it was also used as an antidote for the intoxication from wine.¹

Sugar and Sweetmeats

Modaka was prepared from rice or wheat-flour stuffed with sugar, thin slices of the kernel of the cocoanut, together with spices, and then either boiled over steam, or fried in clarified butter.² It was a round ball and its parts have been supposed to resemble the phases of the moon³. We find the cowherds (*Ghoṣas*) running to meet their king taking clarified butter with them as a present.⁴ These *Ghoṣas* were the professional breeders and rearers of cows as now.

Preparations of Milk

The enormous wealth of cows supplied the people with the vigorous milk, butter (*navanīta*), clarified butter and curds. *Sikharinī* (*Sikharinī*), as the commentator points out,⁵ was prepared from curds mixed with spices like cardamoms, cloves, camphor and other fragrant ingredients and cooked in milk and sugar. Sometimes it was also prepared in milk and ripe plantains and other ingredients enumerated above (without curds) and named *Sikharinī*.⁶ Honey was another item of food which was also used in the reception of a guest⁷ and at other festive rites. It was given the name of *madhuparka* and *arghya*;⁸ the latter was honey mixed with rice and *dūrvā* grass.⁹ The innumerable flowers of India attracted swarms of sucking bees yielding much honey, which served not only as an item of food but also as an ingredient of oblations to gods.

Meat

An important item of food appears to have been meat and fish. Extensive hunting did not waste life for nothing and the meat of the hunted prey like the deer and the boar was eaten as a common practice. Even a Brāhmaṇa did not abstain and he also freely indulged in taking meat as may be instanced from a passage occurring in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* where the Vīdūṣaka says with a little reluctance, however: "At irregular times a meal, mostly consisting of meat roasted on spits is eaten."¹⁰ Meat was not obtained only from the hunted animals of the forest but even regular slaughter houses were run for killing animals, the flesh of which might have been sold consequently in the market. The passage referring to the slaughter house is the following: "As for your

¹ Ibid.; text quoted *ante*.

² M. R. Kale: *Mālavikāgnimitra*, notes.

³ *Vik.*, p. 65.

⁴ *Raghu.*, I. 45.

⁵ एलालवंगकर्पूरादिसुरभिद्रव्यमिश्रितं दुग्धेन सह गलितं सितासंगतं दधिशिखरिणीत्युच्यते *Vik.*, p. 71.

⁶ दध्यतिरिक्तपूर्वोक्तद्रव्यमिश्रितः पक्वकदलीफलान्तः सारोऽपि तत्पदवाच्यः Ibid.

⁷ *Ku.*, VII. 72.

⁸ *Raghu.*, XI. 69; *Ku.*, VI. 50.

⁹ *Ku.*, VII. 72.

¹⁰ अनियतवेलेन ह्युल्यमांसभूयिष्ठ आहारो भुज्यते *Śāk.*, p. 55.

honour, you are like a bird hovering round a slaughter house (*śāṇā*) greedy, of meat, but timid.¹” Fish was also taken. One particular kind of it was *robīta* or carp found in lakes and ponds in the neighbourhood of the Ganges. It grows to the length of three feet, is very voracious, and its flesh, though it often has a muddy taste, is edible. Its back is olive-coloured, its belly of a golden hue, its fins and eyes red.² It may be noted here that Fahien dwells at length on perfect abstention but there is unmistakable evidence in Kālidāsa to show that meat was commonly taken. Fahien says : “They do not keep pigs and fowls, and do not sell live cattle ; in the markets there are no butcher’s shops and no dealers in intoxicating drink.³” The pilgrim obviously saw every thing with Buddhistic glasses and his description can hardly be accepted as literally true when, soon after, he contradicts himself by adding that “Only the Chandālas are fishermen and hunters, and sell flesh and meat.⁴” From his own statement the point is proved beyond doubt that there *were* butcher’s shops although not run by *dvijas*. But this is so even now when the practice of eating meat is common. No upper class or even lower class Hindu sells flesh. Even now it has been retained by fowlers and hunters or by Khatiks who are the Cāṇḍālas of old.

Spices

Spices were also used in preparation of food. We have a reference to at least three of them—cardamoms, cloves and pepper—growing wild in the region of the Malaya mountains in the south.⁵ *Sikbariṇī* was prepared, as mentioned above, by mixing curd or milk and plantains with these spices. Salt, such an important item of the present day, was known and must have been used along with the spices. With highly spiced preparations without sugar salt becomes almost a necessity, and since it was known and given to the horses for licking,⁶ it must have been used in human diet also.

Fruit

Besides the above, people had the abundance of fruits which may have been widely eaten, particularly in the ascetic settlements. Kālidāsa makes innumerable references to fruit-trees. Mango⁷ was naturally a favourite.

Categories of Food

The poet has also made a general reference to the traditional five kinds⁸ of food which may be enumerated below : Things to be chewed and then

¹ *Māl.*, p. 33, text quoted *ante*.

² *Sākuntala* by Monier Williams, Notes.

³ *Fahien’s Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*. Trans. by James Legge, p. 43.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ मारीचोद्भ्रान्तहारीता: *Raghu.*, IV. 46; एलानामुत्पत्तिष्णवः *Ibid.*, 47; सलवंगकेसर *Ku.*, VIII. 25.

⁶ सेन्धवशिला *Raghu.*, V. 73.

⁷ *Vik.*, p. 71.

⁸ पञ्चविहस्स *Ibid.*, p. 32. Commentator Kāṭayavema has the following on this: अश्वहारस्य पञ्चविहित्वं भक्ष्यभोज्यलेह्यचोष्यपानीयभेदेन ।

eaten (*bhakeṣya*) like bread and other flour preparations, for example *modaka*; things to be eaten without chewing (*bhojya*), such as rice; things to be licked¹ (*lehyāni*) like thin liquid condiments, for instance *Sikharinī*; things to be sucked (*caṣya*), such as mango-pickles; and things to be drunk² (*peya*), such as milk, wine, etc.

Drink

Drinking of wine appears to have been an extensive habit of the people. Kālidāsa makes innumerable allusions to the occasional intemperance of people, who drank at times so much that the after-effects were uncontrollable.³ Not only men but even women indulged in drinking. It was believed that intoxication gave a special charm to women.⁴ Irāvati, one of the consorts of Agnimitra, is seen in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* in a state of intoxication.⁵ Indumatī, the beloved queen of Aja, received wine from the mouth of her husband, who directly transferred it to her mouth.⁶ In the *Kumārasambhava* we read of Siva himself drinking wine and making his wife drink it.⁷ Wine may be said to have been a regular indulgence of the married couple. Then we read in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* the Nāgarika and his constables indulging in wine.⁸ In the *Raghuvamśa* mention is made of the whole army of Raghu drinking wine extracted from the cocoanuts.⁹ We have references to the drinking peg¹⁰ (*caṣaka*), a grogshop¹¹ on the road side, and to an open place of drinking¹² (*pānabhūmi*) 'abounding in drinking cups' (*caṣakottarā*). *Pānabhūmi*, literally, is a place of drinking in. The name, however, does not signify a grogshop, nor is it confined to the idea of a drinking place strictly so called, but it also means a place—generally a part of a palace adjoining the seraglio¹³—where revelries in honour, so to speak, of Bacchus are celebrated.

Kinds of Wine

The common words for wine in Kālidāsa are *madya*,¹⁴ *āsava*,¹⁵ *madhu*¹⁶ and

¹ *Raghu.*, V. 73; *Vik.*, IV. 44.

² पान *Māl.*, p. 33.

³ स्खलयन्पदेपदे *Ku.*, IV. 12; घूर्णमाननयनं *Ibid.*, VIII. 80.

⁴ पुष्पासवाधूणितनेत्रशोभि *Ibid.*, III. 38.

⁵ ण मे चलणो अण्णदो पवट्टन्ति । मद्यो मं विञ्चारदि *Māl.*, p. 49.

⁶ *Raghu.*, VIII. 68.

⁷ *Ku.*, VIII. 77.

⁸ *Śāk.*, p. 188.

⁹ नारिकैलासवं *Raghu.*, IV. 42.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VII. 49.

¹¹ सोण्डिआपणं *Śāk.*, p. 188.

¹² *Ku.*, VI. 42. cf. the commentator on आपानभूमिषु—पानगोष्ठीप्रदेशेषु घ्राण कान्तमधुगन्धकर्षिणीः पानभूमिरचनाः प्रियासखेः *Raghu.*, XIX. 11. रञ्जितापानभूमयः *Ibid.*, IV. 42.

¹³ वेदमसु *Raghu.*, XIX. 5.

¹⁴ पिबन्ति मद्यं मदनीयमुत्तमम् *Rtu.*, V. 10.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, IV. 42, XIX. 12, 46; *Rtu.*, IV. 11; *Ku.*, III. 38; *Vik.*, IV. 44.

¹⁶ *M. U.*, 3; *Raghu.*, VIII. 68.

*madirā*¹ although other phrases like *vāruṇī*,² *kādambarī*³ and *śidhū*⁴ also have been used. Kālidāsa refers particularly to three kinds of preparation of wine, viz. 1. extracted from the cocoanuts⁵ (*nārikelāsava*), 2. prepared from the juice of sugarcane⁶ (*śidhū*) and 3. extracted from flowers like *madhūka*⁷ (*puṣpāsava*). Generally scented wine⁸ was used by the well-to-do classes. Flowers of the mango and red pāṭala⁹ (*Stereospermum suaveolens*) were used to perfume the various wines. Apart from scenting the wine the effect of bad odour was sought to be removed by the use of the skin of *mātulūṅga* or *bijapūraka*¹⁰ (*Citrus medica*). "The *bijapūraka* skin was chewed to remove all traces of the smell of drink, to prevent melodorous belching after a generous meal, to sweeten the breath....."¹¹ Another way of removing the trace of ill odour of wine was the chewing of betel leaves,¹² and nuts.¹³ The wildly growing betel leaves intertwined with the branches of the cardamom trees in the Malaya regions of the far south and the long line of the areca-nut trees on the sea shores must have provided the Indian people with the articles making up for a perfect betel roll, when its use had been pretty old in India even in the time of Kālidāsa as is evidenced by the *Kāmasūtra* where a detailed description of a *nāgaraka*'s room and habits is given.

The effects of drunkenness were manifested in the beauty produced by the rolling red eyes and in the meaningless expression at every faltering step.¹⁴ In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* we have a reference¹⁵ to the effects of intoxication being undermined by the use of *matsyaṅdikā*, a variety of sugar prescribed by ancient medical works as an antidote for over-intoxication in their sections devoted to *Madātyayacikitsā*.¹⁶

We have seen above that the drinking of wine was a fashionable vice among the people during the time of Kālidāsa. Fahien's assertion that there were no

¹ *M. U.* 15; *Rṭu.*, VI. 10; *Vik.*, II. 13, IV. 42.

² *Ku.*, IV. 12.

³ *Śāk.*, p. 188.

⁴ पुराणशीघ्र *Raghu.*, XVI. 52; सीद् *Māl.*, p. 42.

⁵ *Raghu.*, IV. 42—Mallinātha: नारिकेलमद्यं

⁶ शीघ्र *Raghu.*, XVI. 52, cf. Mallinātha. शीघ्रपक्वेषुरसप्रकृतकः सुराविशेषः cf. Yādava lexicon पक्वैरिशुरसैरस्त्री शीघ्रः पक्वरसः शिवः"

⁷ पुष्पाणामासवो मद्यं पुष्पासवः । पुष्पोद्भवमद्यमित्यर्थः । Mallinātha on *Ku.*, III. 38.

⁸ पुराणशीघ्र—पुराणं वासितं Mallinātha on *Raghu.*, XVI. 52; *Rṭu.*, IV. 11 *Vik.*, IV. 44.

⁹ सहकारमासवं रक्तपाटलसमागमं पपौ *Raghu.*, XIX. 46.

¹⁰ *Māl.*, p. 35.

¹¹ Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra: a Study—The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI. No. 1, March 1935, pp. 40-41.

¹² *Raghu.*, IV. 42; *Rṭu.*, V. 5.

¹³ *Raghu.*, IV. 44.

¹⁴ *Ku.*, IV.

¹⁵ P. 42.

¹⁶ मद्यं पीत्वा यदि वा तत्क्षणमेव लेह्यात् शर्करां सञ्चूताम् ।

मदयति न जातु मद्यं मनागपि प्रथितवीर्यमपि ॥

also मदयति न हि मद्यं जातुचिपीत मद्यं ।

पिबति घृतसमेतां शर्करामेव सद्यः ॥ *Ajirṇāmṛtamañjarī* by Kāśīrāja.

dealers in intoxicating drinks¹ can hardly be admitted for truth for reasons given elsewhere. Although it is possible that the poet may have made much of it, yet it cannot be dismissed as a pure poetical fiction. It may be noted that most of the instances of drinking were associated with royal classes and the nobility. It is possible that the Kṣatriyas indulged in drinking wine but the Brahmins abstained. Nevertheless, the works of the poet disclose ample and unmistakable evidence that drinking was a favourite indulgence among the common people² as well.

Dress

We have references to various sorts of dress of men and women suiting all weathers and occasions³ of India. We read of hunting dresses⁴ and dresses put on by repentant and love-sick⁵ persons, by *abbhisārikās*⁶ and by those observing a vow.⁷ What dress was to be worn by what type of persons was settled, so that as soon as a character made his entrance on the stage, the audience at once knew whether he was repentant, love-sick or observing a vow. People were particular about their clothes and dressed themselves in winning⁸ white apparel.⁹ Clothes of various colours¹⁰—white,¹¹ red,¹² blue,¹³ saffron¹⁴ and black¹⁵—were worn. Apart from colours, cloth was made of various patterns suited to the hot and cold weathers. We find mention of both silk¹⁶ (*kauseyaka*) and wool¹⁷ (*patrorṇa*). Silk was woven with fine patterns of the fingers of flamingoes,¹⁸ and one of its kind, *Cināmsūka*,¹⁹ came from China as the etymology

¹ *Fa-hien's Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, Trans. by James Legges, p. 43.

² Cf. *Sāk.*, p. 188; *Rtu.*, I. 3, IV. 11, VI. 10; *Raghu.*, II. 42, 61, XVI. 52; *M. U.*, 3, 11, 15, 32.

³ अनुकूलवेषः *Raghu.*, V. 76 क्लृप्तविवाहवेषा VI. 10 मृगवनोपगमक्षमवेषभूत् IX. 50; मृगयावेशम् *Sāk.*, p. 68.

⁴ अपनयन्तु भवन्तो मृगयावेशम् *Sāk.*, p. 68.

Raghu., IX. 50. In the hunting dress the hair was tied with a *vanamāla* and the clothes used for the body were of a colour matching with leaves (of *Palāśa*, etc.), so that the beasts might be easily deceived cf. *Raghu.*, IX. 51.

⁵ *Vik.*, III. 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁷ *Sāk.*, VII. 21.

⁸ मनोज्ञवेषाः *Raghu.*, VI. 1.

⁹ शुद्धवेषयोः *Ibid.*, I. 46 उज्ज्वलनेपथ्ययोः Commentator; उदारनेपथ्यभूतां *Ibid.*, VI. 6; उज्ज्वलवेषधारिणा Commentator.

¹⁰ वासादिचित्रं *M. U.*, 11.

¹¹ सितदुकूला *Rtu.*, II. 25 श्वेतवासोवसाना *Ibid.*, III. 26; सितांशुक *Vik.*, III. 12, cf. *Raghu.*, I. 46, VI. 6.

¹² अरुणरागांशुक *Raghu.*, IX. 43, रक्तांशुकैः *Rtu.*, VI. 4, 19; वासोवसानातरुणार्कं *Ku.*, III. 54.

¹³ नीलांशुक *Vik.*, p. 68; *M. P.* 41.

¹⁴ काषाय *Raghu.*, XV. 77; कुसुम्भरागाणि तैर्दुकूलैः *Rtu.*, VI. 4.

¹⁵ श्यामस्तनांशुक *Vik.*, IV. 17.

¹⁶ सरागकौशेयकभूषितो *Rtu.*, V. 8; कौशेय *Māl.*, p. 105.

¹⁷ *Māl.*, V. 12, p. 105.

¹⁸ हंसचिह्नदुकूलवान *Raghu.*, XVII. 25; वधूदुकूलकलहंसलक्षणम् *Ku.*, V. 67.

¹⁹ *Ku.*, VII. 3.

of the phrase suggests. There were patterns of cloth made of such thin texture as could be easily blown away by the breath.¹ Perhaps the reference is to the famous Indian muslin. In summer people generally put on clothes² suitable for the scorching heat of the Indian sun. Then there were apparels made by weaving gems³ in their texture to keep the body cool by soothing the heat in summers. In winter naturally the heavy attire⁴ made of wool⁵ or silk-wool was a great favourite. We have even an allusion to the distinctive attires of night and day.⁶ There is no wonder if the luxury-loving Indian of the time did not like to spoil his costly robe of the day by using it at night while in bed. It would be better to deal separately with dress with reference to articles put on by men and women.

Wedding Dress

It appears that different wedding dresses prevailed in different countries within India. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* the Parivrājikā is requested to display on Mālavikā's person the wedding dress which prevailed in the Vidarbha country.⁷ Consequently the bride appeared in her 'marital costume'⁸ clothed in a silk garment, not much hanging down and putting on beautiful ornaments.⁹ The ordinary wedding dress seems to have been a pair of silk robes in which were woven forms of swans, serving for the upper and lower garments of the bride and the bridegroom.

Dress of Men and Women

The articles of dress put on by man were generally three in number. His head he covered with a turban,¹⁰ *veṣṭana*, and then he wore two pieces of cloth¹¹ (*dukūlayugmam*), namely, the *uttariya*¹² and the lower garment. *Veṣṭana* was a headgear encircling the head and binding the hair locks of men¹³ and boys.¹⁴ *Uttariya* was an upper scarf covering the shoulders. People favoured by fortune used scarfs made by weaving gems into their texture¹⁵ (*ratnodgrathitottariyam*), evidently used in summers. The dress of a scarf and *dhōti* or loin-cloth may be witnessed on the beautifully carved bas-reliefs and other images carved in

¹ निःश्वासहार्याक *Raghu.*, XVI. 43.

² Ibid., तन्वशुक *Rtu.*, I. 7, IV. 3; प्रतनुसितदुकूला Ibid., II. 25; गुरुणिवासांसि विहाय तूर्णं तनूनि Ibid., VI. 13.

³ रत्नप्रथितोत्तरीयं *Raghu.*, XVI. 43.

⁴ वासांसिगुरुणि *Rtu.*, I. 7, V. 2, VI. 13.

⁵ *Māl.*, V. 12, Ibid., p. 105.

⁶ *Rtu.*, V. 14.

⁷ *Māl.*, p. 93.

⁸ विवाहर्नपथ्य Ibid., pp. 90, 93.

⁹ Ibid., V. 7.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, I. 42, VIII. 12.

¹¹ दुकूलयुग्मं Ibid., VII. 18, 19.

¹² Ibid., XVI. 43; *Śāk.*, p. 218.

¹³ *Raghu.*, I. 42.

¹⁴ Ibid., VIII. 12.

¹⁵ Ibid., XVI. 43.

the round, dating from the time of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods or still earlier, preserved in the Muttra Museum. Some fine exhibits bearing long-flowing *uttariya* and an elaborate loin-cloth with pleated effect reaching the ankles are the Nos. 1448 (a perfect specimen of terracotta Kāmadeva with five arrows), C. 18, 186, E.8 (figure of a *yakṣa*) 1. 8, 14, P. 14 and P. 68. *Uttariya* was perhaps so essential in those days that among the sculptural compositions at Sanchi, Bharhut and Amraoti there is not one male figure without it.¹ This, however, does not hold good in case of the painted figures at Ajanta.² The innumerable figures especially the figure of Śrīgī Rṣi (J. 7) of the Muttra Museum, more especially still the Śuṅga figures, put on a turban (*Uṣṇīṣa*) beautifully executed whereon, at times, we find imitations of gems scattered or set. At Sanchi all male figures have *Uṣṇīṣa* in the manner of a *pheta*, the mode of doing which is given by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi in Pl. 2 of his work *Ajanta*. Many figures at Sanchi and Bharhut are carved in the style of wearing a *pheta*.³ The wedding dress of the bridegroom comprised of those very two articles of robe with the only difference that they were not made of ordinary cotton but of silk fabric in which figures of swans⁴ (*haṃsacibhadrukūlavān*) were woven. This was a favourite design in the silk texture and such a pattern we find illustrated in a picturesque style in the dress of Kumārī riding the peacock preserved in the Muttra Museum.

Women put on three pieces of robe. The phrase *aṃśuka* has been used to signify their costume. Although the phrase signifies any cloth, still all references to the word have been made invariably in connection with a woman's apparel⁵. Of the three pieces of the woman's garment one was an upper and another a lower garment and a shawl. The upper garment was a bodice⁶ (*kūr-pāsaka*) the like of which we find displayed on the person of a few female images of the Muttra Museum. This bodice has been generally referred to by the word *stanāṃśuka*⁷. This shows that the upper garment did not cover the entire breast region but like the modern *choli* it covered the breasts alone and was worn with the help of bands⁸. It is still used by most women of southern India, Rajputana, and of the locality round Muttra. We are not sure of what sort this lower garment was, but from the use of the words *nīvī*⁹, and *nīvī-bandha*¹⁰, we can infer that it hung low to the ankles and was held up on the loin at its upper end by a *nīvī*. *Nīvī* was a cord which tied the upper end of the front folds into a round knot called *nīvī-bandha*. There is no reference to putting on of the lower garment in

¹ Shrimanta Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi: *Ajanta*, p. dd.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. cc.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XVII. 25; *Ku.*, V. 67.

⁵ *Raghu.*, VI. 75, XI. 4, 26, *Ku.*, I. 14; *Rtu.*, I. 7, IV. 3, VI. 4, 19; *Vik.*, III. 12, IV. 17.

⁶ कर्पासिकं *Rtu.*, IV. 16, V. 8.

⁷ Ibid., VI. 8; *Vik.*, IV. 17, V. 12.

⁸ श्लथबन्धनानि *Rtu.*, VI. 8.

⁹ न वदन्वनीवीम् *Raghu.*, VII. 9; *Ku.*, VII. 60.

¹⁰ नीवीबन्धोच्छ्वासितशिशिलं *M. U.*, 5; नीवीबन्धं *Ku.*, VIII. 4.

the manner of the modern *sari*, although the Kambojikā¹ of the Muttra Museum wears a *sari* in a perfectly modern manner. Most probably the lower garment reached up to the loin only and there it was supported by a cord in the manner of the Saptamātrikās², the composite image of the Seven Mothers of the Muttra Museum. The lower garment was bound over the region of the waist covering the zone round the waist-band³ (*Kṣaumāntaritamekhale*). Lastly, there was a long shawl⁴ used by women which covered them almost from head to foot serving even for a veil. There was a particular dress for the occasion of wedding⁵ and it comprised of two pieces of silk-cloth, the upper and the lower garments. We have already made a reference to the fact that different wedding dresses prevailed in different countries within India. The ordinary wedding dress of a woman was a pair of silk garments⁶, serving as a bodice and a lower loin-cloth. The newly married wife (*navabadhā*) put on a red bodice⁷.

The *Yavanīs* or the Greek attendants of the king, while hunting, were at once marked out by their distinctive attire⁸. We have no mention of the articles of their apparel specifically except that they moved about with a bow, putting on many garlands and encircling the king⁹. In the famous so-called Bacchanalian Group of the Muttra Museum the attire of the Greek females may be seen. It is a long-sleeved jacket and a skirt falling down on the feet which are shod with plump shoes and a fillet like *veṣṭana* checking the locks of hair from falling¹⁰. A perfect specimen of a *Yavanī* is instanced in a figure carved on a railing pillar¹¹ with a sword in hand and wearing bobbed hair. Another such may probably be seen in the image of a maid with a wine jar attending on the drinking royal couple in a fresco at Ajanta.

Dress of Ascetics.

The ascetics put on saffron clothes in the manner of Sītā¹² generally made of tree-skin¹³. Girls of the hermitage put on a bark-made dress¹⁴ in the manner of the ascetics. We have no reference to distinctive dresses of male and female ascetics although we may infer that there may have been a difference. Sakuntalā wears a bark dress with a knot¹⁵ on her shoulder. It is not clear whether only one knot was tied on one of the shoulders, or two, one on each.

¹ F. 42 of *The Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Archaeological Museum, Mathura*, by J. Ph. Vogel.

² F. 38. Ibid.

³ *Raghu.*, X. 8.

⁴ *Śāk.*, V. 13.

⁵ पञ्चोणयुगलं *Māl.*, pp. 90, 93, 105; *Raghu.*, VI. 10, VII. 18, 19, XIX. 25; *Ku.*, V. 67.

⁶ *Raghu.*, XVII. 25; *Ku.*, V. 67.

⁷ *Rtū.*, VI. 19.

⁸ *Śāk.*, p. 57.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ C. 2 of *The Catalogue of the Sculpture of the Arch. Mu., Mathura*.

¹¹ J. 63. of Ibid.

¹² काषायपरिवीतेन *Raghu.*, X. 77.

¹³ वृक्षकलेण *Śāk.*, p. 28; I. 17.

¹⁴ Ibid., I. 17.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 28.

Of Robbers

Robbers living in forests and representing the wild tribes, perhaps the aborigines, covered their chests with quiver-straps and wore plumes of peacocks' feathers that hung down to their ears¹.

Ornaments

Kālidāsa refers to the following ornaments calling them variously as *bhūṣaṇa*², *ābharāṇa*³, *alaṅkāra*⁴ and *maṇḍana*⁵. Ornaments worn on the head were *cūḍāmaṇi*⁶, a precious stone of uncommon brilliance, *ratnajāla* or *muktājāla*⁷, a net made of precious stones or pearls to cover the locks of hair, jewels inserted in the tresses of hair, and *kiriṭa*⁸, a tiara put on by kings. Ears were adorned with various sorts of ear-rings called *karnabhūṣaṇa*⁹, *karnapūra*¹⁰, *kuṇḍala*¹¹ and *maṇikuṇḍala*¹² (ear-pendants) made of rubies and other precious stones. On the neck was worn what was called *niṣka*¹³, a necklace probably made by stringing together coins known as *niṣkas*. This sort of neck-ornament (*kaṇṭhe*) has been referred to in as early a document as the *R̥gveda*. Then there were in use various kinds of long necklaces falling in strings on the breast. Of these *muktāvalī*¹⁴ was a string of pearls, *tārābhāra*¹⁵, a necklace of big pearls (*sthūlamuktābhārāḥ*—Mallinātha), *hāra*¹⁶, an ordinary necklace, *hārasekhabara*¹⁷, a snow-white string, *hārayaṣṭi*¹⁸, 'an only string of pearls—*suddha ekāvalī*—with a gem in the centre' referred to by Kautilya (ch. x9. p. 77), *vaijayanīkā*¹⁹, explained by T. A. Gopinath Rao²⁰ under the heading of *vaijayanī* as a necklace composed of a successive series of groups of gems, each group wherein has five gems in a particular order; he quotes the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* to elucidate the meaning of this necklace: "Viṣṇu's necklace called *vaijayanī* is five-formed as it consists of the five elements, and it is therefore called the elemental necklace. Here five-formed points to five different kinds of gems, namely, the pearl, ruby, emerald, blue-stone, and diamond." *Hemasūtra*²¹

¹ *Māl.*, V. 10.

² *Raghu.*, XVIII. 45, XIX. 45; *M. U.*, 11.

³ *Māl.*, V. 7; p. 104; *Vik.*, p. 68; *Raghu.*, XIV. 54; *Ku.*, III. 53, VII. 21.

⁴ *Māl.*, p. 92.

⁵ *Ku.*, I. 4; *M. U.*, 11.

⁶ *Vik.*, p. 122.

⁷ *M. P.*, 63; *Ibid.*, U. 9.

⁸ *Raghu.*, VI. 19.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VII. 27.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, X. 51; *R̥tu.*, III. 19.

¹² *R̥tu.*, II. 19.

¹³ *Ku.*, II. 49.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, XIII. 48.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, V. 52.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, V. 70, VI. 16, XVI. 62; *R̥tu.*, IV. 2, VI. 24, 56; *M. U.*, 9.

¹⁷ *R̥tu.*, I. 6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 8, II. 25.

¹⁹ *Vik.*, p. 38.

²⁰ *The Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I. part I, p. 26.

²¹ *Vik.*, pp. 122, 123.

was a chain of gold with a precious stone in the centre¹. *Prālamba*² and *mālā*³ were long garlands of flower. Ear-ornaments (*kaṇṇabhūṣaṇa*⁴) of various designs were worn on the ears. A few of them have been mentioned by Kālidāsa: *Kaṇṇa-pūra*⁵, or *kuṇḍala*, an ear-ring, made of gold or precious stones like ruby⁶, and ear-ornaments of gold made in imitation of yellow lotus⁷. *Aṅgada*⁸ or *keyūra*⁹, arm-lets of gold and of gold with gems set in them, were frequently used by both men and women. *Valaya*¹⁰, bracelets, adorned the forearm of the two sexes, and rings (*aṅgulīya*¹¹, *aṅgulīyaka*¹²) of various designs decorated the fingers. Besides gold, which was mostly used for ornaments, diamonds and other gems¹³ were also employed for making rings. Several rings bore the design of a serpent¹⁴, while others were imprinted with the names of their owners. Sometimes a ring was used as a pass-word of authority¹⁵. The poet makes endless references to the gold¹⁶ and gem-set girdles, mostly alternated with gold and precious stones thus made to look variegated in colour¹⁷, worn by women on their waist. He alludes to them by several designations like *mekhalā*¹⁸, *hemamekhalā*¹⁹, *kāñcī*²⁰, *kanakakāñcī*²¹, *kiṅkiṇī*²² and *raśanā*²³, which may warrant the existence of as many types. An actual variety of the waist-band may be studied among the scores of images of female goddesses preserved in the Muttra Museum. Perhaps there were two further types of girdles, the jingling²⁴ and the silent sort. *Nūpurā*²⁵, producing sweet sound adorned the ankles of women and were made of various precious stones²⁶. We read of a jewel-casket²⁷ and a box containing ornaments²⁸. Ornaments were also set in costumes

¹ *Vik.*, V. 2.

² *Raghu.*, VI. 14.

³ *Māl.*, p. 36.

⁴ *Raghu.*, V. 65.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII. 27.

⁶ *Rtu.*, II. 19.

⁷ *M. U.*, 9.

⁸ *Raghu.*, VI. 14, 53, 73; XVI. 60; *Rtu.*, IV. 3, VI. 6; *Vik.*, I. 15.

⁹ *Raghu.*, VI. 68, VII. 50, XVI. 56.

¹⁰ *Śāk.*, III. 10, VI. 6; *M. P.*, 12; *Raghu.*, XVI. 73; *Rtu.*, VI. 6.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, VI. 18; *Śāk.*, p. 47.

¹² *Śāk.*, pp. 49, 120, 146; *Māl.*, p. 4.

¹³ *Raghu.*, VI. 18.

¹⁴ *Māl.*, p. 4.

¹⁵ *Śāk.*, p. 120, VI. 12; *Māl.*, p. 4.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, XIII. 3; XIX. 41; *Rtu.*, I. 6; III. 24; *Māl.*, III. 21.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, XIX. 45; *Ku.*, I. 38; *Rtu.*, IV. 4, VI. 3.

¹⁸ *Māl.*, p. 59; *Rtu.*, I. 4, 6, VI. 3; *Ku.*, I. 38, VIII. 89; *Raghu.*, VIII. 64, XIX. 25, 26, 45.

¹⁹ *Rtu.*, I. 6.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 19, III. 24, IV. 4; *Raghu.*, VI. 43; *Ku.*, I. 37, III. 55; *Māl.*, III. 21, p. 28.

²¹ *Rtu.*, III. 24.

²² *Raghu.*, XIII. 33.

²³ *Ibid.*, VII. 10, XVI. 65, XIX. 27, 41; *M. P.*, 35; *Rtu.*, VI. 24; *Māl.*, p. 59.

²⁴ *M. P.*, 35; *Rtu.*, III. 24.

²⁵ *Raghu.*, VIII. 63, XIII. 23, XVI. 12, 56; *Ku.*, I. 34; *Rtu.*, I. 5, III. 25, IV. 4; *Vik.*, III. 15,

IV. 30, p. 100.

²⁶ *Rtu.*, III. 25.

²⁷ *Māl.*, pp. 73, 87.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

for use in summer¹ to give a cool touch to the person of the wearer. Of the above mentioned ornaments, *cūḍāmaṇi* or *kapālamāṇi*², *kirīṭa*, *kuṇḍala*, *niṣka*, various types of gold chains and pearl strings, *aṅgada*, *valaya*, *aṅgulīyaka* were worn by men, and these same excepting perhaps the *kirīṭa* and *vaijayantī*, and the rest served as ornaments for women. Thus men also wore ornaments, and to bring the picture home we may quote an almost contemporary image of Viṣṇu in a ruined temple of Deogarh in Jhansi which wears *kirīṭa-mukūṭa*, *kuṇḍala*, *bāra*, *keyūra*, *kaṭaka* and *vanamālā*. This image has been reproduced in Pl. XXXII of the *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 1. Part. 1. of T. A. Gopinath Rao. The profusion of ornaments used by women may be marked in the Ajanta paintings where they are worn with much warmth particularly by the maid-servant of cave No. 2 who is otherwise devoid of clothing.

Toilet—Hair

We read in Kālidāsa of cropped head with a long bunch of hair called *sikḥā*³ on it as well as of long hair grown by men⁴. When men wore long hair they tied them with a hair-band⁵. They shaved their beard but during the period of mourning they let it grow long⁶. The word for beard is *śmaśru*. Persians kept long beards.⁷ Boys wore hair in locks called *kākapakeṣa*⁸, as they, falling on the sides, resembled the wings of a raven.

Women grew long hair⁹, oiled and combed¹⁰ them, and then parted¹¹ and knit them in long tresses¹². They wore flowers¹³, pearls and gems in their long hanging tresses, and on the parting line. Sometimes a network of pearls was worn to cover the hair. Separated wives neither oiled nor combed their hair nor did they undo their tresses in order to knit them afresh which consequently grew rough and dry¹⁴. Women perfumed¹⁵ their hair with the incense of *aguru*, sandal, etc. They tied their *venis* or tresses in one knot and put it on the crown of the head. It was called *sikḥā*¹⁶ or *cūḍā*. They also knit the mass of hair in

¹ *Raghu.*, XVI. 43.

² *Vik.*, p. 122.

³ *Raghu.*, XVI. 43.

⁴ *Vik.*, Act. IV; सिंहबन्धो Ibid., Act. V.

⁵ लताप्रतानोद्ग्रथितैः स केशः *Raghu.*, II. 8.

⁶ वसश्चुल्ल Ibid., XVIII. 71.

⁷ वसश्चुल्ल Ibid., IV. 63.

⁸ काकपक्ष Ibid., III. 28, XI. I, 42, XVIII. 43.

⁹ *M. P.*, 8; *Ru.*, IV. 15.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ सीमन्ते *M. U.*, 2.

¹² *Raghu.*, XIX. 12; *M. U.*, 2; *Śāk.*, p. 250.

¹³ *M. U.*, 2; *Raghu.*, VI. 23.

¹⁴ *M. U.*, 29.

¹⁵ *Ru.*, I. 4 II. 21, V. 5, VI. 13; *Ku.*, VII. 14; *M. P.*, 32.

¹⁶ *M. U.*, 29.

a single long braid technically known as 'ekaveṇī'. *Ekaveṇī* is not the modern *jura*, for the description of a wife in separation refers to the *ekaveṇī* hanging on her back down to the buttocks².

Articles of Toilet

Among the articles of toilet may be summed up flowers of an innumerable variety, garlands, perfumes, odoriferous powders, incense, collyrium, ointments and pastes, a sort of lip-stick, lac-dye for the feet and fragrant substances used to perfume the body and mouth.

Flower

Of the many articles of toilet flower was the chief and it played a great part in the aesthetic make up of the people. Innumerable references to flower are made by the poet. No festivity could be held without it and it chiefly figured among decorations on all occasions. Men and women wore garlands long enough to reach their knees. Most of the ornaments of precious stones and metals were replaced by flower imitations³. We have a reference to a zone or girdle made of flowers⁴ to be worn in place of the usual one of gold. Young women stuck flowers and new leaves of *kesara* in their hair and bore them as ornaments. Flowers of *kesara* were also used to make a girdle⁵. *Karnikāra* flowers were employed as ear-pendants⁶. Women played with lotuses in their hands, placed *kunda* blossoms and *mandāra* flowers in their hair, *śirīṣa* flowers on their ears, flowers blossoming in the rainy season on the parting line of the hair, and knit *kurabaka* flowers in their tresses⁷. Girls living in a hermitage wore ornaments made exclusively of flower⁸. Already a class (*pūspalāvē*⁹) had grown up and taken the business of flower for its profession.

Cosmetics

Several cosmetics were used by both men and women. Before bathing, they used to anoint their bodies with various pastes called *anulepana*¹⁰ and *aṅgarāga*¹¹, (fragrant ointments ordinarily made of fine sandal-wood paste) prepared of the roots of a grass called *uśīra*¹² (*Andropogon muricatum*) or of sandal¹³. Other kinds of paste were prepared from *kāleyaka*¹⁴ (a plant producing essential

¹ *Śāk.*, VII. 21; *M. U.*, 29.

² *Rtu.*, IV. 16.

³ *M. U.*, 11.

⁴ *Ku.*, III. 55.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Rtu.*, VI. 5.

⁷ *M. U.*, 2.

⁸ *Śāk.*, IV., *ibid.*, p. 129.

⁹ *M. P.*, 26.

¹⁰ *Rtu.*, V. 5; *Vik.*, p. 121.

¹¹ *Ku.*, V. 68, VIII. 9; *Raghu.*, VI. 60, CII. 27, XIV. 14, XVII. 24.

¹² *Śāk.*, p. 84.

¹³ *Rtu.*, II. 21. The sandal wood paste was prepared by mixing together fragrant ingredients like *priyaṅgu*, *kālyaka* and saffron and was further scented with *mṛganābhi*, musk.

¹⁴ *Rtu.*, IV. 5; *Ku.*, VII. 9.

oil), *kālāguru*¹ (the black *aguru*) and *haricandana*². *Haricandana* was a yellow pigment, perfumed and therefore called *candana*. Oils were prepared from *Ingudi*³ fruits and also perhaps from *manabṣilā*⁴ (realgar) and *baritāla*⁵. *Manabṣilā* and *baritāla* (orpiment) along with *kāleyaka* have been enumerated in the *Kauṭīlyya Arthaśāstra*⁶ as the three varieties of Tailakarnika (plants producing essential oils⁷). After bath the hair was dried with the fragrant incense of the black *aguru*⁸, lodhra-dust⁹, *dhūpa*¹⁰ and other scented substances (*kāṣeya*¹¹). The body was further perfumed by musk¹². Men and women applied the *tilaka* mark on their forehead with a paste made of a mixture of *baritāla*¹³ and *manabṣilā*¹⁴. Women also sometimes applied collyrium¹⁵ to their forehead for *tilaka*. Unguent¹⁶ was applied to the eyes with a pencil (*śalākā*¹⁷). *Candana*¹⁸ and *kuṅkuma*¹⁹ (saffron), besides being used for *tilaka*, were also applied by women to their breasts²⁰ in order to give them a cooling effect. Women painted their cheeks with various foliage patterns. This painting as a whole was known as *Viśeṣaka*²¹ which was an ornamental arrangement of dots of different colours on the face. This arrangement when made in the form of leaves was styled as *Patraṇiśeṣaka*²² or *Patralekha*. *Viśeṣaka* was otherwise known as *Bhakti*²³ which was mainly a beautiful arrangement of little dots of *kuṅkuma* (saffron) made to ornament the *tilaka* mark. The *Amarakośa* explains *viśeṣaka* as *patralekha patrāṅguli tamālapatra tilaka citrakāni viśeṣakam*²⁴. The white *aguru*²⁵ (*śuklāguru*) and *rocana*²⁶ or *gorocana*²⁷ were mixed up to make the paste with which *Viśeṣaka* was painted. This was a white paste as its both ingredients—the *śuklāguru* and *gorocana*—were white substances.

¹ *Rtu.*, II. 21, IV. 5, V. 5, 12, VI. 13; *Ku.*, VII. 15; *Raghu.*, XIV. 12.

² *Ibid.*, VI. 60.

³ *Sāk.*, p. 73.

⁴ *Ku.*, VII. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ pp. 653, 656.

⁷ *Arthaśāstra* quoted in 'Toilet (Man's Indebtedness to plants) by Girija Prasanna Majumdar, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I. No. 4, April 1935.

⁸ *Rtu.*, II. 21, IV. 5, 12, VI. 13; *Ku.*, VII. 15; *Raghu.*, IV. 12.

⁹ *M. U.*, 2.

¹⁰ *Rtu.*, IV. 5, V. 5, 12, VI. 13; *M. P.*, 32; *Ku.*, V. 55, VII. 14; *Raghu.*, XVI. 50.

¹¹ *Rtu.*, I. 4.

¹² *Ibid.*, VI. 12; *Raghu.*, XVII. 24.

¹³ *Ku.*, VII. 23.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Māl.*, III. 5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *Raghu.*, VI. 55, VII. 8; *Ku.*, V. 51; *Rtu.*, IV. 17.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, VII. 8; *Ku.*, I. 47, VII. 20.

¹⁸ *Rtu.*, I. 2, 4, 6, II. 21; *Raghu.*, XVII. 24.

¹⁹ *Rtu.*, IV. 2, V. 9.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 4, 6, II. 21, IV. 2, V. 9.

²¹ *Māl.*, III. 5; *Raghu.*, III. 55, IX. 29; *Ku.*, III. 33, 38.

²² *Rtu.*, IV. 5; *Raghu.*, III. 55, IX. 29; *Ku.*, III. 33, 38.

²³ *Ku.*, III. 30, VII. 15.

²⁴ *Indian Culture*, pp. 660-61.

²⁵ *Ku.*, VII. 15.

²⁶ *Raghu.*, VI. 65, XVII. 24.

²⁷ *Ku.*, VII. 15.

Women applied lac-dye¹ (*ālaktaka*) to their lips and then besmeared over them a kind of powder called lodhra-dust² prepared from the lodhra wood which turned them yellowish red. The lip-dye was like a wax-solvent to protect the lips from the effects of the winter cold. Women dyed their feet with lac and the red dye of it applied to the sole of their feet reddened the flights of steps as they walked down to the edge of water of tanks³. *Mātulūṅga* or *bijapūraka*⁴ and betel⁵ spices were used to dispel the foul smell of the mouth. The skin of the *bijapūraka*, again, was as much a necessary of life to a *nāgaraka* or fashionable gentleman as were dice, musical instruments, betel-leaves, etc. The *Kāmasūtra* gives a detailed description of *nāgaraka*'s room and habits. "The Bijapūraka skin was chewed to remove all traces of the smell of drink, to prevent melodorous belching after a generous meal, to sweeten the breath so that the refined lady coming to his embrace might not be repelled by it. These being the facts, one might almost infer that to offer Bijapūraka to a lady friend or superior might almost have been construed in those days as an offensive libel on her unladylike habits⁶."

Mirror

The looking-glass⁷ was an important article of toilet. We are not sure as to the metal of which it was made but an indirect reference points to one made of a substance like glass or at least polished and made glossy like glass as in use now-a-days. While drawing upon a simile Kālidāsa has the following: "Like a stain caused by the wind surcharged with watery vapour⁸." Such a stain is particularly noticed on a mirror made of glass, although we have a reference to a looking-glass made of gold⁹. "In ancient times," says Gopinatha Rao, "when glass was either unknown or was not employed for making mirrors, highly polished metal plates of various designs were utilised to serve as mirrors. It may be remarked, by the way, that this old speculum industry has not yet died out in India. In a place called Aramula in Travancore, such mirrors are still manufactured; and the mirrors made by the workmen of this place are so true that they do not show distortion in reflection¹⁰." As a matter of fact we find on the authority of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*¹¹ India importing crude glass in the opening century of the Christian era. Perhaps it was made as early as the 3rd century B. C. in Ceylon.¹² Pliny refers to the Indian glass made of pounded crystal as superior to all others¹³. Dr. Acharya in his *Indian Architecture* refers to nine

¹ *Māl.*, III. 5; *Ku.*, V. 35.

² *Ku.*, VII. 9; *M. U.*, 2.

³ *Rtn.*, I. 5; *Ku.*, IV. 19. VII. 19, VIII. 89; *Raghu.*, XVI. 15; *M. P.*, 32; *Māl.*, III. 13; *Vik.*, IV. 16.

⁴ *Māl.*, V.

⁵ *Rtn.*, V. 5.

⁶ "Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*: a Study," *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, March 1935.

⁷ *Raghu.*, XIV. 37, XVII. 26, XIX. 28, 30; *Ku.*, VII. 22, 26, 36, VIII. 11; *Sāk.*, VII. 32.

⁸ *Raghu.*, XIV. 37.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XVII. 26.

¹⁰ *The Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I. part I. p. 12.

¹¹ Translation by Schoff, p. 45, ¶ 56.

¹² Mitra: *Antiquities of Orissa*, I. p. 101.

¹³ XXXVII. 20.

alternative measurements of a mirror ranging from 5 or 6 to 21 or 22 *angulas*¹. The *Mānasāra* says that mirrors should be quite circular (*svrṭta*) with the edge a little raised. The surface must be perfectly bright, the rim should be decorated with linear ornaments (*rekhā*) and the reverse with the figures of Lakṣmī and others². After finishing their toilet people looked in it. It was considered auspicious as now.

We have references to the art of toilet³, (*prasādhanakalā* and *prasādhanaividhi*), to toilet-men-attendants⁴ *prasādhakāḥ* and toilet-maid-attendants⁵ (*prasādhikāḥ*) and even perhaps to a toilet-case⁶. Toilet of the face was known as *mukhaprasādhana*⁷ and that of the tresses *veṇīprasādhana*. The latter may be witnessed in a perfect specimen carved out in relief among several panels of a door-jamb preserved in the Muttra Museum. The *prasādhikā* and the toilet-case may be seen sculptured in some of the exhibits of Bharhut and Muttra. The most perfect specimen of it may be witnessed in an exquisitely finished piece of sculpture, carved on a railing pillar⁸, preserved in the collection of the Bharata Kala Bhavana, Benares. This toilet-maid-attendant stands in an admirable pose bearing a case (*peṭikā*) which perhaps was supposed to contain little things such as perfumes, flowers, etc.

In connection with toilet the *Kāmasūtras* may be quoted to show a similarity of description between Kālidāsa and Vātsyāyana. "A concrete illustration of the art or arts of toilet," says G. P. Majumdar, "may be found in Vātsyāyana's description of the life of a nāgaraka and his wife:

"The first article in the toilet of a nāgaraka is anulepana—a fragrant ointment ordinarily made of fine sandal-wood paste or a preparation of a variety of sweet smelling substances (*acchikṛtamcandanamanyadvānulepanam*). He then scents his clothes in a sweet smelling smoke of aguru, and wears a garland on the head or hangs it round his neck. He uses other perfumes (*saugandhikāḥ*), and a box of scents (*saugandhapuṭikāḥ*), is kept in readiness for the purpose. He applies collyrium, made of various substances, to his eyes. To his lips he applies ālaktaka (*ālaktakam viśiṣṭarāgārtham*), and then rubs them over with wax to make the dye fast (*sikṭhakamālaktakam*). Then he looks at himself in a glass (*dr̥ṣṭvādārṣe mukham*), perfumes his mouth by chewing spiced betel-leaves (*gr̥hīta mukhavāsa tāmbūlāḥ*), and proceeds to attend to his business (*kāryānyanutiṣṭhet*). He shaves (*āyasyam*) and during the bath he uses a soap-like substance (*phenakāḥ*) to cleanse his person."⁹

¹ p. 69.

² Ibid.

³ *Māl.*, p. 50, III. 13; *Sāk.*, p. 129; *Vik.*, I; *Ku.*, VII. 13, 30.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XVII. 22.

⁵ Ibid., VII. 7; *Ku.*, VII. 20.

⁶ *Vik.*, IV. 121.

⁷ *Māl.*, III. 5.

⁸ No. 100.

⁹ *Sādhāraṇamadbikaraṇam*, IV. 5 and 6 pp. 120-21: स प्रातस्तथाय कृतनियतं कृत्यः गृहीतदन्धावनः।

मात्रयानुलेपनं वृषं स्रजामिति च गृहीत्वा दत्त्वासिक्थकमलक्तकं च दृष्ट्वादर्शमुखे गृहीतमुखवाससः ताम्बूलः।
कार्याप्यनुतिष्ठेत् ॥ See Chakladar, *Social Life*, pp. 156-157.

SOCIAL HABITS AND OTHER INCIDENTS OF SOCIAL LIFE

Social Habits

Kālidāsa defines relationship between man and man as one sprung up from mere talk¹ (*sambandhamābbhāṣaṇapūramāhuḥ*). The cause of all friendship is thus a previous talk between two persons. This gives rise to society. Society consists of persons who are either elders, equals or inferiors. Kālidāsa incidentally refers to the habits of these towards one another. Obeisance was a necessary form of accost on the part of a social inferior when he met a superior. Generally he hailed his superior by bowing his head, which act was known as *praṇāmakriyā*.² The person saluting his superior often pronounced the phrase *praṇāma*,³ *vande*⁴ or *namaste*.⁵ Such an inferior threw himself on, or touched, the feet⁶ of a respectable superior like the preceptor,⁷ mother⁸ or father⁹. The elders and superiors returned the salutations with their blessings¹⁰ (*āśiṣam*). There were many forms of such blessings; for example, an ascetic would bless a king with the words *cakravartinam putramāpnubi*¹¹ (May you be blessed with a son of universal sovereignty!), and the king would reply: *pratiḡrhitam*¹² (am obliged); elderly ladies would return a girl's salutation with *ananyabhājam patimāpnubi*¹³ (May you win a husband entirely devoted to you!) or a bride's with *akhaṇḍitam prema labhasva patyubh*¹⁴ (May you command the undivided love of your husband!) Sītā raises Lakṣmaṇa from her feet and sends him away with the following words: *prītāsmi te saumya cirāya jīva*¹⁵ (I am pleased with you; may you live long!). At the time of departure from the hermitage of a sage, persons of conduct made rounds of the sage and his wife as also of the worshipped fire.¹⁶ The elders blessed the parting youngsters

¹ *Raghu.*, II. 58.² *Ibid.*, VI. 25.³ *Ibid.*, XIV. 13, 60, XV. 14; *Ku.*, III. 62.⁴ *Raghu.*, XIII. 72, 77, XIV. 5, 71.⁵ *Māl.*, p. 97.⁶ *प्रणिपत्यपादयोः Raghu.*, VIII. 12, XI. 89, XIII. 70, XIV. 2, 60; *Śāk.*, p. 145.⁷ *Raghu.*, I. 57.⁸ *Ibid.*, XI. 7; *Ku.*, VII. 27.⁹ *Raghu.*, XI. 4, 5.¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XI. 6, 31; *Ku.*, VI. 90; *Vik.*, p. 137. आयुष्मान् !¹¹ *Śāk.*, p. 21.¹² *Ibid.*¹³ *Ku.*, III. 63.¹⁴ *Ibid.*, VII. 28.¹⁵ *Raghu.*, XIV. 59.¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 71.

with the words *śivāste panthānaḥ santu*¹ (May your path lie free from dangers!). When brothers and equals met they generally embraced² or shook hands³ with each other. To those at a distance, words of endearment and well-being were conveyed⁴ (*yoga kṣemam*).

While talking to an elder or to a socially superior person one slightly bent forward and spoke with chosen phrases and polite manners.⁵ While requesting something, an inferior joined his hands and then addressed his superior.⁶

Family Relations

Family ties spring up from marriage. We read of very tender bonds of family affection. Naturally, since the begetting of a male child was considered so very important, he was loved with the deepest affection. When the child crawled about on all its fours and then stood up and walked with the help of his nurse⁷ (*dhātṛī*), it was a scene for the eyes of the father. When it stammered out its first words⁸ and sat restlessly in the lap of its father, what a joy the contact meant to the latter!⁹ This is why a parting with the son was painful and brought tears to the eyes of many a royal father,¹⁰ howsoever impassible. The death of a son in the life-time of the parents almost killed them.¹¹ A daughter although not so important with regard to inheritance and funeral obsequies, was yet the recipient of ample affection from parents, brothers and other kinsmen. She was considered to belong to a different family¹² to which she was added as a wife, and her parting made her parents cry.¹³ Act IV of the *Sākuntala* is full of such references.

Of other members of a family we read of brothers,¹⁴ elder and younger, loving affectionately, of sisters¹⁵ well cared for by brothers, daughters-in-law¹⁶ loved by the father-in-law and mother-in-law, of the ideal relations of husband and wife,¹⁷ of maternal uncles,¹⁸ of the kinsmen both on the side of the father¹⁹ and mother,²⁰ of uncles²¹ and of the affection existing between the father and son²², and the mother and son.²³

The children of the kings and nobles were entrusted to the care of nurses²⁴ who suckled and fed them and trained them to walk and speak.²⁵

¹ *Sāk.*, p. 148.

² *Raghu.*, XIII. 73.

³ परस्परं हस्तौ स्पृशतः *Vik.*, p. 21.

⁴ *Māl.*, p. 68.

⁵ *Raghu.*, V. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 64.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III. 25.

⁸ प्रथमोदितं वचो *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XI. 4.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, IX. 78.

¹² अर्थो हि कन्या परकीय एव *Sāk.*, IV. 21.

¹³ *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 136; *Ku.*, VI. 92.

¹⁴⁻²³ Common-place.

²⁴ *Raghu.*, III. 25.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

Entertainment of Guest (Atithi)

When a guest arrived, he was treated with singular hospitality. He was given the honour of a god and was actually worshipped¹ (*arāyitvā*). Water was given to wash his feet² and then he was asked to grace a seat prepared of cane-weed.³ After that he was entertained with auspicious offerings like the *arghyam*,⁴ a respectful offering or oblation meant for gods, venerable men or a son-in-law⁵ consisting of rice, honey, *dūrva* grass, etc. There were important guests like the kings, nobles and ṛṣis who were treated with especial care and honour.⁶ When an old acquaintance or friend arrived, he was also received with due honour and we read of the Yakṣa welcoming his cloud-friend with sweet and tender words and with offerings like *arghyam* and flowers of *kuṣāja*.⁷

While walking together with his preceptor and ministers a king paid due honour to the former who was requested to walk in front, then the king followed and thereafter his ministers.⁸ The elders were held in high regard and men of good breeding were not expected to make the orders of their elders subject to queries or criticism.⁹ *Vinaya*¹⁰ or discipline was considered a capital virtue and even the king did not use his arrogance to despise his inferiors, and spoke mildly to the lowly.¹¹ This was an outcome of his disciplined education.¹²

Amusements

The Society of the time of the poet which had the theatre and the intoxicating liquor to its aid had naturally cultivated almost a Grecian taste in its merriments. Wine and flower were the chief aids to this end. Long garlands and various cosmetics added to the charms of ladies. Music, which had attained to a very high standard both in theory and practice, has been expounded almost to a trying degree in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.¹³ *Vasantotsava*, which was supposed to be a fit occasion for staging various plays,¹⁴ also witnessed the merriments of the intoxicated people all round. During the pleasure baths in the public tanks women enjoyed themselves to a questionable extent in childlike raptures. They beat the water to produce the sound resembling that of tam-tams.¹⁵ Joyous ladies, residing in towns, were accustomed to plucking flowers and utilizing them in abundance in their toilet. This verse is important inas-

¹ *Raghu.*, I. 55, V. 3, XI. 35; *Ku.*, V. 31, 32.

² *Śāk.*, p. 37.

³ *Ku.*, VI. 53.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XI. 69, XIII. 66, 70; *Ku.*, VI. 50; *Śāk.*, pp. 37, 46; *Vik.*, p. 137.

⁵ *Raghu.*, VII. 18; *Ku.*, VII. 72.

⁶ अतिथिविशेषलाभेन *Śāk.*, pp. 37, 46, 156, 22; *Raghu.*, V. 2. XIV. 82.

⁷ *M. P.*, 4.

⁸ *Raghu.*, XIII. 66.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XIV. 46.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III. 34.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹² *Ibid.*; also *Ibid.*, X. 79.

¹³ Acts I and II.

¹⁴ *Māl.*, p. 2.

¹⁵ *M. P.*, 33; *Raghu.*, XVI. 64.

much as it suggests an environment in which the mirthful citizen proceeded in his enjoyments. We read of beds of flowers and leaves prepared in chambers of creepers.¹ When a king fell to evil ways leaving the affairs of the State to his ministers and became a servant of 'wine and women,' of him, cupidinous, and living in company of women, each succeeding festivity richer than its predecessor, superseded the latter rich in its preparations, in palaces resounding with the sound of the mṛdaṅga.²

Another popular amusement was the springing of coloured water ejected through syringes.³ Dice⁴ was a similar game of interest which attracted many men. Boys and girls⁵ played with balls⁶ which rebounded by the strokes of the hand.⁷

Swings⁸ (*dolā*) were a common means of merriment which people, especially women, enjoyed unmindful of the danger of being thrown⁹ away. The word used for a swing is *dolā*, and *dolādhīrohaṇa*, referred to in the passage quoted below, means 'to ride on a swing.' Queen Irāvati says: 'I wish to enjoy the pleasure of sitting in the swing in company with your lordship.'¹⁰ There were regular joy-swings in pleasure gardens attached to the mansions of the rich as suggested by the passage quoted above. Another passage warrants the existence of rooms fitted with swings,¹¹ and of those meant for other sports¹² (*līlāgāreṣu*).

Story-telling was another sort of diversion for the people, who gathered together in the evening round the village elders versed in narrating ancient romantic tales, and listened to the interesting stories.¹³ Thus they generally spent their evenings. The details of royal hunt has already been given.¹⁴ From the *Sākuntala* we learn that on his hunting expeditions the king was accompanied with *Yavanīs* or the Greek female attendants carrying bow and arrow and profoundly garlanded.¹⁵ Kauṭilya, as noted elsewhere, also enjoins upon a king to go surrounded by female attendants carrying bow and arrows while hunting. Megasthenes¹⁶ found this practice in existence in the royal family of Magadha.

¹ *Raghu.*, XIX. 23.

² *Ibid.*, 5.

³ वर्णोदकैः काञ्चनशृंग मुक्तैः *Ibid.*, XVI. 70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI. 18.

⁵ *Māl.*, p. 85.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Raghu.*, XVI. 83; *Ku.*, I. 29.

⁷ *Raghu.*, XVI. 83.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XI. 46, XIX. 44; *Māl.*, pp. 39, 41, 47, 48, 49.

⁹ *Māl.*, pp. 41, 49.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 48.

¹² *Raghu.*, VIII. 95.

¹³ *M. P.*, 30.

¹⁴ pp. 194-96.

¹⁵ *Sāk.*, p. 57.

¹⁶ McCrindle's *Ancient India as Depicted by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 72.

Morality

Under the social circumstances described in the preceding pages one may naturally infer that the morality of the society was not entirely unquestionable, yet we find the people described as keeping close to the righteous path¹ as enjoined by the holy scriptures, and the king, himself remaining an untransgressor of the prescribed limits, as keeping guard over the observance of *varṇāśrama-dharma*² and chastising the casual offenders.³ This is why it apparently looks difficult to reconcile the righteous people with their common merriments and the habit of drinking.

We have several allusions to courtesans⁴ and prostitutes,⁵ who, besides being accomplished musicians and dancers employed to sing and dance at child-birth⁶ and such other occasions, were bad characters of the society. The caves of the Nīcagiri are referred to as becoming fragrant with the anointed bodies of the prostitutes⁷ who met the distracted lads of the city in those caves. In the temple of Mahākālā at Ujjainī they danced holding fly-whisks in their hands.⁸ The employment of courtesans, displaying their various graces and winning postures in the temple of Mahākālā is remarkable. The dance in Siva's temple is similar to one arranged in modern times in northern India in honour of Siva in the month of Śrāvaṇa. It is possible that the custom of employing *devadāsīs* in the temples of southern India may have descended from that of attaching courtesans to the temples of gods.

References⁹ to *abbisārikās* or adulteresses warrant their existence in the society. A verse says that 'the highway along which the *abbisārikās* producing inarticulate music from, and lighting the road side with, the anklets, were wont to tread, now jackals go.'¹⁰ Rendezvous or secret places of meeting of lovers have been alluded to.¹¹ Such a *saṅketagrha*, as the *Mālavikāgnimitra* describes, was a verandah erected round an aśoka tree and covered with a roof.¹² *Dūtīs*¹³ or female messengers, hastening the meeting of lovers at the rendezvous and expediting their love intrigues into consummation of love were not wanting. So were extant *fatḥas*¹⁴ or deceitful lovers, who apparently loved their wives but secretly paid their addresses to other sweethearts. From the *Sākuntala* and the *Kumārasambhava* we learn of love-letters¹⁵ from one lover to another.

¹ *Raghu.*, I. 17.

² *Ibid.*, III. 27, V. 19, XIV. 67; *Śāk.*, p. 162.

³ *Raghu.*, XV. 51.

⁴ *Rṣu.*, II. 5; *M. P.*, 8, 35.

⁵ *M. P.*, 25.

⁶ *Raghu.*, III. 19.

⁷ *M. P.*, 25.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 37; *Raghu.*, XVI. 12, XVII. 69; *Ku.*, VI. 43; *Rṣu.*, II. 10.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XVI. 12.

¹¹ *Śāk.*, III. 23; *Māl.*, p. 93.

¹² *Māl.*, Act III.

¹³ *Ibid.*, III. 14; *Raghu.*, VI. 12, XVIII. 53, XIX. 33.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, XIX. 31.

¹⁵ *Ku.*, I. 73; *Śāk.*, p. 97, III. 23.

It was an age when the *Kāmasūtras* of Vātsyāyana were lovingly read, appreciated and quoted as may be inferred from myriads of indirect references¹ to them made by Kālidāsa. The poet draws freely from *Vātsyāyana* in his descriptions regarding love and other amorous aspects. The 6th, 9th and 19th cantos of the *Raghuvamśa* and the 8th canto of the *Kumārsambhava* abound in such allusions.

Thieves and burglars were not unknown and we read of their several synonyms in Kālidāsa.

Nevertheless the society was mostly composed of righteous people treading the path of righteousness. Chaste wives in the absence of their husbands discarded all items of varied toilet and pleasure. They looked at no one except their own husband² and it was with no mean justification that their residential apartments were styled as *śuddhānta*,³ i.e., a pure and sinless harem. Many a widow expired⁴ on the funeral pyre of her husband for the excessive love she bore to him. A man also thought it sinful to look at others' wives;⁵ to touch their bodies⁶ was indeed a sin beyond all retribution. The proper conduct of a man in the presence of a woman is exemplified in the person of Kuśa who got startled at the approach of the personified Rājyalakṣmī and observed that the descendants of Raghu were entirely inattentive to the charms of others' wives.⁷ Others' property likewise was respected and Dilīpa refrains from drinking the milk of Vasiṣṭha's cow when offered to him by her without the permission of her owner.⁸

Furniture and Other Household Necessaries

With regard to furniture we read of several kinds of seats, viz. thrones, high-seats and benches; bedsteads; boxes, etc. *Simhāsana*⁹ was the throne of a king and was naturally costly, made of gold with set gems.¹⁰ T. A. Gopinatha Rao explains it as 'a four-legged seat, circular or rectangular in shape and one hasta or cubit in height. The four legs of this seat are made up of four small lions.'¹¹ There were other seats made of gold¹² and of precious stones¹³ which must have been the property of the rich.

¹ *Raghu.*, VI. 12-19, 81, VII. 22 (Vātsyāyana quoted by the Commentator), VIII. 7, IX. 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 46, 47, XVI. 12, XVII. 69, XVIII. 53, XIX. 9, 18, 23, 32, 33; *Ku.*, III. 8, IV. 16, VI. 43, 45, VIII. 1-12, 16, 21, 29, 51; *Rt.*, II. 10.; *Māl.*, pp. 37, 39, 53, 84, III. 14, IV. 14, 15; *Śāk.*, I. 21.

² *Raghu.*, VII. 67.

³ *Ibid.*, III. 16, VI. 45.

⁴ *Ku.*, VI. 20, 33.

⁵ *Śāk.*, p. 164, V. 28.

⁶ *Ibid.*, V. 29.

⁷ *Raghu.*, XVI. 6-8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II. 66.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VI. 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *The Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 21.

¹² *Raghu.*, VII. 28; *Vik.*, p. 130.

¹³ *Raghu.*, VI. 4.

Furniture

We also read of beautiful seats made of ivory¹ covered with white covers. *Bhādrapīṭha*² or *Bhadrāsana* is another kind of seat, "the height whereof," says Gopinatha Rao, "is also divided into sixteen parts, of which one forms the thickness of the upāna or the basal layer, four of the jagatī or the next higher layer, three of the kumuda, one of the paṭṭika, three of the kaṇṭha, one of the second paṭṭika, two of the broader mahā-paṭṭika and one of the ghṛitavāri the topmost layer (see Pl. VI. fig. 6). Bhadrapiṭha may be either circular or rectangular³." "*Vetrāsana*⁴ were seats made of cane weed and we actually find an example of such a cane chair with wicker work sculptured on one of the exhibits of the Muttra Museum. *Pīṭhikā*⁵ or *pīṭha*, says Dr. P. K. Acharya, "is probably corrupted from pi-sad to sit upon, hence means a stool, seat, chair, throne, pedestal, altar⁶."

*Viṣṭara*⁷ was also an honoured seat, a high seat worthy of a royal household as the context in which the word has been used suggests. Besides these there were benches and high bedsteads. *Mañca*⁸ was a bench. Dr. Acharya explains it as 'a bedstead, couch, bed, sofa, a chair, a throne, a platform, a pulpit⁹.' There were gallery-like structures of these *mañcas*, rising one over the other, like a stadium with space to walk about between the rows. *Talpa*¹⁰ was a high bedstead, and so was *panyānka*¹¹. The latter was 'of nine varieties,' says Dr. Acharya, 'as they may be from 21 to 37 aṅgulas in width with increments of 2 aṅgulas¹².' "The materials of which bedsteads and seats (āsana) are generally constructed are various kinds of timber¹³." *Saiyyā*¹⁴ was the cover, bed and bedstead referred to as a whole. All furniture enumerated above was almost invariably furnished with a cover as white as the colour of a swan¹⁵. The phrases used for a cover are *uttaracchada*¹⁶ and *āstarāṇa*¹⁷. The former appears to have been a bedcover as it has been mostly used in reference to a bed or a long seat, whereas the latter was one for chairs, cushions and the like. There is a reference to a ceiling-cover also from which decorative balls¹⁸ were hung.

¹ Ibid., XVII. 21.

² Ibid., 10.

³ *The Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I. p. 20.

⁴ *Ku.*, VI. 53.

⁵ *Māl.*, p. 66.

⁶ *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 349.

⁷ *Vik.*, p. 138; *Ku.*, VII. 72.

⁸ *Raghu.*, VI. I. 3.

⁹ *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 461.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, V. 75, XVI. 6.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² *Indian Architecture*, p. 62.

¹³ *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 346.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, III. 15, V. 65, 72.

¹⁵ *Ku.*, VIII. 82.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, V. 65, XVII. 21; *Ku.*, VIII. 89.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, VI. 4.

¹⁸ *M. U.*, 7.

Of household utensils we read of vessels made of precious metals¹ and gold² plates of metals and of clay³. Costly utensils decorated the household of the rich whereas the earthen ones that of the middle class. *Kumbha*⁴ was a big pitcher which was used as a huge water receptacle. *Ghaṭa*⁵ was a small one used for the same purpose.

Boxes were also a necessary furniture of the household and have been variously referred to as *mañjūṣā*⁶, *karāṇḍaka*⁷, and *tālavṛntapīḍhāna*⁸. Dr. Acharya explains *mañjūṣā*, as 'a box, casket, receptacle, a wardrobe'⁹. Kālidāsa has invariably alluded to it in respect of a casket containing ornaments. *Karāṇḍaka* was a basket¹⁰ perhaps for carrying articles of toilet. *Tālavṛntapīḍhāna* was a similar casket. *Mañjūṣā* was the largest of the three. Dr. Acharya, details its three kinds. It was 'of timber or iron,' says he, 'square, rectangular or circular generally fitted with three chambers. It had three names corresponding to its three kinds, and use—*Paṇamañjūṣā*, *Tailamañjūṣā* and *Vastramañjūṣā*¹¹.'

Then there were miscellaneous articles of daily use like lamps¹², fans of palms¹³ and lotus or lily leaves¹⁴ and tents made of cloth¹⁵. The parasol¹⁶ also was an article of daily use for warding off the sun and rain. Every house was furnished with a store-room¹⁷ to accommodate various articles of the household.

Of conveyance⁸ we read the following, viz. *syandana*¹⁸, *caturasrayāna*¹⁹ and *karnīratba*²⁰, besides horses and elephants on land and boats²¹ on water, and the beasts of burden like the camels²², mules²³ and oxen²⁴. *Syandana* was the chariot used in earlier times in warfare which must have become extinct by the time of Kālidāsa. *Caturasrayāna* was a litter or palanquin carried by four men. *Yāna*

¹ *Ku.*, VIII. 75; *Raghu.*, II. 36, X. 51.

² *Raghu.*, II. 36, X. 51.

³ *Ibid.*, V. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 36, V. 63, IX. 73, 75, 76.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XIV. 78, XIII. 34; *Śāk.*, pp. 25, 47.

⁶ *Māl.*, pp. 73, 87, 104.

⁷ *Śāk.*, p. 217.

⁸ *Vik.*, p. 121.

⁹ *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 463. The word in the sense of a casket has been used in the Bhattiprolu Inscription, Nos. I, IV, VIII, *Ep. Ind.*, VII. p. 326-29.

¹⁰ *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 114.

¹¹ *Indian Architecture*, p. 69.

¹² *Raghu.*, V. 37 74; *M. Ū.*, 5; *Vik.*, III. 2, 3.

¹³ *Ku.*, II. 35.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, V. 74.

¹⁵ *Śāk.*, III. 18.

¹⁶ *आलपत्र* *Ibid.*, V. 6.

¹⁷ *Māl.*, pp. 63, 64.

¹⁸ *Raghu.*, I. 36, 39, 40.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VI. 10.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XIV. 13.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I. 4, IV. 31, XIV. 30, 52, XVI. 57, 68, XVII. 81; *Śāk.*, p. 219.

²² *Raghu.*, VI. 32.

²³ *वामो* *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 22.

was a general name for conveyances: it was one of the four kinds of Vāstu consisting of *Adika*, *Syandana*, *Sibikā*, and *Ratha*.¹ *Karṇīratha* was a small chariot for driving ladies in, as explained by the commentator (*śrī yogyo alparathāḥ*).

Horticulture

Gardens were a necessity to the people as they furnished them with flower, the most essential item of their decoration and toilet. Flower served alike the daughter of a recluse and the queen of an emperor, as the sole ornaments for the former and an adornment of the hair for the latter. And hence it was that the art of gardening was cultivated and horticulture² (*udyānavyāpāra*) had grown to be an affectionate concern of a household.

We read of gardens of two types, viz. one attached to a house or a royal palace³ popularly known as a *pramadavana*⁴ and another, a public sort⁵. There was a specific cultivation of the flower garden and the orchard⁶. A garden in the sense of Kālidāsa often contained both the flower plants as well as fruit trees. A garden was variously known as *upavana*⁷, *udyāna*⁸, etc. Kālidāsa has invariably associated a residential house with a garden. According to Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtras*, all decent houses and palaces of kings must have pleasure gardens attached to them. "Attached to it," says he, "there must be a *vrikṣavātikā* (or *puṣpavātikā*), or a garden with wide grounds, if possible, where flowering plants and fruit can grow as well as kitchen vegetables तत्र भवनमासन्नोदकं वृक्षवाटिकावृद्धिमन्तकम्भेकक्षं द्विवास गृहकारयेत् ३, p. 114. In the middle of the ground should be excavated either a well or a tank, or a lake (मध्ये कूपवादी दीर्घिका वा खानयेत्)"⁹ The *Upavana Vinoda*, a treatise on arbori horticulture, says: "He is verily the king whose abode is provided with spacious gardens, containing large tanks or pools adorned with beautiful lotus blossoms over which humming bees fly—that may be regarded as the consummation of all happiness on the part of men, and that give intense pleasure to the mind of sportive and pleasure-seeking ladies puffed with the pride of beauty¹⁰." The conditions and requirements of a garden as pointed out by Vātsyāyana and Śārngadhara seem to have been fully recognized by the garden-planters of Kālidāsa's time. Gardens were generally laid out within the palace and they grew most of the trees, plants and creepers mentioned in the chapter on *Flora and Fauna*. The whole family felt attracted to the garden.

¹ *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 517.

² *Māl.*, p. 35.

³ गृहोपवन *Raghu.*, XIX. 23; *Māl.*, pp. 35, 86; *Vik.*, p. 34.

⁴ *Māl.*, pp. 39, 40; *Śāk.*, pp. 193, 198; *Vik.*, p. 34.

⁵ *M. U.*, 8; *Raghu.*, VIII. 32, XIII. 79, XIV. 30; *Mal.*, V. 1.

⁶ *Śāk.*, p. 25.

⁷ *M. U.*, 8, *M. P.*, 23.

⁸ *Ku.*, II. 35, 36.

⁹ Chakladar: *Social Life in Ancient India*, quoted in the Introduction, p. 17, to the *Upavana Vinoda*.

¹⁰ पुंसां सर्वसुखैकसाधनफलाः सौन्दर्यगर्बोद्घुर क्रीडालोलविलासिनीजनमनः स्फीतप्रमोदावहाः ।

गुञ्जद्गुगुनिद्रपंकजभरत्फारोल्लसद्दीधिकायुक्ताः सन्ति गृहेषु यस्य विपुलारामाः स पृथ्वीपतिः ॥१॥

Plants were loved and ladies themselves watered them¹ out of love. To Pārvatī a devadāru had become as dear as her own son². So was also a mandāra tree to the wife of the Yakṣa of the *Meghadūta*³. Śakuntalā also felt deep affection for the plants of the hermitage.⁴

The garden was irrigated by means of narrow drains⁵ (*kulyā*) full of running water with water-fountains⁶ as their source. These water-wheels incessantly threw jets of cool water and thus kept the beds of the garden flooded. The circular ditch (*ālavāla*) round the trees was filled with water⁷. The *ālavāla* was otherwise known as *ādhārabandha*⁸. The *Upavana Vinoda* says that "during the rainy and autumn seasons when it does not rain one should fill the circular ditch under the tree with water⁹." It must have been a pleasure to see the daughters of hermits watering the small plants of the hermitage with jars¹⁰. Perhaps there were special pitchers for watering purposes¹¹ (*secanaghāṭa*).

The garden contained a tank of water¹² and creepers, specially the mādhavī¹³ and the priyaṅgu¹⁴, with their luxurious spread of foliage formed into fragrant canopies and arbours¹⁵ which were fitted with crystalline¹⁶ or other stone slabs to sit on. The gardens of the rich were further fitted with artificial hillocks or mock-hills¹⁷ (*krīḍāśaila*), and with crystalline posts on which the domestic peacock roosted and disported itself¹⁸. Swings were fitted there either in the open garden, or within a bower¹⁹ or in an open room²⁰. Big and shady trees were surrounded with a raised and round *vedikā*²¹.

Public gardens²² (*nagaropavanāḥ*) were generally situated outside the town and were hence called by the name of *babirupavana*²³ or 'a pleasure garden situated out-

¹ *Raghu*, I. 51, V. 6, XIII. 34, XIV. 78; *Śāk.*, pp. 25, 47, 121.

² *Raghu*, II. 36.

³ *M. U.*, 12.

⁴ *Śāk.*, pp. 26, 27.

⁵ *Raghu*, XII. 3.

⁶ *Māl.*, II. 12.

⁷ *Raghu*, XII. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, V. 6.

⁹ 73.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 51, XIV. 78.

¹¹ *Śāk.*, p. 25.

¹² *Raghu*, XIX. 9; *M. U.*, 13; *Māl.*, II. 12.

¹³ *M. U.*, 15; *Māl.*, pp. 199, 200.

¹⁴ *Māl.*, p. 38.

¹⁵ *Raghu*, XIX. 23; *Śāk.*, pp. 87, 173.

¹⁶ *Śāk.*, p. 200; *Vik.*, p. 36; *Māl.*, p. 38.

¹⁷ *M. U.*, 14; *Vik.*, p. 54.

¹⁸ *M. U.*, 16.

¹⁹ *Māl.*, pp. 39, 41, 49.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 48.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 87; *Śāk.*, p. 38.

²² *Raghu*, XIV. 34; *Māl.*, V. 1. Public parks and gardens were provided by the Government (*Arthaśāstra*, *Sukranīti*, *Kāmandakānīti*) for health, recreation and enjoyment of the public (Introduction to *Upavana Vinoda*, p. 2).

²³ *M. U.*, 8.

side' (the city). Sometimes they were planted and laid out alongside a river¹ and ran in rows² one after another.

In the garden often a tree was married to a creeper³ and the occasion was celebrated with great mirth. *Dobada*⁴ or the ceremony of touching the *aśoka* tree with the foot of a maiden which caused it to blossom was one of great pleasure and gave poets many occasions to elaborate it and weave the threads of their love-yarns. Gardeners or *udyānapālīkās*⁵ were appointed to look after the gardens.

Gardens furnished endless enjoyments to their owners. The creepers provided them with pleasure bowers fitted with crystalline benches and beds of flowers and leaves where many a love-scene was consummated, into first a rendezvous and eventually a *Gāndharva* wedlock, where lovers soliloquized within the hearing of their beloveds resting uneasily in love agony. It was here that a libidinous king retired to pursue his amorous ends having dropped the yoke of administration on the shoulders of his ministers⁶. It was here again that the *aśoka*, *karnīkāra* and the mango blossomed, the parrot echoed the sounds around, the cuckoo cooed, the peacock danced, and the *yūthikā* and the *mādhavī* perfumed the air. The most exquisite description of a garden given by the poet is one contained in the *Vikramorvaśī* where, he says, the peacock and the swan strut and hover over the fountain to catch the water sprays, where the domesticated caged parrot shouts for water, and the bees crowd on the *karnīkāra* tree⁷. In these gardens seasonal birds and bees poured forth their sweet music and aroused the amorous feeling of the aesthetic citizens to a height of dreadful rapture. There the citizens lay callously tossing on their sides sunk in the reveries of their romances and the lull of the soothing slumber of their happy musings on the cool crystalline benches fixed in the love-feeding silence of the most artistically contrived arbours of the sweetly fragrant creeper of the *mādhavī*, *priyaṅgu* and the like. In such solitary nooks did the aesthetic citizen of the time of Kālidāsa spin the yarn and weave the texture of his love-sheet. The picture is one of an incorrigible lotus-eater!

¹ *M. P.*, 36.

² *Ibid.*, 35.

³ *Raghu.*, VIII. 61; *Śāk.*, pp. 31, 32.

⁴ *Raghu.*, VIII. 62, 63; *M. U.*, 15; *Māl.*, p. 54.

⁵ *Māl.*, pp. 35, 86; *Śāk.*, pp. 189, 193; *M. P.*, 36.

⁶ *Raghu.*, XIX. 4.

⁷ *Vik.*, II. 22.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER XII

POETRY AND DRAMA, MUSIC AND DANCING

Kālidāsa, as is evident from his works, was a man of great attainments and was endowed with an uncommon degree of aesthetic sense. He has described at length the several branches of Fine Arts. Poetry and Drama, Music and Dancing, Painting, Sculpture and Terracottas, and Architecture have all been described in varied details and an attempt will be made in the following pages to give an account of them as disclosed by a study of the poet. Poetry and drama have been treated here only in principle as their detailed account is given in chapters on *Education and Learning*.

Poetry and Drama

Kālidāsa represents the Augustan age of Sanskrit poetry. His own poetry is of the highest order and is the sweetest and most perfect of all that the Sanskrit literature has ever known. *Meghadūta*, a lyrical poem, has charmed the world by its simple imagery and romantic melody. The *Raghwaṃśa* and *Kumāra-sambhava* are two such narratives as have earned universal credit for the genius of Kālidāsa. The *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* is an embodiment of the most tender feelings that sways the mortals and it marks its author out as one of the foremost poets of the world of all times.

Kālidāsa himself recognizes the high worth of his poetry and he inserts a pregnant line suggesting that the excellence of a work depends not on its priority of composition but on the appreciation that it can elicit from competent critics¹. His attitude towards his renowned predecessor the sage Vālmiki is one of respectful humility², but his self-consciousness in the domain of poetry and drama is more assertive with regard to the classical poets like Bhāsa, Saumilla, Kavi-putra and others with whose works he appeals for a critical and impartial comparison and is in no way prepared to acknowledge tamely their vaunted superiority³. There can be no mistake about the implication of his famous verse⁴ in the *Māla-vikāgnimitra* in which he makes a reflection on the contemporaneous view of some critics who invoked the plea of antiquity and age for their favourite poets. About the well established position of these poets there can be little doubt since of Bhāsa⁵ alone we have luckily discovered a number of plays which are of no mean

¹ *Māl.*, I. 2.

² *Raghu.*, I. 4.

³ पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं *Māl.*, I. 2.

⁴ पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम् ।
सन्तः परीक्ष्यान्यतरङ्गजन्ते मुहः परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः ॥ *Ibid.*

⁵ भाससौमिल्लकविपुत्रादीनां *Ibid.*, p. 2.

merit. Saumilla¹ and Kaviputra² are nothing more than mere names to us, but there is no doubt about the fact that they had established their name in literary traditions of the times and were well understood in poetical allusion.

In the time of Kālidāsa the well-cultured (*saṃskārapāṭa*) Sanskrit language had made a great progress but the simple natural style³ of the vernacular, i.e. Prakrit, was held in high honour. The plays abound in the sweetest and simplest expressions of Prakrit; naturally the sphere of Prakrit was wide since it was the common dialect, and in the plays it was that dialect which was spoken by the characters excepting a few like the king, preceptor, chamberlain, ministers. It was the time in poetry when all the *vr̥ttis* were well cultivated and put to practical use during the staging of the drama⁴.

The stage was busy and the theatre full. A dramatic performance was a common feature on festive occasions,⁵ like the marriage and the advent of the spring. After the rites of marriage were over the period of mirth and merriment ensued and something like a dramatic performance was given by maids who entwined expressive dance in graceful play and whose eloquent motions with an actor's art showed to the life the passions of the heart⁶, and who were further accomplished in *vr̥ttis* like the *kaṇṭikī*⁷. The play entitled the *Mālavikāgnimitra* was staged on the day of the vernal festival⁸.

The dramatic art⁹ was held in great honour as is evidenced by the speech of Gaṇadāsa, the preceptor of music and acting, who refers to one's hereditary lore or *kulaśāstrā* while defining this art as quoted below: "Granted that everyone of course thinks highly of his own hereditary lore; but the great regard I have for the dramatic art is not without reason¹⁰." The above quotation shows that different families specialized in different branches of art. Dramatic art was supposed to be a peaceful sacrifice to the gods (where bloodshed was absent), and divided in two different ways by Śiva in his body (attended with that of Umā). It was an art which aimed at disclosing the human behaviour (life) arising from the three prime qualities of *Sattva*, *Raja* and *Tama*, and it was chequered by various sentiments. This *nāṭya* or scenic art was said to be an amusement which satisfied the *varied* tastes of the people¹¹. It is interesting to note that this definition of the dramatic art is much in keeping with similar ideas regarding its origin which have been set forth in works of poetics like the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata and the *Dattarūpa* of Dhānañjaya. Here is a definition of the dramatic art which is remarkably scientific.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ *Ku.*, VII. 90.

⁴ Ibid., 91.

⁵ Ibid., p. 2; *Vik.*, p. 60.

⁶ *Ku.*, VII. 91.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ वसन्तोत्सवे *Māl.*, p. 2.

⁹ नाट्यं Ibid., p. 7; I. 4.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

¹¹ Ibid., I. 4.

In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* an intellectual contest between two preceptors of music, dancing and acting is held in which the pupils of the respective preceptors vie with each other to establish the reputable skill of their teachers: "The two preceptors of acting, each eager for victory over the other, who wish to see you like two dramatic sentiments in bodily form¹." One of the preceptors says that he learnt the art of acting from a competent authority (*sutīrtbāt*), and that furthermore he had given practical lessons in the art of dramatic representations, and had been consequently favoured by the King and the Queen². This statement also speaks highly of the State patronage of fine arts, particularly that of the dramatic art. The following speech further refers to the theory and practice of the art. "Let your Majesty, therefore, be pleased to examine him and me in the theoretical knowledge and in practical skill. Your Majesty alone is a critical judge of us both³." The art had attained to the position of a well-defined scientific subject⁴. The King, himself an accomplished person, was considered an adept in the dramatic art by authorities on acting and was deemed fit enough to act as their judge.

Women, it would seem, were specially marked out in the learning of the fine arts and when it was discovered that in judging the performance the king would be suspected by the queen of complicity in the intrigue, which might thus be detected, Kauśiki, a woman ascetic, was approached and addressed thus: "Revered lady, a dispute about superiority in knowledge has arisen between Gaṇadāsa and Haradatta; your reverence, therefore, must occupy the position of judge in this matter⁵." The word *Prāśnika* is to be noted in this connection. This signifies examination. The art of dancing was recognized as one chiefly of practical demonstration⁶ and although its theory also had considerably developed it was not given such importance as its practice. About the cultivation of the art it has been said: "One man is at his best when exhibiting his art in person; another has as his special qualification in the power of communicating his skill; but only he who possesses both these excellences, should be placed at the head of teachers⁷." An exposition of the art of dancing, which was in fact a branch of the dramatic art, is thus put in the speech of the Parivrājikā. The contest of the teachers in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* in the science of dramatic performance (*viññāna saṅgharṣa*)⁸ further brings out the notion of the art. The acceptance of an unfit pupil was denounced as want of discernment on the part of the teacher⁹ and it was expected of him to exercise enough care in the choice of his pupil, for on the latter's inherent aptitude for the cultivation of an art depended in a large measure the success of the preceptor's efforts.

¹ Ibid., I. 10.

² Ibid., p. 14.

³ Ibid., p. 15.

⁴ Ibid., I. 4.

⁵ . . . विज्ञानसंघर्षिणः . . . प्राश्निकपदमध्यासितव्यम् । Ibid., p. 17.

⁶ प्रयोगप्रधानं हि नाट्यशास्त्रम् Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., I. 16.

⁸ विज्ञानसंघर्षिणोः Ibid., p. 17.

⁹ विनतुरद्वयपरिग्रहोऽपि बुद्धिलाघवं प्रकाशयतीति Ibid., p. 19, cf. Ibid., I. 19.

In the following extract there is a reference to the dramatic art and its founder Bharata: "The lord of the gods, with the guardians of the quarters, is desirous of seeing to-day the dramatic performance taught to you by the sage Bharata, which is the substratum of the eight sentiments, and wherein there is charming acting¹." The references to Bharata, *aṣṭarasāśraya* and *lalitābhinayam* discussed in chapters VI, VII, VIII, IX and X of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* show that the great work of Bharata on the principles of dramatic art had almost been completed by the time of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa himself refers to Bharata as a *muni* thus denoting antiquity as regards the time of the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. One thing more is to be noted in this connection. As this was the first occasion on which the play *Mālavikāgnimitra* was being staged, as is evidenced by the phrase *navena nāṭakena*², the *Abhirūpas* probably included the *Prāśnikas* or judges of the play. It may be noted that according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata special officers technically known as the *Prāśnikas* were charged with the duty of witnessing the performance of new dramatic pieces and reporting on their respective excellences to the king who in such cases acted as the virtual custodian of the interests of young aspiring poets. It may be assumed that the favourable verdict of these judges earned a speedy fame for really deserving sons of the Muse and the patronage of the sovereign at once got them into limelight. There is distinct reference to these *Prāśnikas*³ officers in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

In the phrase *prekṣāgrha*⁴ we have a reference to the representation or theatre-hall. Tārānātha, however, accepts a different reading, *varṇaprekṣā*, in its place which he explains to mean 'the waiting-room for the actor', 'green room.'

Before staging the final drama a rehearsal was given. On the day of the rehearsal, it appears, Brahmins were fed for the auspicious opening of the theatre which is borne out by the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.⁵

This feeding of a Brahmin during a rehearsal or the first opening of a theatre refers to a definite social custom. It was customary in ancient times to worship the tutelary deity and make presents to Brahmins by way of *dakṣiṇā* when a person was initiated into some art or *śāstra*, or at any inaugural ceremony. *Nepathya-sevana* is another reading of the phrase which means a 'sacrifice accompanied with musical entertainment' performed when a dramatic company was formally declared open⁶.

We give below a description of the stage and acting as given by the poet. The *parivrajikā* of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* while announcing her decision on the performance of the first part fully analyses the performance and brings out its features: "The meaning was well brought out by her limbs which were eloquent with expression; the movements of her feet (*pādanyāso*) was in perfect unison with time;

¹ *Vik.*, II. 17.

² *Māl.*, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵ प्रथमोपदेशदर्शने प्रथमं ब्राह्मणस्य पूजा कर्तव्या । *Māl.*, p. 30.

महाब्राह्मण, नखलु प्रथमं नेपथ्यसेवनमिदम् । अन्यथा कथं त्वां दक्षिणीयं नाचयिष्यामः *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

there was complete identification with the sentiments conveyed; the acting performed by means of the movements of the hands was gentle, while in its successive stages chased away emotion gave rise to another from its substratum; still the interest remained just the same¹."

*Nepathyaparigatā*² refers to a curtain hanging on the stage. The term used for a curtain is *tiraskarīṇī*³. The word *sambartum*⁴ reflects that there were more curtains than one, and that the front curtain was rolled up; for the king speaks of its being rolled up and not of its removal. Thus there were curtains on the stage which were rolled up and dropped down according to the needs of the stage. A study of the stage directions makes the above facts clearer still. The phrase *praviśati āsanastho rājā*⁵ contains a stage direction which ordinarily means that 'the king seated on a throne enters upon the stage.' This would mean a contradiction for if the king were *āsanastha* he could not be described as *praviśati*. We must therefore suppose that the stage knew a certain kind of arrangement, suggests Kale, by which the curtain could be removed and the characters discovered to the audience in various postures. In Kālidāsa (also in Bhavabhūti) we often come across situations with appropriate stage directions which make it necessary to admit the existence of a rollable curtain, if we do not want to make those situations and stage directions absurd. *Praviśati* thus means 'is discovered (sitting)' when the curtains are rolled up to reveal line.

There were different types of stage dresses meant for different kinds of parts played by the characters⁶ of the drama. Kauśiki says: "I speak in my capacity as a judge. Let the two pupils enter dressed in fine attire, that the elegance of movements of all their limbs might be clearly displayed."⁷ This particular dress was given to those who had to dance on the stage. Among the many styles of dress for the stage was the dress of the *abbisārikā*. She was 'decked with but a few ornaments and veiled with a blue silk⁸.' She would dispense with such ornaments as were likely to produce lustre or sound. She was to walk out clad in dark vestments so that she might not be recognized by the people who knew her. A third kind of stage dress has been alluded to in the hunting costume⁹. The *Yavanis*¹⁰ the custodians of the king's arms and forming the first row of the bodyguards of the king, put on distinct costumes to distinguish them as foreigners on the stage. In like manner one acting the part of a *mānini* or a wife remonstrating against the conduct of her husband, had a special dress, and so had one acting the part of a *virahinī*, or a *munikanyakā* or of a woman observing a vow¹¹ or of one repenting¹².

¹ *Māl.*, II. 8.

² *Ibid.*, II. 1.

³ तिरस्करिणी *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, II. 11; पटाक्षेपेण *Śāk.*, p. 208; *Vik.*, p. 11.

⁴ *Māl.*, II. 1.

⁵ *Śāk.*, p. 150.

⁶ सर्वांगसौष्ठवः . . . विगतनेपथ्ययोः पात्रयोः *Māl.*, p. 22.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ नीलांशुकपरिग्रहोऽभिसारिकावेशः *Vik.*, p. 68.

⁹ अपनयन्तु भवन्तो मृगयावेशम् *Śāk.*, p. 68.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, VII. 21.

¹² *Vik.*, III. 12.

In like manner the person going out for a hunt wore a distinctive attire, that matching with the leaves of the sylvan trees, so that he might not be distinguished by his prey. He was followed by fowlers carrying nets and a pack of hounds¹. Thus every character had a distinct dress. The king had his own, the chamberlain was distinguished by his robe (*kañcuka*) and a staff (*vetra*), the ascetics had their dress made of tree-skin (*valkala*), so had Śakuntalā and other daughters of the recluses, and all who acted on the stage.

Thus equipped with curtains, proper dresses and superb acting while staging the excellent pieces, the stage of Kālidāsa presented a picture of a considerably advanced state in the theatrical art.

Music

Music may be studied under two heads, popular and technical. We have many allusions to both but the latter has been elaborately described.

Popular music was cultivated exclusively by women. As now, they may have picked it up in course of time without any regular training within the house where they hardly needed any instrument to aid their vocal music. On festive occasions, they had ample opportunities of cultivating the old traditional songs suited to the occasion and of picking up new ones from some of their new acquaintances. They sang auspicious songs at the time of marriage and songs of glory² while watching the standing crops. While bathing in a river, they sang and beat the water to the tune of their sweet music.³

Of technical music⁴ there are very elaborate discussions in the *Mālavikāgni-mitra*. We read of music helped by all its six accompaniments. The accompaniments themselves have not been specifically enumerated by the poet.

Towns resounded with the sound of music and the description of the city of Kubera may well serve for a type. The city of Alakā is described as resounding with the sound of musical instruments, such as *mṛdaṅga*, played evidently by accomplished ladies⁵. It is the wife of the exiled Yakṣa who, in the absence of her husband, tries and is repulsed by all sorts of music, instrumental and vocal, in her extreme sorrow. She takes to singing the glories of her lord to the tune of the *vīṇā* placed on her thighs, although such is her anguish that she cannot pursue it with ease and pleasure; and she forgets even her well practised *mūrcchanā*.⁶

In the development of fine arts, state patronage was given. Kings took much interest in the advancement of fine arts of which music formed a most important branch. To the king who had neglected his duties for the luxury of wine and women,⁷ music indeed became 'the food of love' on which he constantly fed himself. "On him cupidinous, and living in the company of

¹ *Raghu.*, IX. 50-51.

² *Raghu.*, IV. 20.

³ *Ibid.*, XVI. 64; cf. *Ibid.*, 62. *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴ Acts I and II.

⁵ *M. U.*, 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁷ स्त्रीविधेय *Raghu.*, XIX. 4; कामिनीसहचरस्य *Ibid.*, 5.

women each succeeding festivity, richer than its predecessor, superseded the latter rich in its preparations, in palaces resounding with the sound of the *mṛdaṅga*¹." At another place too much association with music and its accompaniments on the part of a king is made the cause of criticism by his queen². We may note that Indumati, the wife of king Aja, was taught fine arts³, probably music by her husband himself which shows the royal house cultivating them. Agnivarṇa is a past master of music and dancing and corrects the courtesans that attend on him to the shame of their teachers⁴, and naturally the poet calls him a *kṛtī*, expert.

We read of a music hall⁵, which fulfilled the purpose of a dramatic and dancing hall as well, where teachers of the highest order⁶ (*sutīrtāḥ*) imparted scientific and technical training in the arts of music, dancing, acting and painting to the intelligent pupils of the royal household. This music hall, which looks like a school meant for the inmates of the royal harem, was run at State expense, and the teachers attached to the institution drew regular salaries (*vetana*⁷). The poet refers to a *saṅgītaracānā* or concert⁸. Musical concerts were arranged by the teachers of the *saṅgītasālā* in which their skill as well as their pupils' was put to test. One described in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, however, was the result of an intrigue. In the music hall regular classes appear to have been held and exercises given to and heard from the lady scholars⁹.

It was an institution like the *saṅgītasālā*, referred to above, which turned out women with proficiency in the fine arts of music and drama like *Mālavikā*¹⁰, *Parivrājikā*¹¹ and *śarmiṣṭhā*¹². The last named, in earlier days, had attained to an unparalleled skill in the branch of music. Her achievement in that art has been alluded to by the poet in giving her composition (*chālīka*) for a test in acting¹³. The treatise written by *Śarmiṣṭhā* is a composition in four parts in which the time kept is the middle one¹⁴. This passage incidentally warrants the existence of a treatise on music by a lady. *Śarmiṣṭhā* has been mentioned in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*¹⁵ as well. She is said to have composed some musical pieces and laid down some rules regarding music.

There were professional singers also. We read of courtesans¹⁶ employed

¹ Ibid., XIX. 5.

² जह् राग्नकज्जेसु ईरिसी उवाअणिउणवा अजउत्तस्स . . . *Māl.*, p. 22.

³ ललिते कलाविधौ *Raghu.*, VIII. 67.

⁴ Ibid., XIX. 14.

⁵ संगीतशाला *Śāk.*, p. 150; *Māl.*, pp. 4, 6.

⁶ *Māl.*, p. 14; *Raghu.*, XIX. 36.

⁷ वेअणदाणेण *Māl.*, p. 17.

⁸ Ibid., p. 22.

⁹ संगीतव्यापारमुञ्जित्वा *Vik.*, p. 27.

¹⁰ परमनिपुणमेधाविनी चेति, etc., *Māl.*, p. 8.

¹¹ पण्डितकौशिकी Ibid., p. 16.

¹² Ibid., pp. 21, 24; *Śāk.*, IV. 6.

¹³ तस्यास्तु छलिकप्रयोगं *Māl.*, p. 24, छलिकं नाम नाट्यं Ibid., pp. 4, 5, 6.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁵ IV. 6.

¹⁶ वारयोषिताम् *Raghu.*, III. 19, गणिका Ibid., XIX. 35, 14, 15, 19; वेद्या *M. P.*, 35.

in singing on occasions like the child-birth. This allusion of the poet to courtesans dancing and singing at child-birth has been corroborated by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* where he gives a graphic description of the birth of his hero. It appears that the people called them in, as now, for these performances. They were accompanied by their attendants¹, who perhaps played on instruments of music while they sang and danced.

Courtesans were employed to sing and dance in the great temple of Mahākāla at Ujjainī². They were regular servants of the temple whose business it was, apart from their demonstration in honour of Siva, to act as the bearers of the Lord's flywhisks³. The interest in music and dancing of certain lay men⁴ was so great and their accomplishment in the art so admirable that when the courtesans committed faults in dancing they rose and corrected them by a practical show and thus put their teachers to shame⁵.

The following musical instruments were in use and have been frequently mentioned by the poet: *vīṇā*⁶ *vanīśakṛtya*⁷ (incidentally referring to the flute), *veṇu*⁸ (flute) *mṛdaṅga*⁹ with its other names, viz., *puṣkara*¹⁰ and *muraja*¹¹, *tūrya*¹², *śaṅkha*,¹³ *duṇḍubhī*¹⁴ and *ghaṇṭā*¹⁵. Of these the three last named were mostly used in warfare. The *śaṅkha* or conch opened and ended a battle; when it was blown at the end of the battle, its sound announced victory to the blower¹⁶. It was also blown for auspiciousness¹⁷. *Tūrya*, however, was a musical instrument of both peace and war¹⁸. *Veṇu* was a flute; *mṛdaṅga*, *puṣkara* and *muraja* were kinds of tabor; *tūrya* was a kind of trumpet, and *duṇḍubhī* a sort of kettledrum. *Śaṅkha* was the conch-shell.

Kālidāsa had a good musical ear and a knowledge of the airs of the Indian music. He notes the songs or airs composed and to be chanted. He gives sporadic indications of his study of the theory of the subtle science¹⁹ of music. His women and *vīṇa* are almost constant companions. It is, however, strange that he makes no specific reference to the *ragas*.

¹ *Raghu*, XIX. 14.

² *M. P.*, 35.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Agnivarṇa, *Raghu*, XIX: Agnimitra, *Māl.*, I. II.

⁵ *Raghu*, XIX. 14. गुरुत्वलज्जयद्

⁶ वीणा *Raghu*, VIII. 33; *M. P.*, 45, V. 23; परिवादिनी *Raghu*, VIII. 35, XIX. 35; बल्लकी *Ibid.*, VIII. 41; *Rtu.*, I. 8; सुतन्त्री *Rtu.*, I. 3.

⁷ *Raghu*, II. 12.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XIX. 35.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XIII. 40, XVI. 13; *Māl.*, p. 21.

¹⁰ *Raghu*, XIX. 14; *M. U.*, 3; *Māl.*, I. 21.

¹¹ *Ku.*, VI. 40; *M. P.*, 56; *U.*, 1; *Māl.*, I. 22.

¹² *Raghu*, III. 19, VI. 9, 56, X. 76, XVI. 87; *Vik.*, IV. 12.

¹³ *Raghu*, VI. 9; VII. 63, 64; *Ku.*, I. 23.

¹⁴ *Raghu*, X. 76.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, VII. 41.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 63, 64.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VI. 9, XVI. 87.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III. 19, VI. 9, X. 76.

¹⁹ काकंलिगीत (सूक्ष्मकला—Commentator) *Rtu.*, I. 8.

Dancing

*Nṛtya*¹ or dance has been cultivated in India from very early times and during the age of Kālidāsa it had reached almost a height of consummation with its various division and details. In his works as well as in still earlier works dancing has been associated with stage acting. The parivrājikā, while judging the demonstration of the two preceptors of acting, gives an admirable exposition of the art of dancing in her following observation. "The art of dancing consists chiefly in practical 'demonstration' (*prayogapradhānam*)². She clearly shows that the art of dancing was much allied to that of acting and that is why Kālidāsa deals with both of them as almost a single art. In consequence, a separate study of this art is difficult since the affinity between the two, as treated by the poet, is so great.

Several modes of dancing were practised. And although Kālidāsa does not give a detailed and specific reference to the kinds of dance, we get, nevertheless, a glimpse into the manysidedness of it from what we gather from his writings. Thus Gaṇadāsa, the teacher of music, dancing and acting, asserts to have taught Mālavikā the five-limb dance³ (*pañcāṅgābhīnaya*); perhaps the allusion in this passage can be explained by the *Śaṅgitaratnākara*. We read of yet another kind of dance known as *Chalika*⁴. It was based on the *catuspada*⁵, i. e. a song of four parts, and it has been regarded as the most difficult of dances to be demonstrated⁶. Chalika, as explained by the commentator Kāṭayavema⁷, is that kind of dance in which the dancer, while acting the part of another, gives expression thereby to his own sentiments.

¹ *Vik.*, IV. 12; *M. P.*, 36.

² प्रयोगप्रधानं हि नाट्यशास्त्रं *Māl.*, p. 17; प्रयोगं pp. 13, 21, 24, 1. 5. प्रयोगसिद्धिं pp. 12, 32. शास्त्रे प्रयोगे च' p. 15; प्रयोगविज्ञानम् *Śāk.*, p. 10. प्रयोग p. 13; प्रयोगेण *Vik.*, p. 60. प्रयोगमाद्यम् *Ku.*, VII. 91; प्रयोगनिपुणैः प्रयोक्तृभिः *Raghu.*, XIX. 36.

³ पञ्चांगादिकमभिनयमुपदिश्य *Māl.*, p. 14.

⁴ छलिकं *Māl.*, pp. 4, 5, 6, 21, 24. Dif. reading चलितं

⁵ चतुष्पदोत्थं छलिकं *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 24.

⁶ दुष्प्रयोज्यम् *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁷ तद् एतच्चलितं नाम साक्षात् यत् अभिनीयते । व्यपदिश्य परावृत्तं स्वाभिप्रायं प्रकाशकम् ।

* A number of Prakrit passages occurring in the 4th Act of *Vikramorvaśī* have been declared to be interpolations by some scholars headed by Mr. S. P. Pandit on the following grounds: (1) Six out of the eight Manuscripts collected by Mr. Pandit do not contain them. (2) A commentator of the critical acumen of Kāṭayavema does not know them. (3) Dr. Pischel's edition of the *Vikramorvaśī* based on a Dravidian Manuscript omits them. (4) The king, when being an *Uttamapātra* he should have spoken only Sanskrit, speaks alternately in two languages. This would be unnatural. (5) The Prakrit passages alternating with the Sanskrit ones are tautological. (6) Many of them, though occurring in the king's soliloquy, contain vague descriptive allusions in the third person to some one in his situation and not distinctly to himself. (7) They are redundant and several of them obstruct the free flow of the feelings expressed in the Sanskrit passages. (Vide Pandit's edition, Preface, pp. 8-9. Kale's edition, Notes, p. 92).

The above grounds are strong enough to drop the Prakrit passages out of consideration. They, however, contain some stage directions referring to certain musical *Rāgas* and *Layas*, and to a number of dancing postures, and it may be worthwhile therefore to make below in this footnote a succinct allusion to them.

The art of dancing like that of music was kept alive by professionals like courtesans who have been frequently mentioned. We have already alluded to their employment as dancing girls in the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjainī. Female dancers called *nartak*¹ and *vāṇinī* pursued the exclusive calling of the professional dancer.

Rāga, ordinarily, is a musical note, harmony, melody. But in the later system of Hindu music it has been further elaborated. There it is a particular musical mode or order of sound or formula. Bharata enumerates six, viz., *Bhairava*, *Kautika*, *Hindola*, *Dīpaka*, *Sūrāga*, and *Megha*, each mode exciting some affection. Other writers give other names. Sometimes 7 or 26 *Rāgas* are mentioned. They are personified and each of the six chief *Rāgas* is wedded to 5 or 6 consorts called *Rāginis*. Their union gives rise to many other musical modes. *Rāginī*, thus, is a modification of the musical mode called *Rāga*. Some 35 or 36 *Rāginīs* are enumerated. *Laya* is the perfect harmonious combination of *nṛtya*, *gāna* and *vādya* (dance, vocal and instrumental music. लयः साम्यम् explains the *Amarakośa*). A *Dvilaya* is a double such. *Laya*, time, a kind of measure, has been given three kinds, viz., *druta*, 'quick,' *madhya*, 'mean or moderate,' and *vilambita*, 'slow'. द्रुतो मध्यो विलम्बितश्च लयः । स त्रिविधो मतः —com.).

The following kinds of musical airs or tunes and dance have been mentioned: *Ākṣiptika*, which is a kind of song sung while an actor is approaching the stage and is accompanied with dancing and the musical marking of time with the hands (Bharata gives its definition thus. (चञ्चत्पुटादितालेन मार्गत्रयविभूषिता । आक्षिप्तिका स्वरपदप्रथिता कथिता बुधैः ॥); *Dvipadī*, which is a type of song and is of four kinds, viz., *Suddhā*, *Khaṇḍā*, *Mātrā*, and *ṣaṃpurnā* (बुद्धा खण्डा च मात्रा च सम्पूर्णति चतुर्विधा । Bharata); *Jambhalikā*, another kind of song in which each line is sung once or twice and no pause allowed between the chorus and the next line; *Khaṇḍadhārā*, which is both a kind of dance and an air in music (रागेण क्रीडनेन च); *Carvarī*, which is a strain sung by an actor or actress under the influence of passion and in a tone either low, middle or of the highest pitch (द्रुतमध्यलय समाश्रिता पठति प्रेमभरान्नटी यदि । प्रतिमण्टकरासकेन वा द्रुतमध्या प्रथमा हि चर्चरी ॥ Com). *Bhinnaka*, which is the name of a musical mode (रागविशेषः); *Khaṇḍaka* or *Khaṇḍikā*, which is a kind of song sung with particular gestures; *Khuraka*, which is a particular kind of dance (पठमञ्जरिरागसंयुतं यद् द्रुतमध्यलयेन यत्प्रयुक्तम् । प्रतितालयुतं च नर्तनम्); *Valantikā*, a kind of *Rāga*, which is sung in accompaniment with a distinct mode of gesticulation; *Kakubha*, again was a kind of *Rāga* (मध्यमापञ्चमोषैवत्युद्भूतः); *Upabhangāb*, are the several divisions of a song; *Kuṣṭhikā* and *Mallaghāṭī* are kinds of dance of which the former is danced without the help of a *Rāga* but in accompaniment of a particular pose and gesticulation called *Ardhamattalī* (the *Ardhamattalī* posture is explained as उपेतापसृतौ पादौ वामश्चेद्रेचितः करः । कटद्यामन्यः); *Galitaka* is another distinct type of dance and gesticulation. Besides these a number of other dancing postures and acting gestures have been mentioned like the *Caturasraka*, *Ardhacaturasraka*, *Sībānaka*, and *Vāmaka*, as also modes of dancing by falling on the knees (जानुभ्यां स्थित्वा) or acting with hands joined.

¹ *Raghu*, XIX. 14, 15, 19.

PAINTING, SCULPTURES AND TERRACOTTAS

Kālidāsa furnishes us with vivid accounts of the artistic activities of his times. He has dwelt extensively in his works on the various branches of fine arts including painting, architecture, sculpture and the terracottas. An attempt is made in the following pages to examine the data furnished by him on these topics. Architecture, however, will be treated in a separate chapter.

Personal Embellishments

There is ample evidence¹ in the works of the poet to show the high level to which his times had reached. The development of an aesthetic sense is warranted by the incidents of everyday life of the people. Men kept long hair and dried the wet hair with fragrant incense of *aguru* in the manner of women². They anointed their bodies before bath with various sorts of cosmetics³ of which the chief were the *angarāga* and *haricandana*. Both, men and women, were great lovers of ornaments⁴ which they put on freely and eagerly. They were fond of flowers, which women particularly loved and used in place of metal and jewelled ornaments⁵ and the blossoms of which they stuck in their hair⁶ and knit in their tresses⁷. Women wore garments of different hues⁸. The items of their toilet were strikingly modern in their tone and spirit. The cosmetics which they used are strong enough to conjure up images of the Parisian women with their picturesque paints and odoriferous powders. They applied the lac dye, (a kind of red dye said to be obtained from the cochineal insect and from the resin of a particular tree), to the soles of their feet,⁹ and the *tilaka* mark to their forehead with the black sandal of musk¹⁰ and ornamented it with dots of collyrium¹¹. They painted their face with dots¹² of different hues. Cheeks were decorated with picturesque figures of tiny leaves¹³. Eyes were adorned with unguent, and lips¹⁴ reddened by the application of the *ālaktaka* paint. The latter were further

¹ ललिते कलाविधौ *Raghu*, VIII. 67; कला *Māl.*, p. 95. ललिताभिनेय *Ibid.*, IV. 9; *Vik.*, II. 17.

² *Rtn.*, IV. 5, V. 5, 12.

³ *Vide ante*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ पत्रविशेषे षक पत्रलेख *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

besmeared with the lodhra powder¹ which turned them yellowish red. Thus women applied several methods of decoration to beautify their person and to distinguish themselves as ladies of taste.

Painting

Numerous references to the art of painting and its various branches of landscapes, portraits and frescoes prove the fact beyond doubt that the age of the poet had made astonishing progress in that art. We shall see presently that he alludes to frescoed walls and doors and interiors of houses, caves of mountains lit up at night by phosphorescent herbs abounding in the vicinity, painting-halls (studio, schools) run with the aid of the state, portraits of monkeys and men, magnificent landscapes, admirably planned sketches, various colours, and to painting boards and a box of brushes.

Citraśālā², the hall of paintings or studio, referred to in the *Mālavikāgni-mitra*,³ formed part of the saṅgītaśālā, the institution where music, dancing and stage acting were taught. There a picture gallery was also kept where pictures were hung⁴ and numerous colours were prepared and used. To such a hall queen Dhārīnī goes where she appreciates a painting the colours of which are not yet dried up⁵.

Fresco Paintings

Mural paintings in residential houses⁶ were a common feature of the times and Kālidāsa makes innumerable references to them. These may well illustrate the example of paintings in caves of mountains of which we have hundreds strewn over the ridges of the Western Ghats. The frequency of allusions to fresco paintings strongly suggests that the poet had a first hand knowledge of, and access to them. The famous caves of Ajanta, some of which were cut as early as the second century before Christ existed there. Later caves, many dating from the opening century of the Christian era and later, were excavated only a few centuries prior to his existence. Some of the later caves might have been excavated even during the epoch in which he lived and it is possible that he might also have paid visits to the glowing frescoes of Ajanta when some of them were in the process of being finished.

We read of the walls of palaces and houses⁷ being decorated with paintings. Mention is made of paintings adorning the courtyards⁸ of the houses which were occasionally blurred by the clouds entering the windows and moistening them⁹,

¹ Ibid.

² चित्रशालां गता देवी *Māl.*, p. 5.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ प्रत्यग्रवर्णरागां चित्रलेखां Ibid., p. 5.

⁶ सद्यमु चित्रवत्सु *Raghu.*, XIV. 15, 25; सचित्राः प्रासादाः *M. U.*, I, 17.

⁷ आलेख्यशेषस्य *Raghu.*, XIV. 15 सद्यमु चित्रवत्सु 25 सचित्राः प्रासादाः *M. U.*, I. विमानाग्रभूमिरालेख्यानाम् 6, द्वारोपान्तोलिखित वपुषो शंखपद्मौ च दृष्ट्वा 17, *Raghu.*, XVI. 16.

⁸ *M. U.*, 6.

⁹ Ibid.

when the houses happened to be situated on high mountains. It is not quite clear whether these paintings were on the walls or on the floor of the courtyard. But as we find several references to floors being as transparent as crystal, it appears that the paintings alluded to were on the walls surrounding the courtyard. The main gate of the house was painted with figures of the auspicious rainbow,¹ lotus and conch-shell². There were frescoes in which pleasure ponds were painted displaying elephants; who, while entering into the spread out forest of lotuses, were being presented with pieces of lotus stalks by female elephants³. This particular painting is an interesting piece as we come across an amazingly similar one painted in the cave no. 17 of Ajanta.

Portrait

We have several references⁴ to portraits⁵ (*pratīkṛti*) sketched and painted. We read of a wife, separated from her husband, employing herself in the sweet occupation of painting a portrait of the latter⁶ as the idea of his person presented to her mind's eye (*bhāvagamyam*⁷). The Yakṣa of the *Meghadūta* drew the sketch of his wife's figures in the form of a wife pretending anger against her husband⁸, on the boulder of a rock with a piece of *geru*. Urvaśī is said to have been portrayed in the *Vikramorvaśī*⁹, and Mālavikā is shown as painted in a picture in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*¹⁰. There is a reference to a portrait compared to another in which a monkey had been portrayed¹¹.

There are complete plans of portraits sketched and of those proposed to be sketched. A rather detailed account of the same may be given below. The height of success achieved by the Indian painter can be well imagined from a passage occurring in the speech of the Vidūṣaka in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* which refers to the representation of various human feelings and sentiments of fear, curiosity and the like along with the feeling of exhaustion shown by representing loose hanging hair and the little drops of perspiration¹² on the face. A concourse of sentiments¹³ were portrayed. The excellent portraying of feelings¹⁴ has been commended in a passage. Duṣyanta complains that in the portrait of Śākuntala before him, through the process of being painted, want is yet felt of a knot of the

¹ सुरपतिधनुष्चारुणातोरणेन Ibid., 12.

² Ibid., 17.

³ *Raghu.*, XVI. 16.

⁴ *Māl.*, II. 2, pp. 5, 6, 12, 73; *Raghu.*, XVIII. 53; *M. U.*, 22, 42; *Śāk.*, pp. 199, 200, 208, 210, 218, VI. 18, 30, pp. 213-14; *Vik.*, p. 42.

⁵ प्रतिकृति *Raghu.*, XVIII. 53; *Śāk.*, pp. 200, 218; *Māl.*, pp. 12, 73; *Vik.*, p. 42.

⁶ *M. U.*, 22.

⁷ मत्सादृश्यं भावगम्यं लिखन्ती Ibid.

⁸ प्रणयकुपिता Ibid., 42.

⁹ p. 42.

¹⁰ p. 5.

¹¹ आलिख्य वानर इव *Vik.*, p. 27.

¹² तर्कयामि येषाः . . . लिखिता सा शकन्तला *Śāk.*, pp. 209-10.

¹³ रागबद्धचित्तवृत्तिरालिखित इव सर्वतो रंग Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 208.

hair over the ears, of śirīṣa flowers sticking to the ears and touching the temples, and of the thread of the stalk of lotus reposed between the breasts¹. It is otherwise proposed to fill the background of this picture with kadamba trees of the hermitage². Another reference is made to a portrait in which Śakuntalā is portrayed standing with her hand holding a red lotus and warding with it the attack of a bee off her lips³.

Group Painting

Like portrait painting, group painting had also reached a high stage. We read of three persons⁴ painted in a group in which all the individual figures are commended for their excellent finish⁵. Śakuntalā stands in a group portrait, her hair knots getting loosened and the flowers stuck in the hair falling, and drops of perspiration decorating her face. She is portrayed slightly tired under a mango tree full of new leaves, and by her side are seen her friends⁶. Another similar group portrayed Malavikā⁷ close to the queen surrounded by her attendants⁸.

Kālidāsa refers, besides the above, to landscapes representing masterly skill in its planning and imagination. The following is the theoretical sketch of a picture proposed to be finished: "The river Mālīni is to be drawn with pairs of swans resting on its sandy banks; and on both sides of it are to be painted the sacred adjoining hills of the Himalayas, with deer reclining on them; and under a tree, displaying bark garments suspended from its branches, I desire to represent a doe rubbing her left eye on the horn of a black antelope⁹." Here is a remarkable sketch from which a perfect landscape can be finished which will very well show to what an extent the art of painting had advanced. Another allusion reflects on a possible landscape in which the evening is depicted with the sky filled with an endless concourse of clouds of several colours as an effect of the touch of the brush¹⁰.

Materials for Painting

Let us now turn to the technique of the art of painting. Kālidāsa mentions the following articles needed in painting of picture: *śalākā*¹¹, *vartikā*¹², or

¹ *Śāk.*, VI. 18.

² पुरितव्यं . . कदम्बैः Ibid., p. 212.

³ कुसुमरसः . . सघुकरः Ibid., pp. 213-14.

⁴ तिस्रस्तत्र भवत्यो दृश्यन्ते Ibid., pp. 209-10.

⁵ सर्वाश्च दर्शनीयाः Ibid., p. 209.

⁶ सख्याविति Ibid., pp. 209-10.

⁷ चित्रगताया . . आसन्नदारिकां *Māl.*, p. 5. अपूर्वेयं . . आलिखिता

⁸ Ibid., p. 5.

⁹ *Śāk.*, VI., 17.

¹⁰ *Ku.*, VIII. 45.

¹¹ *Ku.*, I. 47, 24; *Raghu.*, VII. 8 (used for a different purpose).

¹² *Raghu.*, XIX. 19; *Ku.*, VIII. 45.

*tūlikā*¹, *lambakūrca*², *citrāphalaka*³, *varṇa*⁴ and *rāgas*⁵ and *vārtikākaraṇḍaka*⁶. *Salākā* was a pencil with which the sketch or outline of the picture was drawn. *Vartikā* or *tūlikā* was the brush, as was also the *kūrca*. But perhaps there was a difference between the two, *vartikā* or *tūlikā* and the *kūrca*, inasmuch as the latter had a sharp split point serving for an actual modern paint-brush while the former was a blunt pointed pen. Of the brush (*kūrca*) itself there might have been two kinds, a long and a short one, as the expression *lamabakūrca*—a long brush—suggests. *Citrphalaka* was a painting board on which a picture was painted. *Varṇa* or *rāga* was the colour used in painting. We read of several colours including red, yellow and green⁷ used in painting a picture. *Vartikākaraṇḍaka* was a paint-box containing the brushes, and also perhaps colours and other auxiliaries required for painting a picture.

Colours

Dyes, it seems, were used with much discretion. Several colours were used for this purpose. In reference to colours⁸ the poet remarks in the *Kumārasambhava* that the beauty of a picture is much enhanced by the application of colours⁹. In the picture gallery of the hall of painting mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the queen sat examining the pictures finished in a multiplicity of colours which were still fresh¹⁰.

The popularity of the art of painting was so great that its cultivation had penetrated even the forests where it was pursued in hermitages by the daughters of hermits. We read that when *Sakuntalā* was preparing to leave the hermitage of *Ṛṣikanyās*, who had never seen the use of gold ornaments, learnt the proper position of ornaments through their acquaintance with paintings¹¹ and decorated the person of *Sakuntalā* after their manner.

The cultivation of the art of painting was not only a diversion and *Kālīdāsa* makes it as important as the pursuit of yoga. It has been enjoined upon a sculptor¹² that before starting on carving out an image he must sit for a long while absolutely lost in contemplation of his theme and he shall proceed to fashion and finish it only when it has appeared in a vision during his contemplation exactly in the posture he wants to sculpture. If the composition turns out a failure, the

¹ *Ku.*, I. 32.

² *Śāk.*, p. 212.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 208, 210; *Vik.*, p. 42.

⁴ *Śāk.*, p. 216.

⁵ *Māl.*, p. 5.

⁶ *Śāk.*, p. 217.

⁷ *Ku.*, VIII. 45.

⁸ *Śāk.*, p. 13; *Māl.*, p. 5.

⁹ *Ku.*, I. 32.

¹⁰ प्रत्यग्वर्णरागां *Māl.*, p. 5.

¹¹ चित्रपरिचयेनांगेषु *Śāk.*, p. 131.

¹² "The characteristic of an image is its power helping forward contemplation and yoga. The human maker of images should therefore be meditative. Besides meditation there is no other way of knowing the character of an image—even direct observation (is of no use)." — *Sukraniti*, Ch. IV. Sec. IV. 147-50.

failure must be attributed to a slackness in the contemplation of the artist. Kāli-dāsa almost uses the same expression and refers to want of contemplation on the part of the artist before commencing his work in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*¹. The king has seen Mālavikā in a group picture. Her extraordinary beauty wins him over. He is struck by her uncommon charms and suspects exaggeration on the part of the painter. But when Mālavikā appears before him in person and her form surpasses in beauty the one portrayed in the above mentioned picture, the king is taken aback and he remarks: "When she was only a picture to me, my mind apprehended that her (real) beauty might not come up to that of the picture; but now I think that the painter, by whom she was drawn, was slack in his contemplation²." The expression, *sithilasamādhī*, refers to the slackness of contemplation on the part of the artist which is the reason of the remarkable difference between the charm of the real person and that of her portrait.

With the material of painting mentioned above and the excellent theory of representation coupled with a rich imagination the Indian artist could give the fullest expression to human thought and feeling.

Sculpture

Comparatively fewer are the direct references to sculpture but indirectly the poet echoes the trend of his times in the field of sculpture through scores of phrases which present a concrete picture and conjure up visions associated with several pieces now exhibited in the museums of India. We shall first deal with such allusions as have a direct bearing upon sculpture. In course of the description of parts of a palace the poet says: "The peacocks dull, on account of the slumber coming over them at nightfall, perch on their roosts as if they were sculptured figures³."

Carved Peacock

The word *utkīrṇa* means 'carved out,' probably in *basso relievo*. In the description of the deserted city of Ayodhyā in the *Raghuvamśa* we read of images of women carved in high relief (*basso relievo*) on posts, evidently railing pillars, of a palace. "The slough-strips," says the poet, "left by cobras become, on account of their contact with (the breasts) a covering on the breasts of the images of women carved on posts which have a dusty appearance and the lines of colour on which have been disfigured⁴."

Female Relief on Railing Pillars

Here is an allusion to painted figures in high relief. Both of the above references have their excellent examples in the sculptural pieces of the Muttra Museum. A beautiful image of a peacock carved in the round is preserved there⁵. Similarly a whole section of the Museum is represented

¹ शिथिलसमाधि *Māl.*, II. 2.

² Ibid

³ *Vik.*, III. 2.

⁴ स्तम्भेषु योषित्प्रतियातनानामुत्क्रान्तवर्णक्रमधूसराणाम् ।

स्तनोत्तरीयाणि भवन्ति संगान्नमोर्कपट्टाः फणिसिर्विमुक्ताः ॥ *Raghu.*, XVI. 17.

⁵ Muttra Museum exhibit no. 466. cf. Kumāri on peacock, *ibid.*, no. R. 104.

by the images of the Kuṣāṇa Yakṣīs carved in high relief on railing pillars which are such a harvest of artistic masterpieces fashioned and turned out in the ateliers of ancient Muttra. The description quoted above may convince one of the fact that no poet however great and rich in his imagination could have brought this grand picture to our mind's eye unless he had himself been influenced by these iconic wonders of ancient Muttra. The temptation is irresistible to conclude that Kālidāsa had visited Mathura and seen these railing pillars and the remarkable subjects of their composition which form the pride of the Muttra Museum today. The earlier type of the railing pillars can be witnessed in the admirable specimen of Bharhut. The poet further refers to the icons of Gaṅgā and Yamunā carrying flywhisks¹.

Images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā

The beginnings of the representation of these two river goddesses as cauri-bearers of gods in sculpture mark the later stages of the Kuṣāṇa and early stages of the Gupta art. Gaṅgā and Yamunā stand on crocodile and tortoise, their respective symbols abounding in their waters, and waive or carry the flywhisk. Such images have been found and exhibited in the Muttra Museum². Another specimen may be seen at Elora. The Hindu renaissance under the Imperial Guptas after the supremacy of Buddhism had brought about a Brahmanical revival in art and sculpture also, and side by side with the Buddhistic images there started an era wherein the reproduction of the images of the gods of Hindu pantheon became growingly marked and prolific. The enlarged Hindu pantheon itself proves that the innumerable number of idols was meant for some purpose—for being installed in temples. The poet mentions several images (*pratimā*) of gods³ (*devapratimāḥ*) and other iconic compositions⁴ (*mūrtimāntam*). He also specifically refers to the carved images of certain Hindu gods besides those of Gaṅgā and Yamunā mentioned above.

Brahmā

The image of Brahmā was being chiselled and fashioned with the Puranic four faces⁵ (*caturmūrteḥ, dbātāram sarvatomukham*). The most vivid description of an image given by the poet is that of Viṣṇu (*....mūrtibhiḥ*) for which he even enters into the domain of technical iconography. In course of a few verses a complete figure is brought out.

Viṣṇu

Viṣṇu rests on the body of the serpent Śeṣa and under the circle

¹ मूर्ते च गङ्गायमुने तदानीं स चामरे देवमसेविषातम् । *Ku.*, VII. 42.

² Exhibit No. 1507 of Gaṅgā from Maholi and No. 2659 of Yamunā from Katra Keshavadeva. There is another such Yamunā figure bearing No. 5563 preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It has been reproduced in fig. 3. Plate 46 of Vincent A. Smith's *Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities from Kaṅkali Tīlā, Mathurā*. The reverse of the tiger type of Samudra Gupta's coins show Gaṅgā holding a fillet and lotus (cf. Allen, p. LXXIV, B. M. C.).

³ *Raghu.*, XVI. 39, XVII. 36.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XVII. 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, X. 73; *Ku.*, II. 3.

of its hoods¹ *bhogibhogāsanāsīnam*. His consort Lakṣmī sitting on a lotus and covering with her silken robe (undergarment) her girdle, holds his feet in her hands placed on her lap². This god whose characteristic symbol is his Śrīvatsa³ wears the Kaustubha gem on his broad chest⁴. This description is verily an imitation of an image. It is interesting that the poet uses in his description of this image the word *vigraha*⁵ which means an idol. The image is completed by association of further symbols, namely *kirita*⁶ (daidem), *jalaja* (conch) *cakra*, *gadā*, and *sārṅga*⁷ (bow instead of the usual *padma*, lotus). He is further attended by Garuḍa⁸ (eagle). In another picture presented by the poet, Viṣṇu with his Kaustubha gem is attended by Lakṣmī bearing a lotus fan in her hand⁹. The important features of the description is that the poet calls the symbols, named above, the characteristic signs¹⁰ (*lāñcchita*) by which the images (*mūrtibhiḥ*) of dwarf Viṣṇus are recognized. These symbols have been mentioned, it may be noted, in the *Trimūrtilakṣaṇavidhāna*¹¹, a treatise on iconography. Besides, with these iconic features any image of Viṣṇu in both the forms reclining on the Śeṣa, or standing, may be identified in an Indian museum. Trimūrti¹², which Kālidāsa mentions, is a composite figure with three heads of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, a commonplace image in the museums. We read another reference to a sculptural piece in which the image of radiating moon encircled by lotuses¹³ was carved.

Here we must remember that with an Indian sculptor the act of image carving was a sacred one and he was enjoined upon first to sit in contemplation of the theme of his proposed piece and to proceed to fashion it only when its vision had come to him in contemplation. The *Sukranīti*¹⁴ says: "The characteristic of an image is its power of helping forward contemplation and *Yoga*. The human maker of images should therefore be meditative. Besides meditation there is no other way of knowing the character of an image—even direct observation (is of no use)." Kālidāsa reiterates this idea and the failure of an artist he attributes to his want of contemplation (*śithilasamādhī*) which point we have fully discussed while treating of painting.

Terracottas

An interesting reference to terracottas may be given below. The son of

¹ *Raghu*, X. 7; श्रीवत्सलक्ष्मा पुरुषश्चसाक्षात् *Ku*, VII. 43.

² *Raghu*, X. 8.

³ श्रीवत्सलक्षणं *Ibid.*, XVII. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, X. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, X. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI. 19, X. 75.

⁷ *Ibid.*, X. 60.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 13, 61.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 60.

¹¹ *Ch.* LI.

¹² *Ku*, II. 4.

¹³ पंकजानां मध्ये स्फुरन्तं प्रतिमाशशाङ्कम् *Raghu*, VII. 64.

¹⁴ *Ch.* IV. Sec. IV. 147-150.

Sakuntalā plays with a coloured clay-peacock¹ (*varṇacitrīto mṛttikāmayūrah*). The same has been again commended for its colour² (*śakuntalāvanyam*). We have lots of terracottas unearthed from ancient sites representing birds and animals meant to serve as toys. They mostly bear a red slip or a black or ochre paint which is nothing but the *varṇacitrāṇa* of the present terracotta piece. A beautiful large terracotta peacock is actually exhibited in the Muttra Museum. It is significant that with regard to Bharata's hand Kālidāsa uses the phrase *jālagrahitāṅgulīḥ karaḥ*³, i.e. webbed fingers. Sculptures and terracottas with webbed fingers are amazingly rare and those that are extant date from the Gupta period. The Mankunwar stone Buddha preserved in the Lucknow Museum is a case in point. It has webbed fingers on both the hands.

Now we shall discuss the indirect evidence with reference to sculpture. We must note that the Sanskrit literature in the field of classical kāvyas tended to specialize in the art of poetical suggestion so much so that there grew up a regular branch of suggestive poetry. Kālidāsa is supposed to be a master in the suggestive (*dhvani*) art. Where he does not directly refer to a particular sculptural image, he actually indirectly expresses it by giving a complete picture of it. And if we care to read between his lines we shall get innumerable allusions to sculptural masterpieces the likes of which are deposited in most of the Indian museums and be able to identify them without difficulty. We shall attempt to discuss the same in the following pages.

Halo

The poet refers frequently to *prabhāmaṇḍala*⁴ and *chāyāmaṇḍala*⁵, halo, and to *spḥuratprabhāmaṇḍala*⁶, radiating halo. It should be noted that actual representation of halo in the sculptural art of northern India dates mostly from the Kuṣāṇa period of Indian history. During the later Kuṣāṇa and early Gupta period the halo takes a recognized form and becomes a striking feature. The earlier *chatra*, umbrella, itself, which had been shown behind the big images and had been raised over their head, becomes the halo of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta images of Buddha. The *chatra* tradition is almost lost and its place is taken by the halo represented by a flat *chatra* attached to the image itself and rising from the pedestal behind its back and head. Unlike the earlier *chatra* it has no *danḍa*. Such haloes with decorative figures of flowers and birds on their margin and surface may be seen rising behind several images of the Buddha and Bodhisattva preserved in the museums at Muttra⁷ and Sarnath.

¹ वर्णचित्रितो मृत्तिकामयूरस्तिष्ठति *Śāle*, p. 243 मृण्मयूरहस्ता Ibid., p. 247; मद्रमयूरः Ibid., p. 248.

² वर्णचित्रितो Ibid., p. 243 शकुन्तलावण्यं Ibid., p. 247.

³ Ibid., VII. 16.

⁴ *Raghu*, XV. 82, XVII. 23; *Ku*, VI. 4, VII. 38.

⁵ *Raghu*, IV. 5.

⁶ Ibid., III. 60, V. 51, XIV. 14; *Ku*, I. 24.

⁷ Exhibit Nos., A.1, A. 2 (broken), A. 45 (broken), B. 1. A. 5;

Kārttikeya on Peacock

The conception of a *mayūrāśrayīguha*¹, Kārttikeya riding a peacock, is as patent in Kālidāsa as in sculpture. We have a very realistic specimen of Kārttikeya riding a peacock with its wings spread out in full *maṇḍala* exhibited in the museum at Muttra². A large replica of the same in terracotta has already been mentioned. The representation of the Kārttikeya riding a peacock model had become so dear to the Indian sculptor of the epoch of Kālidāsa that we find the armlets (*keyūra*) decorating the arms of the Bodhisattvas³, particularly marked on the torso no. A. 46, of the Kuṣāṇa period (exhibited in the Muttra Museum) fashioned almost invariable after the dancing peacock. And with the poet himself the armlet is a favoured ornament⁴.

Armlets and Girdles

Kālidāsa has described waistbands and girdles frequently⁵ and we witness endless varieties of broad girdles on the images of the goddesses⁶ carved in the later Kuṣāṇa and early Gupta period. The armlet and the girdle seem to have been a specialization of the Gupta age as we find endless references to them and to their numerous varieties in both the literature and sculpture of the period. In like manner the falling locks with ringlets of hair, *alaka*⁷, are such other characteristic symbols in the identification of Gupta images and terracottas. The Gupta Śiva, now worshipped at many places at Muttra⁸, has locks with ringlets falling about and away from the top.

Locks of Hair

The terracotta female statuettes of the Gupta period have such picturesque locks and ringlets falling from the head. Several such pieces were recently discovered from an inhabited mound of the Gupta period known as Mason about half a mile east of Aunrihar (Dist. Ghazipur, U. P.) and about a mile and a half to the north-west of Saidpur Bhitari, the site of the victory pillar of Skanda Gupta Vikramāditya.

Data Regarding the Sculptural Physique

We may also in this connection refer to the striking similarity between the physique of the carved specimens of Gupta sculpture and that portrayed in the penpicture of the poet. Kālidāsa dwells frequently on the descip-

¹ मयूरपुष्ठाश्रयिणा गुहेन *Raghu.*, VI. 4.

² Exhibit no. 466.

³ Torso, A. 45, A. 46.

⁴ *Raghu.*, VI. 14, 53, 68, 73, VII. 50, XVI. 56, 60, 73; *Rju.*, IV. 3, VI. 6; *M. P.*, 2; *Śak.*, III. 10, VI. 6; *Vik.*, p. 15.

⁵ *Māl.*, pp. 28, 59, III. 21; *Raghu.*, VI. 43, VII. 10, VIII. 64, XIII. 33, XVI. 65, XIX. 25, 26, 27, 41, 45; *Ku.*, I. 37, 38, VIII. 89, 95; *Rju.*, I. 4, 6, II. 19, III. 24, IV. 4, VI. 3, 24, 43.

⁶ Exhibit nos. F. 14, 1692, 10, 11.

⁷ *Raghu.*, I. 42, etc.

⁸ Cf. Muttra Museum Exhibit No. 124; another from Kamavana, Bharatpur (now in England).

tion of full breasts¹ pressing each other. The fullness of the breasts in the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta sculptures² is marked at the first sight. So also is the remarkable similarity between the description of the heavy hips³ of the poet's literature and their parallelism in sculptures⁴ and terracottas⁵. Master specimens of terracotta female statuettes with falling ringlets, full breasts, slender waist and heavy buttocks decorated with broad zones have been discovered from the site mentioned above. Āvartasobhā⁶ or the beauty of the navel forming a deep circle is an important feature of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta sculptures and the image of R̥ṣya Śr̥ṅga⁷ and the reliefs of Yakṣis carved on the railing pillars⁸ of Muttra are examples of the kind. Although these features are not wholly unwarranted in earlier times during the Gupta epoch they become most conspicuous both in literature and art.

Dohada

Both in the Kuṣāṇa as well as Gupta sculptural compositions we find scenes of *dobada* (striking by a woman of an Āśoka tree with her feet to make it blossom) depicted vividly. The Yakṣī stands half-naked exhibiting the exquisite roundness and the fleshy pliancy of her features preparing to kick or kicking the āśoka tree to make it burst into flowers⁹. Kālidāsa makes frequent allusions to such *dobada*s¹⁰ which present to us the forms of the above mentioned scenes. The extreme sameness is so patent that the visitor stands convinced of the identity of the two. While preparing the catalogue of the Muttra Museum, Dr. Ph. Vogel was struck by the similarity in a corresponding scene in the *Mālavikāgni-mitra* which he quoted to point out the parallelism in his *Catalogue of Sculptures in the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*¹¹. Here we must observe that literature draws from life as also does art, but whereas the former may be an aristocratic occupation of the few, the specimens of the latter are always the attraction of both, the exalted and the common. The endless variety of such scenes in public buildings, monasteries, temples and private houses of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods was bound to create an image for like reflections in literature. Imagination, howsoever wild, is chained to earth and it is always fed by incidents of life. Kālidāsa therefore is alluding to contemporary or antecedent models in art.

¹ गुरुश्रोणिपयोधरत्वात् *Raghu.*, XVI. 60, VI. 28.

² Muttra Museum Exhibit Nos. 1007, F. 9, 27, 1600.

³ नितम्बगुर्वी *Raghu.*, VII. 25.

⁴ Muttra Museum Exhibits, J. 4, R. 108 and other railing pillars.

⁵ Masōn, near Aunrihar on the B. N. W. R., district Ghazipur, U. P.

⁶ *Raghu.*, XVI. 63.

⁷ Exhibit No. J. 7.

⁸ Exhibit Nos. J. 10, 11.

⁹ Exhibit Nos. J. 55, F. 27.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, VIII. 62, IX. 12; *M. U.*, 15; *Māl.*, pp. 37, 41, 43, 45, 46, 49, 54, 86, III. 11, 17, 19.

¹¹ P. 153. "It recalls a scene in Kālidāsa's play 'Mālavikā and Agnimitra,' in which the king watches the heroine, while she performs the act, just referred to at the request of her mistress the Queen."

Seven Mothers

The Saptamātṛkas¹ of the poet we actually find hewn and represented in a piece of Kuṣāṇa composition of the Muttra Museum². Kālī one of the Seven Mothers, mentioned by the poet as wearing a necklace of skulls³ (kapālābharanā), is a common feature of his times. A striking figure of it may be seen at Ellora.

Rāvaṇa lifting Kailāsa

The scene of Rāvaṇa lifting the abode of Śiva⁴ described by Kālidāsa is not quite an infrequent favourite of the Kuṣāṇa sculptor. A fine specimen of it is preserved at Muttra. A later recension may be witnessed in the Kailāsa cave at Ellora⁵.

Lakṣmī

Lakṣmī standing on a full-blown lotus⁶ or holding a stalk of it in her hand⁷ or playing with a lotus stalk⁸ (*līlāravinda*) have all their corresponding counterparts in the sculpture of Muttra⁹ and other places. Other references to *līlāravinda*¹⁰ are also extant. The beautiful description of Śiva and Umā given by the poet¹¹ is vividly represented in several Kuṣāṇa specimens showing a loving couple. Scenes showing the tying and unfastening of the tresses¹² are beautifully carved in one of the panels of a door-jamb¹³ at Muttra.

Toilet

In another panel of the same a foot is held out to a toilet-maid-attendant (*prasādhikā*). A Prasādhikā¹⁴ is finely modelled in a bas-relief on one of the railing pillars of Muttra carrying a toilet case¹⁵. But the best specimen of the toilet woman is exhibited in the Bharata Kala Bhavana of Benares.

Other Pieces

We have also references to *pūrṇakumbha*¹⁶ (sculptured on door-jambs, Muttra), *nāgi*¹⁷, the striking and consequent rebounding of a ball¹⁸, a flute

¹ Ku., VII. 30, 38, VI. 80, 81.

² Exhibit nos. 552, F. 38.

³ कालीकपालाभरणा Ku., VIII. 39; चलकपालकुण्डला Raghu., XI. 15.

⁴ दशमुखमूर्तिज्वासितप्रस्थिसन्धेः कैलासस्य M. P., 58 रामस्तुलित कैलास Raghu., XII. 49, IV. 80; Ku., VIII. 24.

⁵ Cave No. XVI. Kailāsa or the Ranga Mahal.

⁶ Raghu., IV. 14, X. 8; Ku., VII. 89.

⁷ Māl., V. 6.

⁸ Ku., III. 56, VI. 84; Raghu., VI. 13.

⁹ Exhibit No. 2345.

¹⁰ Raghu., VI. 13; Ku., VI. 84.

¹¹ शम्भुनादत्तहस्ता

¹² M. U., 29, 36.

¹³ Exhibit No. 186.

¹⁴ Raghu., VII. 7.

¹⁵ Exhibit No. (J) 369.

¹⁶ Raghu., V. 63; Muttra Museum Exhibit No. 1507.

¹⁷ Māl., p. 64. Muttra Museum, Exhibit No. F. 2.

¹⁸ करामिषातोत्थितकन्दुकैयम् Raghu., XVI. 83; Muttra Museum Exhibit No. J. 61.

player¹, the long garland² and Dauvārika,³ gate-keeper, holding a staff⁴ (sculptured under a door-way, Muttra) in the writings of the poet and their parallels in sculpture⁵. We have two grand votive sacrificial posts at Muttra⁶ to the likes of which we have several parallel references in the works of the poet.

Kinnara and Aśvamukhī

The Kinnara and Aśvamukhī of Kālidāsa⁷ have their counterparts in two excellent pieces preserved in the Muttra Museum. One of them is a Kinnara couple with the body of a fine horse and a beautiful human face. One of the couple rides its companion⁸. The other represents the scene of the *Aśvamukhī Jātaka*⁹ in the Kuṣāṇa art.

Hut

Then we must not forget that Kubera¹⁰, the preponderating figure in Kuṣāṇa and Gupta images is a frequent allusion of our poet¹¹, and the noose-bearing Varuṇa¹² and Indra of Kālidāsa also have their models in art. Full-blown lotuses¹³ of the earlier art are also a favourite simile of the poet. The busy huts of the hermitage of the *Raghwanīsa*¹⁴ with their doors full of deer is remarkably carved in a long Śuṅga frieze at Muttra¹⁵ which gives a perfect picture of an ascetic's hut, deer, an altar, a *kamaṇḍalu* and other surroundings of a hermitage.

Kāmadeva

Kāmadeva with his flower bow and five arrows similar to one of the literature of the poet¹⁶ has been picturesquely carved in a perfect standing model of the terracotta exhibited in the Muttra Museum¹⁷, perhaps the only terracotta specimen of its kind in India.

Yakṣa

Maurya, Śuṅga, specially the Kuṣāṇa and early Gupta periods of Indian history were marked by representations of Yakṣas in sculpture. There had arisen something like a Yakṣa cult which rose to unforeseen heights during the Kuṣāṇa

¹ *Raghu.*, XIX. 35; M. M. Exhibit No. 62 (Harp player).

² *Raghu.*, VI. 60, XIX. 37; M. M. Exhibit no. 186.

³ *Ku.*, III. 41; (cf. Dauvārika, etc.); M. M. Exhibit Nos. p. 14, 68, 69, G. 1.

⁴ *Ku.*, III. 41; M. M. Exhibits Nos. G. 1, p. 68.

⁵ M. M. Exhibits Nos. G. 1, p. 14, 68.

⁶ M. M. Exhibits Nos. 13, 144.

⁷ *Ku.*, I. 8, अश्वमुख्यः Ibid., 11.

⁸ M. M. Exhibit No. F. 1.

⁹ Ibid., No. 191.

¹⁰ Muttra Museum Exhibits Nos. 124, C. 3, 31; 75; another, now in England.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, V. 26, 28, IX. 24, 25, XIV. 16, 20; *Ku.*, II. 22. III. 25.

¹² *Raghu.*, IX. 24; *Ku.*, II. 22.

¹³ Muttra Museum Exhibit No. 586.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, I. 49-52.

¹⁵ Muttra Museum Exhibit No. I. 4.

¹⁶ *Ku.*, I. 41, II. 64, VII. 92; *Raghu.*, IX. 39, XI. 45; *Vik.*, II. 11.

¹⁷ Exhibit No. 1448.

and Gupta periods and which also influenced literature, a reflex of human belief. Kālidāsa could not resist the temptation of making a Yakṣa, symbol of love, the hero of his *Meghadūta*. Further, he has referred to the Yakṣas frequently¹. Beautiful Yakṣa images carved in the round are in a considerable number exhibited in the Muttra Museum².

Siva and Buddha

Lastly no reference to a treatment of sculpture in the writings of Kālidāsa can be complete without giving a description of his Siva in meditation, attacked by Kāmadeva and showing its remarkable affinity with the perfect calm of the Buddha images in contemplation. Without doubt the picture is a second hand, attempted after those images. It will be quite clear if the entire description of the meditation of Siva is quoted below. Siva is sitting in meditation in the *vīrāsana* posture having bent forward both his shoulders and placing his hands like full-blown lotuses in his lap³. His hair is tied in a knot on the head⁴. His eyes are slightly open and are lowered and their pupils are gazing at the pointed end of the nose below⁵. He rests calmly holding within himself the various winds that live in the body and resembles strictly the absolutely calm and undisturbed flame of the lamp⁶. The light emanating from his *brahmaraṇḍra* (the highest point within the head) puts that emanating from the moon on his forehead to shade⁷. Closing all the nine doors of the body thus cutting away all connection from the external world and applying the mind absolutely to the heart by stopping all its functions, he looks within himself, within his own soul⁸. The Cupid (Kāmadeva) eyes with doubt and fear this unassailable god and his bow drops from his hand⁹. It may be recollected that this exactly is the attitude and posture of Gautama, the perspective Buddha, when Māra attacks him at Bodh Gaya with all his following and is foiled in like manner in his mission. The remarkably calm meditation of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images of the Indian museums (especially those preserved in the Muttra Museum)¹⁰ may be instanced in this connection to bring out the iconic affinity between these images and those furnished by the description of the poet. The images where they have long hermits' hair have it tied in a knot on the top of the head¹¹ and sit calmly in the manner of an undisturbed flame having restrained the winds of the body within them and looking, as it were, invertly gazing with half-open eyes at the end of their nose and sitting in the *vīrāsana* mudrā with the palms of hands placed on their lap disclosing figures of lotuses and themselves resembling lotuses. The projecting

¹ *M. P.*, I, 5; *M. U.*, 3; *Ku.*, VI. 29.

² Exhibit Nos. 5, 10, 14, E. 8, 24, C. 18.

³ *Ku.*, III. 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III. 51.

¹⁰ *M. M. Exhibits* Nos. A. 27, 45, I, B. 1 (Jaina), 57 (Jaina).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, A. 1.

light of Śiva from his *brahmarandhra* has its corresponding feature in the Uṣṇīṣa, the bump or protuberance of intelligence, on the head of the Buddha images. It may be asserted that this picture of the meditation of Śiva has the reflex of its form buried in these Buddha and Bodhisattva images of Muṭtra, for the vivid picture that Kālidāsa has drawn of Śiva's meditation cannot be accepted to have been a result of mere fancy. And when we have evidence of these specimens being a common sight in the land it is but natural that the poet may have drawn his image from them.

It is thus that we find Kālidāsa speaking in phrases which can very well be said to have originated from their parallels in the Kūṣāṇa and Gupta art (sculpture).

ARCHITECTURE

Architecture

From the stray references in the writings of Kālidāsa a glimpse of the early architecture of India can be caught. We find description of the repairs and re-building¹ of a capital by guilds of architects² (*śilpisaṅghāḥ*). Architecture has been referred to by the phrase *Vāstu*³. Its application to the building of a capital has been mentioned in the *Raghuvaṃśa*⁴.

We have a complete picture of the architecture of a town given in the poet's writings. The plan of the town was well laid. It was intercepted with roads. The main road was the royal highway⁵ (*rājapatha*) which probably crossed the town and connected it with other cities of the country. There was a busy market place⁶ (*vipaṇi*) in the centre and big houses lined⁷ the market street on both sides which was technically known as *āpaṇamārga*⁸. The capital or a rich city abounded in sky-kissing palaces⁹ and high mansions¹⁰, white coloured¹¹, with terraces and buttresses¹². There were laid out in the city public parks¹³ (*puropakaṇṭhopavanam*) and baths with beautiful flights of steps¹⁴, hundreds of sacrificial posts¹⁵, arches¹⁶, artificial hills¹⁷ (*krīḍāśaila*), the outer walls¹⁸ surrounding the city (*prākāra*) and the great gates¹⁹ (*gopuradvāra*) and the deep ditch²⁰ (*parikṣā*) encircling the ramparts of the city.

¹ पुरं नवी चक्रुः *Raghu.*, XVI. 38.

² शिल्पिसंघाः *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁴ वास्तु *Ibid.*, XVII. 36.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XVI. 12 नरेन्द्रमार्गं VI. 67.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XVI. 41.

⁷ प्रासादमालासु *Ku.*, VII. 56, 63.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁹ अम्रल्लिह, अम्रल्लिहाय *Raghu.*, XIV. 29; *M. U.*, 1.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, VII. 5, VIII. 93, XIII. 40, XV. 30, XVI. 18, XIX. 2, 40; *Ku.*, VI. 42, VII. 56, 63; *M. P.*, 7, 27, *M. U.*, 3; *Rtu.*, I. 3, 9, 28, V. 3; *Māl.*, II. 2.

¹¹ सौघ etc.; *M. P.*, 7; *Rtu.*, I. 9.

¹² अट्ट *Raghu.*, VI. 67, XVI. II; V. 75, XVI. 6, II. XIX. 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, XIV. 30.

¹⁴ *M. U.*, 13.

¹⁵ मूपानपश्यच्छसतो *Raghu.*, XVI. 35, I. 44.

¹⁶ तोरण *Ibid.*, I. 41, VII. 4; *M. U.*, 12; *Ku.*, VII. 63.

¹⁷ आक्रीडपर्वतास्तेन कल्पिताः स्वेषु वेश्मसु *Ku.*, II. 43; *M. U.*, 14, 18.

¹⁸ *Raghu.*, I. 30, XI. 52, XII. 71.

¹⁹ *Śāk.*, p. 185.

²⁰ *Raghu.*, I. 30, XII. 66; *Śāk.*, II. 15.

We shall deal with the above at certain length one by one. As we have said above, the city was crossed by broad streets. *Rājapatha*¹ was 'the broad street, the big road, the highway².' Its description is given in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, part 1, 2nd anuṣaṅga-pada, ch. 7, vs. 113, 114, 115. *Rājaviṭhī*³ is another name which Kālidāsa gives to the highway. P. K. Acharya mentions it separately, however, in his *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*⁴ where he explains it as 'the public road, the broad street, a road which runs round a village or town, also called *māṅgalaviṭhī* or *rathaviṭhī*.⁵ Since Kālidāsa distinguishes *rājapatha* from *rājaviṭhī* by mentioning them distinctly, it may be suggested that the former was a royal highway passing through the centre of the town and connecting other towns of the country while the latter was one of the main streets of the town itself. It may even be possible that the part of the *rājapatha* itself, which ran across the town, was called *rājaviṭhī*. The distinction between the two has got to be made in view of their etymology—*patha* and *viṭhī*. The roads on both sides were lined by white-washed mansions⁶ the upper windows of which opened in them⁷. The market place ran along the main road or the highway and was marked out by prosperous (*ṛddha*) high shops (*āpaṇa*)⁸.

Royal Palaces

Royal palaces were extensive buildings fitted with inner apartments⁹ and out-skirts¹⁰. They were many-storeyed¹¹ buildings with attic rooms¹², terraces, arches¹³, balconies¹⁴, courtyards¹⁵, sabhāgṛha¹⁶, prison¹⁷, court-room,¹⁸ high doors¹⁹, verandahs²⁰ opening on the roofs flooded with moon-beams²¹ at night, and pleasure gardens²². Palaces were variously named as *Vimānapratiechanda*²³, *Maṇiharmya*²⁴,

¹ *Raghu*, XVI. 12.

² P. K. Acharya: *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 524.

³ *Raghu*, XVIII. 39.

⁴ P. 524.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ प्रासादमालासु *Ku.*, VII. 12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 57-64; *Raghu*, VII. 5-12.

⁸ *Ku.*, VII. 55; *Raghu*, XVI. 41.

⁹ *Śāk.*, V. 3; कक्षान्तराणि *Ku.*, VII. 70, गृहंरहः VIII. 81; गर्भवेश्मसु *Raghu*, XIX. 42.

¹⁰ *Vik.*, p. 26.

¹¹ *Vide below.*

¹² *Raghu*, V. 75, XVI. 6, 11, XIX. 2 तल्प

¹³ तोरण *Ibid.*, I. 41, VII. 4; *Ku.*, VII. 63; *M. U.*, 12.

¹⁴ अलिदं *Śāk.*, p. 159; *Māl.*, p. 78.

¹⁵ *M. U.*, 6; *Śāk.*, p. 223.

¹⁶ *Raghu*, XVII. 27 सदोगृह III. 67.

¹⁷ *Māl.*, pp. 64, 79.

¹⁸ *Vik.*, p. 26.

¹⁹ *Śāk.*, p. 185; *M. U.*, 17.

²⁰ मणिहर्म्यपृष्ठतलं *Vik.*, p. 65.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² प्रमदवन *Ibid.*, p. 54.

²³ *M. U.*, 6.

²⁴ *Vik.*, pp. 64, 65.

Meghapratichanda¹, Devacchandaka², and the like. These names were not of fanciful choice of the owners but they actually stood for distinct types of buildings as mentioned in the *Mānasāra*. *Vimānapratichanda* has been mentioned by the *Matsya Purāṇa* under the name *Vimānacchanda*³. There it is explained as a palace with eight storeys, many spires and faces, measuring 34 cubits in breadth⁴. *Maṇiharmya* was another kind of palace which has been mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*⁵ as well. P. K. Acharya explains it 'as an upper storey, a crystal palace, jewelled mansion⁶.' 'A crystal palace,' as explained by Mr. Acharya, is perhaps the nearest approach to its sense. It might have been one built of marble. It is quite possible that some of its building materials were comprised of crystalline ingredients. Naturally with a 'crystalline staircase possessing the beauty of the waves of the Ganges' its roof⁷ (*prsthatalam*) looked exceedingly beautiful. Meghapratichanda has been alluded to by the *Mānasāra* under a slightly different name Meghakānta which classes it among a class of ten-storeyed buildings⁸. Devacchandaka also was a similar building. The height of these palaces has been suggested by phrases like *abhrāmīliha*⁹ and *abhrāmīlibāgra*¹⁰ (lit. sky-licking and sky-licking-point respectively), *tala*¹¹ (storey) and *vimānāgrabhūmi*¹² (quadrangular roof in front of the uppermost storey of a *Vimāna* palace). The many-storeyed style of the palaces is also established by the reference to the uppermost floor of the palace mentioned in the *Sākuntala*¹³. The palace was ordinarily divided into two parts, the inner apartment (the *antahśāla* of the *Mānasāra*¹⁴) where the *antahpura* or royal harem was situated, and the outskirts where courtyards, fire-chamber¹⁵ for meeting ascetics and the like *sabbhāgrha*¹⁶, prison and court room were located. The pleasure garden, as we have seen elsewhere, was attached to the palace, close to the main gate. It contained all sorts of seasonal flowers and birds, tanks and perhaps also a zoo¹⁷.

Besides the above, we read of yet another kind of palace called *Samudragrha*¹⁸. It was a summer house built in a cool place. It might even have been a pleasure-

¹ *Śāk.*, pp. 213, 221, 228.

² *Vik.*, p. 26.

³ V. 25, 32, 33, 47, 53.

⁴ Acharya: *A Dict. of Hindu Archi.*, p. 408.

⁵ Vide under *Grha-Vinyāsa*.

⁶ *A Dict. of Hindu Archi.*, p. 467.

⁷ गंगातरंगशिशिरेणस्फटिकमणिशिलासोपानेन *Vik.*, p. 65.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ XXVIII. 16-17. Acharya: *A Dict. of Hindu Archi.*, p. 512.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XIV. 29.

¹¹ *M. U.*, 1.

¹² *Vik.*, p. 65; *Raghu.*, VIII. 93, XIX. 2.

¹³ *M. U.*, 6.

¹⁴ Pp. 218, 221, 223.

¹⁵ Acharya: *Indian Architecture.*, p. 58.

¹⁶ अन्त्यागारे *Raghu.*, V. 25; अग्निशरण *Śāk.*, pp. 125, 156; *Vik.*, p. 60. मंगलगृह *Māl.*, p. 88.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, XVII. 27, सदोगृह III. 67.

¹⁸ विगलवानरेण *Māl.*, p. 85.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 48, 80.

house surrounded on all sides by water-ejecting fountains. It was in the garden of this mansion that the king retired to enjoy the several pleasures of summer¹. It is important that Samudra has been referred to by the *Matsya Purāṇa*², *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*³ and the *Brhatsaṃhitā*⁴ which class it as a particular type of buildings. The *Matsya Purāṇa* describes it as a sixteen-sided double-storeyed building⁵.

Saudha and Harmya

Other houses besides the royal palaces were *saudha*⁶ and *harmya*⁷. Saudha, according to Prof. Acharya, was 'a plastered, stuccoed or white-washed house, a great mansion, a palatial building, a palace⁸.' Harmya has been mentioned by the *Mānasāra* as a class of seven-storeyed buildings⁹. Saudha and harmya were high-roofed buildings and it is to such mansions of Ujjaini that the poet refers in his *Meghadūta*¹⁰. These mansions are said to have sheltered pigeons¹¹. Pigeons, it may be noted, generally nestle in high buildings. The mansions of Alakā, the city of Kuberā, have been compared to the clouds and their summits described as 'kissing the clouds¹².' We have already seen that the height of the houses won them the names of Abhraṃliha or Abhraṃlihāgra. Those which bore terraces were called *atta*¹³, *saudha* or *harmya*¹⁴. The houses were built with bricks and were plastered over with lime water as the word *saudha* signifies. The word *dhautā*¹⁵ (in *dhautaharmya*) has the same significance. Besides bricks and stones, it appears that marble¹⁶ (*maṇiśilā*) was also used for building the costly houses of the rich. Roofs of houses were built generally sloping and this slope was known as *valabhī*¹⁷. It has been explained by Prof. Acharya as 'the roof, the frame of a thatch, the topmost part of a house, a class of storeyed buildings, a type of entablature, a class of rectangular buildings, a top-room, a turret, a balcony¹⁸, etc.' It has even been used as a synonym of the entablature in the *Mānasāra*¹⁹. Bhavana²⁰ was an ordinary house of a rectangular sort²¹. A complete picture of an ordinary house may be given below. Within there was a courtyard²² surround-

¹ Ibid.

² Ch. 269, vs. 38, 53.

³ Ch. 130, v. 24.

⁴ Acharya: *Indian Architecture*, p. 116.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Evidenced *ante*.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 642.

⁹ XXV. 29.

¹⁰ *M. P.*, 38; *M. U.*, 1.

¹¹ *M. P.*, 38.

¹² अम्रलिहायाः *M. U.*, 1.

¹³ Evidenced *ante*.

¹⁴ *M. P.*, 7; *Ku.*, I. 9.

¹⁵ *M. P.*, 7.

¹⁶ मणिशिलागृह *Ku.*, VIII. 81.

¹⁷ *M. P.*, 38.

¹⁸ *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 537.

¹⁹ XVI. 19.

²⁰ *M. P.*, 38.

²¹ *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 104, vs. 16-17; *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, ch. 47, vs. 21-22, 26-27.

²² Vide *ante*.

ed by four walls, in the verandahs of which would have opened the interior rooms. Of the interior rooms¹ Kālidāsa mentions the bed² and fire chambers³, *garbhavēśma*⁴ (a cell, strong-room or sanctum), rooms for sport⁵, storeroom⁶ and others. The house had many windows⁷ which opened in the street⁸. The roof above the house had a balcony⁹ (*alinda*). The frontage of the house was called *mukha*¹⁰ which was the door itself. Above the door was the lintel¹¹ (supported by the door-jambs) bearing for its shape sometimes a simple arch (*torāṇa*) and at others an arch with the shape of a fish or crocodile¹² (*makaratorāṇa*). Such a makaratorāṇa is beautifully exhibited in a fine specimen in the museum at Muttra¹³. Below the torāṇa was the threshold called *debāghī*¹⁴. The several-storeyed buildings contained even verandah¹⁵, on the uppermost storey where there was also situated an attic room¹⁶ (*talpa*). It will not be out of place here to discuss a few of these terms in the light of architecture.

Torāṇa

Torāṇa, an arch of the terrace or balcony, usually refers to the outer gate of a palace or city, or an arched gate-way. It also meant a temporary ornamental arch generally erected on the door of the houses or on roads to receive a great personage, the entrance being termed as *dvāra*¹⁷ or *mukha*. Torāṇa has been explained as 'an arch, a mechanical arrangement of blocks of any hard material disposed in the line of some curve and supporting one another by their mutual pressure'¹⁸. "Arches are both architecturally and ornamentally decorated with carvings of gods, sages, demigods, goblins, crocodiles, sharks, fish, leographs, serpents, lions, flowers, leaves, creepers, etc. and are beautifully set with jewels"¹⁹. We have already cited above a reference to the crocodile type.

¹ कक्ष्यान्तराणि *Ku.*, VII. 70, VIII. 81; *Raghu.*, XIX. 42; (गर्भवेक्ष्म) *Śāk.*, V. 3.

² शय्यागृह *Raghu.*, XVI. 4; *Māl.*, p. 65.

³ अग्न्यागार *Raghu.*, V. 25; अग्निगारण *Śāk.*, pp. 125, 156; *Māl.*, p. 88.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XIX. 42.

⁵ क्रीडावेक्ष्म *Vik.*, II. 22, V. 22.

⁶ सारभाण्डभूगृहे गुहायामिव *Māl.*, pp. 63, 64. This seems to have been a cellar, a room underground.

⁷ *Raghu.*, VI. 24, 43, 56, VII. 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, XIII. 21, 40, XIV. 13, XIX. 7; *M.P.*, 32; *M. U.*, 25, 27, 35; *Rtn.*, V. 2; *Vik.*, p. 63.

⁸ *Raghu.*, VII. 5-12; *Ku.*, VII. 57-63.

⁹ *Śāk.*, p. 159; *Māl.*, p. 78.

¹⁰ *Māl.*, p. 78.

¹¹ तोरण *Raghu.*, I. 41, VII. 41; *Ku.*, VII. 63; *M. U.*, 12.

¹² Exhibited in the Muttra Museum.

¹³ Exhibit No. M. 2.

¹⁴ *M. U.*, 24.

¹⁵ Evidenced *ante*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Acharya: *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 247.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

Alinda

Alinda, generally decorated with an arch (*torana*), was a balcony. The commentary on the *Brhatsamhitā* or *Kiraṇatantra*, quoted in the *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, explains it thus: "By the word 'alinda' is understood, the lattice covered path beyond the wall of a hall and facing the courtyard¹." But this does not properly explain the architectural design proposed to be conveyed by the phrase *alinda* in Kālidāsa. Kern, in his paper² on the *Brhatsamhitā*, LIII. 17, rightly observes that "the word might as well be rendered balcony, gallery." It seems that all big buildings had a running terrace over the roof and the outer important rooms were topped with balconies which these *alindas* were, for we read of an *alinda* on the top of the door³, (*muhā-, linda*) of the Samudragha⁴ and another on that of the fire-chamber⁵.

Aṭṭa and Talpa

The buildings were ornamented with turrets⁶ (*aṭṭa*) and attic rooms⁷ (*talpa*). The deserted city of Ayodhyā gave an appearance of 'hundreds of broken aṭṭas and talpas⁸.' Mr. Acharya explains aṭṭa as a turret⁹. Talpa is an attic room situated on the top of the house. It was the only room on the topmost storey.

Windows

The big and spacious houses were generally surrounded by an outer wall from which opened the windows in the streets. There are innumerable references to windows opening in the street. *Āloka-mārga*¹⁰ was a window which admitted light in the building and through which one could have an outside view. *Vātāyana*¹¹ was another kind of window 'to let in the air.' *Vātāyana* was perhaps the general name of which *āloka-mārga*, *gavākṣa*¹² and *jāla-mārga*¹³ were kinds¹⁴. *Gavākṣa* resembled a cow's eye in its shape as its etymology suggests. It has been even so explained in the *Mānasāra*¹⁵. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* refers to this kind of window as commanding 'a view of the garden tank and receiving the plentiful breeze'¹⁶. *Jāla-mārga* was fitted with a frame containing a net-work of wood, stone, plaster or metal with air-holes in it. It was in fact a lattice work which may yet

¹ p. 54.

² J. R. A. S., (N. S.), Vol. VI. p. 282, Note 3.

³ *Māl.*, p. 78.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Śāle.*, p. 159.

⁶ नरेन्द्रमार्गद्वारं *Raghu.*, VI. 67 विशीर्णतल्पाद्वारं XVI. 11.

⁷ Vide ante.

⁸ *Raghu.*, XVI. 11.

⁹ *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 15.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, VII. 6; *Vik.*, p. 63.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, VI. 24, VI. 8, XIII. 21, XIV. 13; *M. U.*, 25; *Ritu.*, V. 2.

¹² *Raghu.*, VII. 11, XIX. 7; *M. U.*, 35. *Māl.*, p. 9.

¹³ *Raghu.*, VI. 43, VII. 9; *M. P.*, 32; *M. U.*, 27.

¹⁴ *Mānasāra*, XXXIII. 568-597.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ दीर्घिकावलोकनगवाक्षगताप्रवातमासेवमाना *Māl.*, p. 9.

be seen in old houses and royal palaces in the native states. The mansions of the city of Bhoja, fancifully declares Kālidāsa, had their windows with lattice made of gold¹. The windows were so designed as to admit in abundance moon-light in the room² which cooled the tired bodies of the dwellers. The poet imagines that these even received small clouds which entered the courtyard through them and obliterated the paintings³ on the inner walls by their vapour.

Courtyard

Within the house there was a courtyard surrounded by walls. It was paved, in certain cases, with crystalline⁴ slabs which glistened with the rays of the sun at day and reflected the heavenly bodies at night⁵.

Lattice Work

Palaces and mansions had covered paths with fine lattice work through which the ladies could have a view of the outside world. Many other apartments of the mansion were fitted with lattice work from which issued volumes of smoke⁶ in the evening and which served as an outlet for the smoke caused by cooking meals or the burning of incense during the evening worship.

Bathroom

Some houses also contained a bath-room⁷ (*yantradbārāgrha*) fitted with crystalline benches and water-pipes⁸ (*yantrapravaha*, *yantradbārā*). This bathroom had some sort of arrangement through which water was kept flowing for the purpose of bath and for other cooling needs.

Stables

The out-skirts of the palace, or also in certain cases the mansion, contained stables for horses⁹ and elephants¹⁰. Those for elephants contained posts¹¹ to which they were tied.

Sopāna or Stairs

Palaces and other mansions and tanks were fitted with beautiful stairs¹² about which Kālidāsa speaks with so much admiration. In the *Vikramorvaśī* he describes a crystalline flight of steps possessing the beauty of the waves of

¹ *Raghu.*, VII. 5.

² *M. U.* 7.

³ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴ *Ku.*, VII. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI. 42.

⁶ *Vik.*, III. 2.

⁷ यन्त्रधारगृहं *M. P.*, 61; धारागृहेषु *Raghu.*, XVI. 49.

⁸ यन्त्रप्रवाहैः शिशिरैः परीतान्तरसेन धौतान्मलयोद्भवस्य ।

शिलाविशेषानघिशस्य निन्युर्धारागृहेष्वातपमृद्धिमन्तः ॥ *Raghu.*, XVI. 49.

⁹ मन्दुर आसंश्रयिभिः तुरंगैः *Raghu.*, XVI. 41.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² सोपानमार्गं *Ibid.*, VI. 1, 3, XVI. 15, 56; *M. U.*, 16; *Sāk.*, p. 225; *Vik.*, p. 65.

the Ganges¹. Then he mentions the stairs of a tank made of emeralds leading to the surface of the water². This description may not be altogether imaginary and cannot be dismissed as a piece of mere hyperbole although the picture may be a little overdrawn. Even now we find crystalline flights of steps in the palaces of several Indian princes.

Railing Pillars and Vāsayaṣṭi

Besides the above, houses and palaces had also railing pillars³ on which female figures were carved in relief which we shall notice later. It may be noted in this connection that the Museum at Muttra abounds in exhibits of such railing pillars with female yakṣī figures carved on them in high relief which are the pride of the Kūṣāṇa period. There were also roosts⁴ architecturally provided in the houses for the permanent perching of the domestic birds. They were called *Vāsayaṣṭi*.

Other Buildings

There were the coronation hall, the council hall⁵ and the occasional *vivāhamandapa*, *catuṣka*⁶ and *catubśālā*⁷. The coronation and council halls were permanent structures within the palace while *vivāhamandapa* and *catuṣka* were temporary ones. *Vivāhamandapa* was a pavilion erected for the wedding ceremonies. It was a *catuṣka* or a foursided pavilion. *Catuṣśālā* was any rectangular building. *Vedī*⁸, was a raised altar with a canopy (*vimāna*) of four pillars erected under the rules of the *Mānasāra* architecture. *Yajñaśarāṇa*⁹ was perhaps a *yajñaśālā*, a sacrificial enclosure, where sacrifices were held. We have a reference to a *pratimāgrha*¹⁰ where worship was carried on by offering sacrifices to gods. Besides, we read of the *Aśvamedha* and several other sacrifices which may have been held in such a hall of sacrifices as this. Then, outside the palace, was erected occasionally a temporary structure for holding the *svayamvara*¹¹. This structure was a gallery of benches rising one above another¹². There were many paths¹³ constructed between the rows of the gallery.

The city deserted by its inhabitants by its king¹⁴ or destroyed by a conqueror presented the appearance of hundreds of broken turrets and terraces with dilapidated ramparts, and of houses the tops of which were overgrown with

¹ *Vik.*, p. 65, text quoted *ante*.

² *M. U.*, 16.

³ *Raghu.*, XVI. 17.

⁴ यष्टिनिवासभंगः *Raghu.*, XVI. 39; XVII. 36. वासयष्टि *M. U.*, 16.

⁵ सदोगृह *Raghu.*, III. 67, समा XVII. 27.

⁶ *Ku.*, V. 68, VII. 9; *Raghu.*, VII. 17.

⁷ *Māl.*, p. 87.

⁸ *Raghu.*, XVII. 9.

⁹ *Māl.*, p. 102.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XVI. 39, XVII. 36.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, VI.

¹² मञ्च *Ibid.*, VI. 1, 3, 10.

¹³ मञ्चान्तरराजमार्गे *Ibid.*, VI. 10.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XVI.

grassy blades. The highways were deserted and the market place empty and hushed¹.

Gardens and Parks

Gardens and parks abounded (*udyānaparamparāsu*²) in the city. Gardens were of two kinds. They were the *pramadavana*³, attached to the palace or the house, and parks for the citizens⁴ (*nagaropakāṇṭhopavanāni*) generally situated outside the town. Both were laid out spaciouly enough to contain an orchard and a flower garden the bowers⁵ of which contained stone or crystal-line benches⁶ to cool the body, tanks⁷ (*dirghikā*) containing pleasure rooms, reservoirs of water⁸ (*vāpī*) and wells⁹ (*kūpa*), columns on which domesticated birds perched¹⁰, water fountains¹¹ and irrigation channels and a zoo¹², perhaps an adjunct of the *pramadavana* alone.

Dirghikā, Vāpī and Kūpa

The terms above mentioned will need elucidation. *Dirghikā* was rather a narrow long tank; perhaps its water came from the fountain of the garden. *Vāpī* has been explained by Prof. Acharya as a tank, a well, a reservoir of water¹³. Kalidāsa uses it in the sense of a beautiful tank. Perhaps *dirghikā* and *vāpī* were both tanks with the only difference that the former was a longer narrower reservoir of water while the latter was a square one. The poet mentions a *grhadirghikā*¹⁴ to distinguish it from a *dirghikā* of the public parks and locates it in the pleasure garden (*pramadavana*). *Vāpī*, says the poet, had a flight of steps paved with emeralds¹⁵. *Dirghikās* were furnished with secret chambers meant for amorous sports¹⁶ (*gūḍhamohanagrāhā*). Many a libidinous monarch, fallen from the virtue of public service to the vice of wine and women disported in such tanks with beautiful damsels occasionally retiring in these chambers below the ground and on the same level as water. The commentator¹⁷ explains that these rooms were meant for *surata* and *kāmabhoga*. These rooms stood in water, waist-deep part of its ground lying on a dry slope. Such a tank with secret chambers may be wit-

¹ Ibid., 11-12.

² Ibid., VI. 35, XIV. 30.

³ प्रमदवन *Māl.*, p. 70; *Vik.*, p. 54.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XIV. 30.

⁵ माधवीमण्डप *Śāk.*, p. 200.

⁶ मणिशिलापट्टसनाथो Ibid.

⁷ *Raghu.*, IX. 37, XVI. 13, XIV. 2, 9; *Ku.*, II. 33; *Māl.*, II. p. 9, 12.

⁸ *M. U.*, 13; *Rtn.*, VI. 3.

⁹ *Rtn.*, I. 23.

¹⁰ *M. U.*, 16; *Raghu.*, XVI. 14.

¹¹ *Māl.*, II. 12; cf. also *Rtn.*, I. 2; *Raghu.*, XVI. 49.

¹² पिङ्गलवानरेण *Māl.*, p. 85.

¹³ *A Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, p. 543.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, IX. 37.

¹⁵ *M. U.*, 13.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, XIX. 9.

¹⁷ Comment on Ibid.

nessed even to-day at Lucknow built perhaps for Nawab Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh behind the Picture Gallery. Kūpa was a well. Vāpī, described in the *Meghadūta*, had beside it standing an artificial hill¹ encircled with plantains.

Kriḍāsaila

The existence of the artificial hills seems to have been a common feature in the garden as we read several references² to them made by the poet. The garden of the Yakṣa contained in its middle a crystalline post also on which perched the domesticated peacock. On the top of the post rested a square tablet (*phalaka*). It was on this tablet that the favourite peacock of the Yakṣa's wife (tied to its staff at the foot) danced to the tune of its mistress's bangles³.

Water-fountain

We read of Vāriyantra, fountains, or water-wheels, fitted in a garden in the following allusion: "The peacock desirous of drinking the drops of water thrown up flies round the revolving vāriyantra⁴." Mr. S. P. Pandit⁵ thinks that "vāriyantra or jalayantra was the Persian wheel (a large wheel surrounded with buckets for raising water); but it does not seem to mean that. It must be noted that a water-wheel with buckets does not throw up or about drops of water; water trickles down from the buckets. Besides, *bhrāntimat* cannot properly apply to such a wheel; *bhrāmyat* would have been the proper phrase. A whirling fountain with a motion of its own is implied by the poet. The peacocks flying after the drops of water as they flew forward had to hover and hover round the fountain to catch them. There was, however, some sort of contrivance at the top of it which made it revolve and throw sprays of water up and around. The water thus thrown out gathered in the irrigation channels of the garden and flooded the flower beds and *ālavālas* of the trees. We have already referred to water pipes or some such contrivances through which water flowed (*pravāha*) in the bath rooms, *yantradhārāgrhā*.

Yūpa

The town also contained temples (*pratimāgrha*) of gods⁶ and sacrificial posts⁷ *yūpa*. Yūpa was a post⁸ to tie the sacrificial animal to and it can be instanced in two beautiful specimens dedicated by the Kuṣāna emperors Vāiṣiska and Vāsu-deva now exhibited in the Muttra Museum. They are curved at the top to form a bend like the neck of a horse and below, in the middle of and round the long shaft,

¹ *Ku.*, II. 43; *M. U.*, 14, 18; *Vik.*, p. 54.

² *Ibid.*,

³ *M. U.*, 16.

⁴ *Māl.*, II. 12.

⁵ *Vikramorvaṣī*, notes.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 39, XVII. 36; विश्वेश्वर *Ibid.*, XVIII. 24; महाकाल *M. P.*, 33, 34; स्कन्दवसति *Ibid.*, 43.

⁷ यूपानपश्यच्छ्रुतौ *Raghu.*, XVI. 35.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 4.

there runs the carved impression of an *argalā* (bridle or noose). The great gates of the walls of the town were closed with the help of strong bolts¹.

Hut

Uṭaja² or parnaśālā³ was a hut with a thatched roof. A vivid example of it may be seen in a relief composition preserved in the Muttra Museum which will give an idea as to what it was like.

Rock-cut Caves

It was an age of excavation of the architectural wonders called *darīgrba*⁴ or *śilāveśma*⁵. These were caves cut and fashioned to make temples out of solid massive rocks of mountains to which Kālidāsa frequently refers⁶. A look at one of these strewn over the ridges of the Western Ghats and other mountains of the Deccan will give an idea of the stupendous labour and expense they must have entailed.

After finishing a piece of architecture the god, the guardian deity of it, was worshipped with various sorts of offerings which included sacrificed animals⁷, and then alone it could be utilized.

¹ Ibid., XVIII. 4.

² Ibid., I. 50, 52, XIII 22, XIV 81, XIX 2, Ku, VIII 38

³ Raghu, XII 40

⁴ Ku, I. 10, 14, Rtu, I 25

⁵ M P, 25

⁶ Ibid., Rtu., I. 25, Ku, I 10, 14.

⁷ ०सपर्यासिपशूपहारा Raghu, XVI. 39, cf also Ibid, XVII. 36

BOOK V

ECONOMIC LIFE

CHAPTER XV

WEALTH AND PROSPERITY

General Prosperity

The reader of the works of Kālidāsa is struck by the prosperous condition of the people which is most lavishly attested to by innumerable allusions of an economic nature. It must be noted, however, that since he refers mostly to the rich section of society his description cannot be accepted as depicting the state of the common people. Yet from what one reads in his works one is overwhelmed with the evidence of opulence and plenty. Big mansions with their many-storeyed roofs, attic rooms, balconies and terraces were common sights along both sides of streets. To many of these houses were attached luxuriously laid out gardens where flowers and plants of every season were grown in abundance in the lovely beds of the rich Indian soil. The wealth of precious stones was not only a source of income to the State but in most cases it also satisfied the taste of the luxury-loving rich who put them to different uses. Food was rich and wine was of many kinds and much in use. Trade flourished and the caravans of merchants by land and *sārthavāhas* by sea poured forth immense wealth got in trade (*vāṇijya*). Trade routes were very commonly frequented. Cities abounding in the land, were noisy and thickly thronged by people. Shops lined both sides of the highway and rich customers moved to and fro making their purchases in the crowded bazars where articles, big and small, imported from lands with which India carried on her brisk trade, were heaped in piles. We shall now survey below the economic state of the people under specific heads.

National Wealth

The following were the sources of the national wealth. Agriculture¹ was the main source of the sustenance of people as also of the land revenue for the State. Pastures² yielded grass for crores³ of cows and other cattle. Ferries⁴ paid were considerable; trade and commerce brought in much riches, and forests yielded elephants for warfare and ivory. Exhaustively worked mines⁵ produced precious stones and metals, diamonds, marbles and gold. Seas⁶ were the source of

¹ M. P., 16.

² वार्ता *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.

³ गाः कोटिश्च: *Ibid.*, II. 49.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XVI. 2; *Ku.*, VIII. 34.

⁵ *Raghu.*, III. 18, XVII. 66, XVIII. 22; *Māl.*, V. 18.

⁶ *Raghu.*, III. 9, IV. 50, X. 30, 85, XIII. 13, 17; *Rtnu.*, III. 4; *Māl.*, I. 6.

pearls, conches, various shells (*śukēti*) and corals, and so were certain rivers¹ the source of pearls and their sands that of gold dust² (*kanakasikatā*).

Agriculture

The wide expanse of land which yielded enormous revenue to the coffers of the State and fed the swelling masses of the country reached the shores of the seas. Many crops³ (*śasya*) were cultivated and grown. The following is a record of the various grains referred to by Kālidāsa as sown and harvested in India and outside: barley⁴, a kind of small sprouts of barley⁵, paddy⁶ of various sorts, sugarcane⁷, tila⁸ (seasamum) and saffron⁹. The above were extensively sown and harvested in the soil befitting their respective growth. Thus the Punjab and uplands of U. P. may have grown wheat and barley, while Bihar, the lowlying plains of Bengal and the southern plateau paddy. We read of many kinds of paddy sown, namely, *śālī*¹⁰, *kalamā*¹¹ and *nivāra*¹². Sugarcane yielded various processes (*vikāra*) of sugar¹³ (*guḍavikāra*). A particular area of land in the valley of the Oxus produced the precious saffron¹⁴. We read of the pleasant aroma rising from the recently tilled fields of the province of Māla¹⁵.

Besides the sugarcane, reference to only one cereal crop, rice, has been made with much frequency and fondness. Kālidāsa knows its different seasons in different countries. The winter crop is reaped from November to January in Bengal and British Burma and elsewhere as is mentioned in the *Rtusamihāra*¹⁶ though it appears that the early crop of rice in Bengal, reaped between July and September, is not known to him. At least he makes no reference to it. He knows of the varieties of rice called *kalamā*¹⁷ and *śālī*¹⁸, and of *nivāra*¹⁹, growing wildly. The *kalamā* variety of rice and the plantation of sugarcane with rice fields are also known to our poet²⁰. The autumn crop reaped in Kashmir is noted from ancient times for its only important crop of rice, *śālī*. Songs associated with the sugarcane and rice fields of autumn appear in the *Raghuvaṃśa*²¹. The rainy season was

¹ *Raghu.*, IV. 50.

² *M. U.*, 4.

³ *Raghu.*, X. 59, XVII. 66.

⁴ बीजाकुर (Commentator) *Raghu.*, VII. 27.

⁵ यवांकुर Ibid., X. 43, XIII. 49; *Ku.*, VII. 17.

⁶ *Raghu.*, IV. 20, 37; *Rtu.*, III. 1, 10, 16, IV. 1, 7, 18, V. 1, 18.

⁷ *Raghu.*, IV. 20; *Rtu.*, V. 1, 16; *Śāk.*, p. 224.

⁸ *Śāk.*, p. 94.

⁹ *Raghu.*, IV. 67; *Rtu.*, IV. 2, V. 9, VI. 4, 12.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, IV. 20; *Rtu.*, III. 1, 10, 16, IV. 1, 17, 18, V. 1, 16.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, IV. 37.

¹² Ibid., I. 50; *Śāk.*, I. 13.

¹³ प्रचुरगुडविकार: *Rtu.*, V. 16.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, IV. 67.

¹⁵ *M. P.*, 16.

¹⁶ The Birth-Place of Kālidāsa, p. 24.

¹⁷ Quoted *ante*.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ *Raghu.*, IV. 20, 37.

²¹ Ibid., 20.

eagerly awaited for the purposes of agriculture, and we find the women of Māla-deśa expecting the advent of the rains, who knew that the clouds were the cause of it¹. Māladeśa had its fields ploughed in the beginning of July. Mention is made of the cultivation of saffron in the valley of the Oxus².

Auxiliaries of Agriculture

There were other auxiliaries of agriculture. Oxen were utilized to till the soil and bulls³, mules⁴ and camels⁵ were used as the beasts of burden. Pastures⁶, particularly on the lowlying hills, yielded enough grass for the sheep which supplied the nation with the warm wool⁷ (*patrorṇa*). Cattle were fed in these pastures. Setu⁸ has been used by Kālidāsa⁹ in the sense of building bridges. Kauṭilya, however, uses it in the sense of irrigation also¹⁰.

Pasture

Vārtā¹¹ referred to the rearing of the cattle. It must have yielded excellent breeds of bulls, oxen and the cows. We read of crores of cows¹² forming the national wealth. It was the meadows that gave fodder for the horses, cattle and mules and the dry lands and deserts for the camels.

Occupations

The chief occupations of the people were the following, namely, agriculture (dealt with above); metal-working, done by goldsmiths and other artisans¹³; weaving, which produced cotton and silk fine enough to be blown away by the breath¹⁴ as also canvas-like cotton cloth thick and strong enough to serve for tents¹⁵; trade¹⁶; arms¹⁷; fish-catching,¹⁸ sailor's work¹⁹; and other ways of living by net²⁰;

¹ *M. P.*, 16.

² *Raghu.*, IV. 67.

³ ककुब्धन्तः *Ibid.*, IV. 22.

⁴ वामी *Ibid.*, V. 32.

⁵ उष्ट्र *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, XVI. 2.

⁷ पत्रोर्ण *Māl.*, V. 12, *Ibid.*, p. 105; ऊर्णमयं *Ku.*, VII. 25.

⁸ *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, (IV. 38), XVI. 2; *Ku.*, VIII. 34.

¹⁰ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. III. Ch. 8 and Bk. VII. Ch. 14.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, II. 49.

¹³ शिल्पि *Māl.*, p. 4.

¹⁴ निःश्वासहायशुक *Raghu.*, XVI. 43.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, V. 41, 49, 63, 73, VII. 2, IX. 93, XIII. 79, XVI. 55, 73; *Vik.*, p. 121.

¹⁶ वणिजं *Māl.*, I. 17.

¹⁷ सांपरायिकः *Raghu.*, XVII. 62.

¹⁸ मत्स्यबन्धन *Śāk.*, p. 183.

¹⁹ धीवर *Ibid.*,

²⁰ जालोपजीवी *Ibid.*

government service¹; teaching of fine arts²; the priesthood³; singing and dancing⁴; gardening⁵; fowler's work⁶; mason's work⁷ and the like.

From frequent allusions to mines⁸ and their yields we learn that they were exhaustively worked and they produced precious stones and metals and other minerals. The following are the precious stones⁹ (*maṇi*) named by the poet: *vajra*¹⁰ (diamond), *padmarāga*¹¹ (ruby), *puṣparāga*¹² (topaz), *mahānila*¹³ or *indranila*¹⁴ (sapphire), *marakata*¹⁵ (emerald), *vaidūrya*¹⁶ (lapis lazuli), *sphaṭika*¹⁷ (crystals), *maṇi-silā*¹⁸, *sūryakānta*¹⁹ (sun-glass) and *candrakānta*²⁰ (moon-glass). The two, named last, were respectively sun and moon gems resembling crystals. The latter was supposed to ooze out water in drops at the touch of the beams of the moon²¹, whereas the former 'received, like a sun-glass, from the sun the flame that fell upon and destroyed wood²².' This refers to the well-known fact that the rays of the sun received, and transmitted by the sun-glass to a piece of wood beneath it burnt it. This disc of crystal was not a fabulous stone with fabulous properties, as some imagine, but it was a kind of glass lense and it shows that Indians were not ignorant of the properties of this glass or crystal when Kālidāsa wrote his *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*²³. The following metals were drawn from the mines: gold²⁴ (*suvarṇa*, *bema*, *hiranya*, *kanaka*, *kañcana* and *dravina*), sand or dust of gold²⁵ (*kanakasikatā*) from which were made most of the ornaments, silver²⁶ (*rajata*), copper²⁷ (*tāmra*), and iron²⁸ (*aya*), from which the necessities of war and other requirements produced by cast iron like hammer²⁹ (*ayoghana*) were cast and fashioned. We

¹ The army, ministers and other officials discussed *ante*.

² *Māl.*, p. 17.

³ पशुमारणकर्मदारणा *Śāk.*, p. 183.

⁴ Courtesans evidenced *ante*.

⁵ *M. P.*, 26.

⁶ शकुनिलुब्धकैः *Śāk.*, p. 56.

⁷ *Raghu.*, XVI. 38.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III. 18, XVII. 66, XVIII. 22; *Māl.*, V. 18.

⁹ *Raghu.*, III. 18, XIII. 53, 59, XVIII. 42, XIX. 45; *Ku.*, VIII. 75; *M. U.*, 4, 16; *Māl.*, V. 18.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, VI. 19.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 53, 59.

¹² *Ibid.*, 32.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII. 54, XVI. 69; *M. P.*, 46; *M. U.*, 14.

¹⁵ *M. U.*, 13.

¹⁶ *Ku.*, I. 24, VII. 10; *Rtū.*, II. 5; *M. U.*, 13.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, XIII. 69; *Ku.*, VI. 42; *M. U.*, 16.

¹⁸ *Ku.*, VI. 38.

¹⁹ *Raghu.*, XI. 21; *Śāk.*, II. 7.

²⁰ *M. U.*, 7.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Śāk.*, II. 7.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ku.*, VII. 50; *Raghu.*, I. 10, 30, II. 36, V. 2, 29, IV. 70, VI. 79; *M. U.*, 4, 16.

²⁵ *M. U.*, 4, (Perhaps also from the sand of some rivers).

²⁶ *Rtū.*, II. 13.

²⁷ *Ku.*, I. 44, VI. 51.

²⁸ *Raghu.*, XIV. 33.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

read of a certain other metal, perhaps mica, manganese or glass from which looking glasses¹ were manufactured. Other products of the mines and mountains have also been mentioned. They may be referred below: *sindūra*² (red lead), a kind of stone product from which unguents³ were prepared, *manahsilā*⁴ (realgar) used in various cosmetic preparations, *gairika*⁵ (*dhāturāga*, *dhāturasa*, *dhātureṇu*), a kind of red stone yielding colour, and *śaileya*⁶, a stone secretion (fluid) containing strong medicinal properties much used in preparations in *Āyurvedic* tonic mostly for the metabolic diseases. We have no comprehensive mention of specific rocks, yet stray allusions furnish us with the following kinds of them namely, *śilā*⁷, meaning all simple rocks of granite and sandstone, crystalline rocks⁸, including marble (*maṇiśilā*), and a kind of red stone⁹ *geru* (*adrigairika*).

Yields of the Marine Sources

The river Tāmraparṇi of the Pāṇḍya country of the south and the Indian Ocean have been noted by the poet for their precious and useful yields. Seas¹⁰ have been considered the womb which yielded precious gems¹¹ (*ratna*). They yielded besides pearls¹², (*mukṭā*), conchshells¹³ (*śaṅkha-yūtham*) discovered in lots and so commonly used in peace and war, shells¹⁴ (*śukṭi*—vernacular *sīpī*) and corals¹⁵ (*vidruma*). The river Tāmraparṇi has been referred to as a prolific source of pearls¹⁶. It may be noted that this source continues to yield pearls even now.

Forests

The wild extensively growing forests produced besides building timber and fuel, the sacred skin of the *ruru*¹⁷, *keśhasāra*¹⁸, deer and other skins¹⁹, musk²⁰ (*mṛga-nābhi*) obtained from the navel of the roaming deer, lac²¹, (*lākṣā*) furnishing women with their various dyes, and the yak tail²² (*camarī*) so commonly used as a symbol

¹ Ibid., XIV. 37, XVII. 26, XIX. 28, 30; *Ku.*, VII. 22, 36, VIII. 11; *Śāk.*, VII. 32.

² *Rtu.*, I. 24.

³ *Raghu.*, VI. 55, VII. 8; *Ku.*, V. 51; *Rtu.*, IV. 17; *Māl.*, III. 5.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XII. 80; *Ku.*, I. 55.

⁵ *Raghu.*, V. 72, 44, IV. 71; *Ku.*, I. 7, VI. 51; *M. U.*, 42.

⁶ *Raghu.*, VI. 51; *Ku.*, I. 55.

⁷ *M. U.*, 42.

⁸ स्फटिक *Raghu.*, XIII. 69; *Ku.*, VI. 42; *M. U.*, 16.

⁹ *M. U.*, 42; *Raghu.*, V. 72.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, III. 9, X. 300, 85.

¹¹ Ibid., VI. 14, 79; *M. U.*, 5.

¹² *Raghu.*, XIII. 17, XIX. 45; *Ku.*, VII. 10; *Māl.*, I. 6.

¹³ *Raghu.*, XIII. 13; *Rtu.*, III. 4.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, XIII. 17; *Māl.*, I. 6.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, VI. 16, 31.

¹⁶ Ibid., IV. 50.

¹⁷ Ibid., III. 31.

¹⁸ Ibid., IV. 65.

¹⁹ *Rtu.*, VI. 12.

²⁰ Ibid., VI. 13.

²¹ *Ku.*, I. 13.

²² *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.

of royalty and serving as a flywhisk. Elephants were caught from the forests of Kālīṅga¹ and Kāmarūpa². They have been associated also with Aṅga³. Perhaps these forests which yielded elephants were preserved. It may be noted that Kāuṭilya refers to preserved forests of elephants⁴. It may also be remembered that Kālīdāsa exempts elephants from being shot at⁵. Elephants were utilized in times of war and they formed one of the four traditional columns of an Indian army⁶. They must have yielded in value of tusks⁷ in the market of ivory when dead. The forests also gave building material for the river canoes⁸ and the coastal rowing boats⁹ and the inland¹⁰ and sea going¹¹ vessels for war¹² and trade.¹³ The Himalayan mountain, besides yielding mineral dusts¹⁴ of various kinds, grew the *śāla*¹⁵ and *devadāru*¹⁶ which produced resin (*niryāsa*, *keśira*), the source of an important oil. Further, the wildly growing trees of the Malaya valley produced spices like cardamom¹⁷ (*elā*), cloves¹⁸ (*lavaṅga*) and black pepper¹⁹ (*marīca*) as also betel leaves²⁰ (*tāmbūlavallī*). Then there were the yields of fruit trees in forests and orchards. The coastal countries produced cocoa-nuts and other palms and nuts described elsewhere²¹. Sandal was also obtained in the sandal²² forests of the Malaya valley.

Trade and commerce (*vaṇijam*²³) flourished briskly as may be gathered from references to busy trade carried on by princely merchants who flooded the country with wealth²⁴ (*dhārāsāro*) and who were addressed by the king with considerable deference²⁵. There were two trade routes²⁶, those of the land and the sea.

¹ Ibid., IV. 40.

² Ibid., 83.

³ विनीतनागैः किं सूत्रकारैः Ibid., VI. 27.

⁴ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. VII. Ch. 14.

⁵ प्रतिनिषिद्धम् *Raghu*, IX. 74, अत्राद्यो Ibid., V. 50.

⁶ Ibid., IV. 30, 40, VI. 54.

⁷ दन्त Ibid., V. 72, XVII. 21.

⁸ उडुप Ibid., I. 2.

⁹ Ibid., IV. 31, XIV. 30, XVI. 51, 68, XVII. 81.

¹⁰ Ibid., XIV. 30.

¹¹ *Śāk.*, p. 219.

¹² *Raghu*, IV. 36.

¹³ *Śāk.*, p. 219.

¹⁴ *Raghu*, IV. 71.

¹⁵ Ibid., I. 38.

¹⁶ *M. U.*, 44.

¹⁷ *Raghu*, IV. 47.

¹⁸ Ibid., VI. 57; *Ku.*, VIII. 25.

¹⁹ *Raghu*, IV. 46.

²⁰ Ibid., VI. 64, XIII. 14, 49, IV. 42.

²¹ Ibid., IV. 42, खजूरी 57 etc., Vide *ante* (*Flora and Fauna*).

²² Ibid., 48, 51.

²³ *Māl.*, I. 17.

²⁴ *Vik.*, IV. 13.

²⁵ *Śāk.*, p. 219.

²⁶ मार्ग *Raghu*, V. 41.

Raghu prefers the land route¹ (*sthalavartmanā*) to a sea-route. This shows that there was a sea route, besides, to reach the Persians which he forsook from some consideration. Mallinātha, the renowned commentator of the works of Kālidāsa suggests that the preference to the land route was due to religious considerations² which forbade sea voyage. But this is hardly reliable for there is ample evidence in the works of Kālidāsa to show that great marine activities were in vogue during his time. Besides, Fahien³, a contemporary, records that he returned to China by the sea route in a ship which had on its board besides others, Brahmins, the upholders of the Bhāgavata dharma, who explained the storm that raged for several days as caused by the presence of the foreign Buddhist. Then it was only after about a century that the neighbouring islands of Bali, Java and Sumatra were colonized through marine activities of the Indians. Even much before the Guptas there existed an enormous sea-borne trade with the western countries of Arabia, Egypt and Rome. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Pliny and many others prove this statement in their respective accounts. Therefore Mallinātha's explanation cannot be accepted as correct. For a conqueror who had overrun the entire country proceeding by land the reference afresh to taking journey by land in the middle of his conquest would mean nothing unless we suppose that there was a sea route also on the shore leading from Tri-kūta. It was here that the two roads bifurcated. Probably from here people embarked on sea voyages to Persia and other places by ship. It may be further noted that Kalyāṇa was a flourishing seaport in the vicinity. The great land route which ran from one end of the country to the other was variously known as *mahā-patha*⁴, *rājapatha*⁵, and *narendramārga*⁶ (great highway or royal highway). The inland trade was very brisk as is attested to by the *Mālavikāgnimitra*⁷ although the highways in certain zones were not altogether free from danger of robbers⁸ and we read of occasional cases of plunder of the caravans⁹ being reported to the king. The inland trade-route may have been one indicated by the southward march of Raghu in course of his conquest¹⁰. Aja's march to the country of the Bhojas (Berar) was perhaps another route leading to south-mid-India¹¹. A third was perhaps one taken by the cloud messenger in the *Meghadūta*¹², but this route can be accepted only with some modification. Ujjainī must have, for example, lain on the highway to the north although in one which the cloud messenger takes, it lies off the way and the messenger has to bend

¹ Ibid., IV. 60.

² समुद्रयानस्य निषिद्धत्वादितिभावः On Ibid.

³ *Fa-hien's Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*. Trans. by James Legge, p. 113.

⁴ Ku., VII. 3.

⁵ *Raghu*, XIV. 30.

⁶ Ibid., IV. 67.

⁷ स चाटव्यन्तरे निविष्टो गताध्वा वणिग्गणः *Māl.*, p. 98, I. 17.

⁸ Ibid., V. 10.

⁹ गताध्वा वणिग्गणः Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁰ *Raghu*, IV.

¹¹ Ibid., V. 41 ff.

¹² P. M.

its course¹ in order to reach the poet's pleasant resort. The cloud naturally should have taken a direct course to the north, the dense forests or high mountains having been no barriers to its flight over head. But for a tradesman or a pedlar these would have proved unsurmountable barriers. The route therefore had Ujjainī also lying on it. The *Periplus* actually places it on this route. It records:² "Eastward from Barygaza is a city called Ozene, formerly the capital where the king resided. From this place is brought down to Barygaza every commodity for local consumption or exports to other parts of India, onyxstones, porcelain, fine muslins, mallow-tinted cottons and the ordinary kinds in great quantities. It imports from the upper country through Proklais for transport to the coast, spikenard, kostos and udellium." Thus Ujjainī was connected with all the countries of the north whose trade passed to the western foreign lands through the parts situated on the western coast of India. It may possibly have been connected also with the more southern ports of Sopara and Kalyan. The travelling routes were frequented and were usually safe for journey.

The existence of the seaborne trade is attested to by ample evidence. We have already shown that there was an oft-sailing route to Persia by sea which Raghu preferred not to choose. The people of the Vaṅga country are said to have possessed warships:³ of course this reference is to ferrying in the inland waterways. From other records we gather that India kept a commercial intercourse with Ceylon and the islands neighbouring Burma and China, especially the islands of Java and Bali. Kālidāsa mentions canoes⁴, rowing coastal boats⁵ of various kinds, one of them having a structure like a canopy⁶ (*vimāna*) worthy of the state of a king. There were sea-going vessels which occasionally sustained a wreckage⁷. In an important passage Kālidāsa refers to merchants making sea voyages for the purposes of commerce⁸. The first seventeen verses of the thirteenth canto of the *Raghuvamśa* are no doubt, descriptive of a sea voyage. In the phrase *dvīpāntara* occurring in the *Raghuvamśa*, VI, 57, the poet directly refers to spice islands⁹. The China silk¹⁰ imported in India might have more probably come by the sea-route.

Imports

The trade of India may be described under the headings imports and exports. The articles mentioned below were those received from other countries. A kind

¹ वक्रः पन्था यदपि भवतः *M. P.*, 27.

² Sec. 48.

³ नौसाधनोद्यतान् *Raghu.*, IV. 36.

⁴ उडुप् *Ibid.*, I. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 36, XIV. 30.

⁶ नौविमान *Ibid.*, XVI. 68.

⁷ नौव्यसने विपन्नः *Śāk.*, p. 219.

⁸ समुद्रव्यवहारी सारथवाहः *Ibid.*

⁹ द्वीपान्तरानीतलवन्त्रपुष्पैः *Raghu.*, VI. 57.

¹⁰ *Ku.*, VII. 3; *Śāk.*, I. 30.

of silk came from China and was known as *Cināmsuka*¹. The westerners² (*pāś-cātyāb*), both Persians³ and Greeks⁴, have been mentioned by the poet as cavaliers (*aśvasādhbanāb*). It is natural, therefore, that fine horses were imported from the west. Kālidāsa mentions an excellent breed of the *vanāyu*⁵ steeds in use in India. Kauṭilya⁶ also mentions Vanāyu as celebrated for its horses. *Vanāyu* has been identified by Nundo Lal Dey with Arabia⁷. Arabia is noted for its breed of horses. Horses also came from Kamboj⁸. Cloves also came from other islands⁹ as now. To supplement the account of Kālidāsa we may quote here an important authority of the closing years of the first century A. D. In *the Periplus of the Erythrean sea* is preserved a complete list of articles and goods imported in India from foreign lands through Bhṛgukaccha, Kalyāṇa and others ports on the western and the eastern coast. Thus in the kingdom of Nambanus were imported the following, namely, wine: Italian preferred, also Laodicean and Arabian copper; tin; lead; coral; topaz; thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds; bright coloured girdles a cubit wide; storax, sweet clover; flint glass; realgar; antimony; gold and silver coins (yielding a profit on the exchange); ointments, not costly, a little; presents for the king; costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weaves, the choicest ointments. In the Cera and Pāṇḍya kingdoms were imported: coins in great quantity; topaz; thin clothing (not much); figured linens; antimony; coral; crude glass; copper; tin; lead; wine (not much); realgar; orpiment; and wheat. On the east coast of India, where ships called from the west coast, the Ganges and Chryse, was received everything made in Damirica and the neighbouring countries and most of what came from Egypt¹⁰. It is important to note that the great work does not refer to any article of trade imported on the east coast, farther north, in the countries of the Ganges delta or in those of the Himalayan mountains.

Export

We are not sure as to which were the articles exported to other countries; but it may be surmised that the surplus of the grain market, precious products of the mines and pearls, India always having been famous for her pearl-fisheries and ivory, were exported. The famous spices¹¹ of India, besides, must have been a coveted delicacy in the countries which did not produce them and with which India carried on trade. Since clothes of all seasons were extensively used which

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., IV. 62.

³ Ibid., 60-65.

⁴ अश्वानीकेन यवनेन *Māl.*, p. 102.

⁵ *Raghu.*, V. 73.

⁶ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II. Ch. 30.

⁷ *Geo. Dict. of Anc. and Med. India*, p. 22.

⁸ *Raghu.*, IV. 69-70.

⁹ Ibid., VI. 57.

¹⁰ *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Trans. by Schoff, pp. 287-88.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, IV. 46, 47; *Ku.*, VIII. 25.

were woven with the finest fibres capable of being blown away by breath¹, we may infer that cloth was also exported. It may be noted that Pliny refers to such importation of cloth into Rome from India. The list furnished by the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*² is exhaustive. It records that the kingdom of Nambus exported through its ports the following articles of trade produced in India or received from countries of the north-west, north and north-east: spikenard (coming through Scythia, also through Poclais, from Caspapyra, Paropanisus and Cabolitiss), Costus bedllium, ivory, agate and carnelian (Onyx and murrhine), lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds (muslins and ordinary), silk cloth, mallow-cloth, yarn, long pepper and other things coming from the various ports. The Cera and Pāṇḍya kingdoms exported pepper (produced in Cottonara), fine pearls in great quantity, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamond, sapphires, and tortoise-shell from Chryse and from the near-by islands. The Cola kingdom likewise sent out pearls and muslins. The east coast exported pearls, transparent stones, muslins, and tortoise-shell. The same coast, farther north, exported muslin in great quantity. Dosarene sent out ivory and the delta of the Ganges malabathrum, Gangetic spikenard, pearls, muslins of the finest sort, called Gangetic (may have been the famous Dacca muslins). China also is recorded to have exported overland through Bactria to Barygaza (also by way of the Ganges to Damirica) raw silk, silk yarn and silk cloth. The Himalayan countries in like manner exported mostly malabathrum in three forms, the large-ball, the medium-ball and the small-ball.

Thus we find that most of the articles of trade which the *Periplus* records were extensively used in India as we have shown from the works of the poet. The surplus of these articles was evidently exported to, and the requisite quantity imported from countries beyond India.

Inland Trade

We have already referred to the briskness of inland trade. Kālidāsa refers to the mineral resources of Kāmarupa³ (the hilly tracts of Assam) which yielded gems in a large quantity. He has also mentioned mines⁴ existing at several places. Then, besides, he refers to the pearl-fisheries of the Tāmraparnī⁵ and of the Indian Ocean. These gems, pearls and other yields of the sea like the conch-shells, other shells (*śuketi*) and corals must have been carried and sold in distant markets of India where there was a demand for them. Elephant in the same manner might have reached other corners of India from Kāliṅga⁶, Anga⁷ and Kāmarūpa⁸. It may be interesting to note that Kāliṅga has also been mentioned by Kauṭilya⁹ as the source of elephants. In the town the market place¹⁰

¹ *Raghu.*, XVI. 43.

² Trans. by Schoff, pp. 287-88.

³ *Raghu.*, IV. 84.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III. 18, XVII. 66, XVIII. 22; *Māl.*, V. 18.

⁵ *Raghu.*, IV. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 40. VI. 54.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VI. 27.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV. 83.

⁹ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II. ch. 2.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XVI. 41; *Māl.*, pp. 33, 80.

(vipani) was crowded with people come for making purchases. *Niskraya* is the word used for purchasing¹. High shops lined both sides of the highway². Besides other shops we read of those of liquor³. Up on the road people passed to and fro selling their articles and making their purchases, while down on the river boats plied and ferries ran⁴. The market road was called āpaṇamārga⁵.

Thus the inland as well as foreign trade was a busy concern of the Indian merchants. The tradesmen always made sea voyages⁶ and braved all the dangers of the ocean. We read of a great commercial magnate of Hastināpura suffering a shipwreck in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*⁷. The trade routes had been ordinarily made very secure on land from robbers and on sea from pirates and the poet applauds: "Caravans wandered at ease over mountains as if their own houses, over rivers as if wells and over forests as though gardens⁸." Thus the inland trade as well as the shipping and maritime activities added a fair harvest of wealth to the national income.

Coins, Weights and Measures

Such a flourishing state of trade presupposes the existence of money transactions. Coins in this regard become indispensable and we know that they were received and counted⁹. In their absence the counting of wealth to the extent of fourteen crores¹⁰ could not have possibly conveyed any sense. It is in their term that wealth to the extent of fourteen crores were conveyed on hundreds of mules and camels¹¹. *Swarna*¹² and *Niska*¹³ were the current coins of the country and we have a reference to a hundred gold coins¹⁴ called *Swarnas*. We know that the Guptas struck gold coins of both types, the *Dīnāras* and the *Swarnas*¹⁵ which were long current in India. There must have been other lesser coins of silver and alloy copper current in the country to which, however, Kālidāsa does not make a specific reference. The silver coinage of the Guptas had already started with the overthrow of the Western Satraps by Candragupta II¹⁶ and the copper currency which had been practically confined to the reign of the same king¹⁷

¹ *Raghu.*, II. 55, V. 22.

² ऋद्धापणं राजपथं *Ibid.*, XIV. 30.

³ शोण्डिकापणं *Śāk.*, p. 188.

⁴ सरयू च नौभिः *Raghu.*, XIV. 30.

⁵ *Ku.*, VII. 55.

⁶ *Śāk.*, p. 219.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Raghu.*, XVII. 64.

⁹ अर्थजातस्य गणना *Śāk.*, p. 219.

¹⁰ परिसंख्यया कोटिभः *Raghu.*, V. 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, V. 32.

¹² *Māl.*, p. 88.

¹³ *Ibid.*, *Ku.*, II. 49.

¹⁴ शतसुवर्णपरिमाणं *Māl.*, p. 88.

¹⁵ Brown: *The Coins of India*, p. 45.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

also existed. Cowries, states Fahien¹, were a common sight in the market place.

The poet mentions weighing blances² (*tulā*) at several places. A measuring rod³ (*mānadaṇḍaḥ*) has also been alluded to. The prices thus were paid for in terms of money and sale goods, liquid or otherwise, were sold in weighed quantity, and articles like cloth with measurable length were measured out with a measuring rod when sold.

Useful arts and crafts were pursued and skilful artisans followed their respective specialized callings. Metals were worked and articles of the finest designs were finished by master goldsmiths. Gold was tested in fire⁴. Ornaments were worn in abundance and so their making also must necessarily have occupied artisans⁵ (*śilpī*). The use of ornaments as decorative embellishments has been extensively made in contemporary and earlier sculptures of Mathura⁶, and other places⁷ and paintings of Ajanta⁸. Ornaments of gold and precious stones of various designs, as warranted elsewhere⁹, are a conclusive proof of the fact that much fine work of jewellery was successfully executed. Of ornaments requiring uncommon skill were the girdle (*mekhalā*)¹⁰ of which an endless variety in designs is mentioned by Kālidāsa and of which scores of excellent patterns we see exhibited in the Muttra Museum, and the armlets¹¹ (*keyūra*, *aṅgada*) of which again the poet has mentioned several varieties many of which are exhibited in sculpture at Muttra. Ear ornaments were sometimes designed after the lotus¹². Burnished gold¹³ was hammered out into the shape of several beautiful jewels. Rings of various designs were made of which one bore the impression of a serpent¹⁴. Sometimes the same had the name of its owner engraved¹⁵ on it. Then there was the setting of jewels in ornaments of gold¹⁶. The long handle of a flywhisk was set with jewels¹⁷. There were those skilled artisans who worked in precious stones, bored holes in diamonds¹⁸, cut¹⁹ and gave them and other gems²⁰ new lustre²¹.

¹ *Fa-hien's Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, Trans. by James Legge. See under *Madhyadśa*.

² *Raghu*, VIII. 15, XIX. 8, 50; *Ku*, V. 34.

³ मानदण्डः *Ku*, I. 1.

⁴ *Raghu*, I. 10,

⁵ *Māl*, p. 4.

⁶ Vide *ante*.

⁷ Cf. Exhibits in the Muttra Museum.

⁸ Indian Museum, Archaeological section, Calcutta; Sarnath Museum; Lucknow Museum.

⁹ Vide *ante*.

¹⁰ Evidenced at length *ante*: cf. *Māl*, p. 59.

¹¹ Vide *ante*.

¹² *M. U.*, 9.

¹³ तप्तचामीकर *Vik*, I. 15.

¹⁴ नागमुद्रासनाथमंगुलीयकेम् *Māl*, pp. 4, 69.

¹⁵ मणिबन्धनोत्कीर्ण . . मंगुलीयकम् *Śāk*, p. 182.

¹⁶ *Māl*, V. 18.

¹⁷ *M. P.*, 53; *Māl*, V. 18.

¹⁸ *Raghu*, VI. 19, मणी I. 4, रत्नानुविद्ध VI. 14; अनाविद्धं रत्नं *Śāk*, II. 10.

¹⁹ संस्कारोल्लिखित *Śāk*, VI. 6; *Raghu*, III. 18.

²⁰ *Ibid*.

²¹ *Raghu*, III. 18.

It seems that in order to render the gems more lustrous new deep lines were incised¹ (*ullikbīta*) on them which work was that of actual engraving or cutting. When new precious stones like diamond were first dug out of mines they were cleaned and cut, which was endowing them with a *saṁskāra*² and making them *saṁskṛta*. There were masons³. Besides, there were blacksmiths working in iron, heating⁴ and melting it and turning it into steel⁵ with the help of a steel hammer⁶ (*ayoghaṇa*). There, again, were weavers who prepared cloth fine enough to be blown away by the breath⁷. Sculptors hewing image⁸ and potters making terracotta toys⁹ were excellent masters of their art. Besides, there were those artisans who made instruments of music, which was a commonly cultivated art.

Guild of Artisans

The guild system seems to have prevailed in the field of various trades (*śilpi-saṅghāḥ*). The guild was a corporation of artisans practising the same trade. We read of a guild of architects in the *Raghuvaṁśa*¹⁰ and of the chief of a guild in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*¹¹. We also read of the *Naigamas*¹² and the *Śreṣṭhi*¹³, technical terms used to denote respectively the representatives of various trade guilds¹⁴ and the chief of the guild of city merchants¹⁵. The guild was called a *saṅgha* and its chief a *śreṣṭhin*. Brhaspati, quoted in the *Vyavahāramayūkha*, refers to a council of the *Naigamas*¹⁶. The *Vivādaratnākara* explains *Naigama* as a town corporation¹⁷. The *Rāmāyaṇa* also refers to it as a corporate body¹⁸. From the four Taxila coins it would appear that these *Naigama* corporations issued coins also¹⁹. We may also here remark that the guilds of artisans were great manufacturers and agents of merchandise. The Mandasor inscription of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarma records the building of a noble and unequalled temple of the bright-rayed sun 'by the silk-cloth weavers as a guild with the stores of wealth acquired by the exercise of their craft²⁰.' It was these guilds which were the chief manufacturers of the daily articles of use including the cotton and silk fibres and

¹ *Śāk.*, VI. 6.

² *Raghu.*, III. 18; *Śāk.*, VI. 6.

³ *Raghu.*, XVI. 38.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XIV. 33.

⁵ अयोघन (Cf. the etymology of the word) *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, XVI. 43.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XVI. 39, XVII. 36; *M. P.*, 33, 34.

⁹ *Śāk.*, p. 247.

¹⁰ शिल्पिसंघाः XVI. 38.

¹¹ श्रेष्ठिनो p. 219.

¹² *Vik.*, IV. 13.

¹³ *Śāk.*, p. 219.

¹⁴ Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, Part II. p. 105.

¹⁵ *Śāk.*, p. 71.

¹⁶ Mookerji: *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 127.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114, Note.

¹⁸ II. 14, 54. Kasinath Pandurang Parab Edition, Bombay, 1888.

¹⁹ Cunningham: *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 63.

²⁰ Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions*. p. 86.

cloth which flooded the foreign markets and drained much money out of Rome against which Pliny so resentfully protests.

Advertisement

In the Gupta epigraph, quoted above, a beautiful advertisement is implied. It is recorded on behalf of the guild of silk-weavers who built the sun temple referred to therein. The interesting advertisement reads: "(Just as) a woman, though endowed with youth and beauty (and) adorned with the arrangement of golden necklaces and betel leaves and flowers, goes not to meet (her) lover in a secret place, until she has put on a pair of coloured silken cloths, (so) the whole of this region of the earth, is adorned through them as if with a silken garment, agreeable to the touch, variegated with the arrangement of different colours, (and) pleasing to the eye."¹

Banking and Deposit

We have a reference to the banking and deposit in the works of Kālidāsa. He speaks of *nikṣepa*². *Nikṣepa* is what is deposited with another in trust, and with the object of taking it back. *Nyāsa*³ is another banking term meaning deposit. *Nivi* is what remains after deducting all the expenditure already incurred and excluding all revenues to be realized. It is thus the net balance. We learn from inscriptions that guilds served in ancient India as banks receiving deposits and advancing loans of money⁴. The contemporary evidence of the Mandisor Inscription of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarma may be cited as an interesting case in point⁵.

Population

Population of India was mainly composed of the Aryan descendants living peacefully and pursuing their respective callings. Foreigners like Persians⁶ and Greeks⁷ also lived to the north-west of India⁸. Hūṇas⁹ and Kambojas¹⁰ were residents of the north, i. e., the valleys of the Oxus and Yarkand. Then there were the mountaineer tribes of the *Pulindas*¹¹ and the semi-civilized *Kirātas*¹² and *Utsavasanketas*¹³ of the Vindhyan and Himalayan forests. Besides these there

¹ तारुण्यकान्त्युपचितोऽपिसुवर्णहारताम्बूलपुष्पविधिना समलङ्कृतोऽपि ।

नारीजनः प्रियमुपैति न तावदग्यां यावन्नपट्टमयवस्त्रयुगानि बन्ते ॥ U. 20; Translation by Fleet, C. I. I., III, p. 85.

² निक्षेप इवापि त द्वयं Ku., V. 13.

³ Śāk., IV. 21.

⁴ Moḍkerji: *Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 94-98.

⁵ Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 86.

⁶ Raghu., IV. 60.

⁷ Māl., p. 202.

⁸ Raghu., IV. 60 ff; Māl., p. 102.

⁹ Raghu., IV. 68.

¹⁰ Ibid., 69.

¹¹ Ibid., XVI. 19, 32.

¹² Ibid., IV. 76; Ku., I. 6, 15.

¹³ Raghu., IV. 78.

were other foresters¹ also. It was mainly a class of this forest population that lived on freebooting and waylaying the travellers. Such an instance of robbery is furnished by the *Mālavikāgnimitra*². The Hindu population lived in the provinces or kingdoms named in the 4th and 6th cantos of the *Raghuvamśa* already enumerated elsewhere. Overpopulation was settled in newly formed villages to which people migrated from overpopulated areas³.

Wealth and Luxury

We have thus seen above that the age of the poet was one of affluence, plenty and luxury. The economic prosperity may be well instanced in the description given of Ayodhyā and Kuṇḍinapur in the *Raghuvamśa*⁴ and of Alakā in the *Meghadūta*⁵. There in Ayodhyā were streets lined with rich shops and the Sarayū was filled with rowing boats.

The Household

We have already spoken of the household elsewhere⁶. It will be worthwhile to recapitulate the same below. Palaces of kings were enormous establishments thronged⁷ with people coming in and going out. They were richly built and highly decorated with auspicious and beautiful paintings and were fitted with several apartments. Houses of the rich were many-storeyed buildings to which were attached pleasure gardens and tanks. These houses, particularly the tanks, had beautiful, and sometimes even crystalline, flights of steps. The courtyards of palaces and rich mansions were paved with crystalline slabs. Mansions had also attic rooms, balconies and terraces. Luxury-loving kings had summer-houses called *Samudragrha* to shelter them from the summer heat. Houses were further furnished with water-fountains and pipes and in the hot weather rich people passed away the heat by retiring in cool rooms fitted with benches of costly stones. They used the sandal paste in summer in profusion which gave them a cooling effect.

Within the house there moved to and fro people wearing loose flying garments of the most artistic patterns, sometimes having the forms of flamingoes woven in their texture. The fine fibred clothes capable of being blown away with the breath were those naturally used in summer and the heavy warm woollen ones were worn during the winter season. People had dresses suitable for the day and night. Several oils⁸ were used. The oil of Ingudi was used for the head⁹ as well as for burning lamps¹⁰.

¹ *Ku.*, I. 10.

² *V.* 10.

³ स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दवसनं कृत्वेषोपनिवेशिताम् *Ku.*, VI. 37.

⁴ XIV. 30, XVI. 11-38, VII.

⁵ *Uttaramegha*.

⁶ Vide *ante*.

⁷ जनाकीर्णं *Vik.*, p. 26; अद्विरलजनसंपात *Ibid*.

⁸ तैलं *Raghu.*, XIV. 38.

⁹ *Śāk.*, p. 73.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XIV. 81; *Śāk.*, IV. 13.

The utensils of the household of kings and nobles were made of gold¹ and precious stones. We have already given a complete list elsewhere² of the items of furniture used in an Indian home.

The domestic cattle were well looked after. The cow was venerated. She yielded the nourishing milk, curds, butter and clarified butter. The items of food have already been discussed at length elsewhere³.

Thus we find that Kālidāsa gives a very rich and prosperous picture of the people of India when he lived and wrote and when wealth reckoned in hundreds of million coins was conveyed on hundreds of mules and camels.

¹ हेमकुम्भ *Raghu*, II 36.

² Vide *ante*

³ Ibid

BOOK VI
EDUCATION AND LEARNING

CHAPTER XVI
EDUCATION

Subjects of Study

Kālidāsa has dealt exhaustively, directly and indirectly, with subjects of study, teacher, student life, life in the hermitages which were the centres of education, sciences and other literature. This description, however, is traditional, although much of it may have been an incident of his own age. He has referred to the subjects of study by the word *Vidyābh*¹. *Vidyās* comprised of four kinds². At another place³ he refers to three *Vidyās* only on which Mallinātha quotes Kautilya and Kāmandaka⁴, while at yet another we find mention of fourteen *Vidyās*⁵ as we shall see below. Kautilya also refers to four *Vidyās*. The poet does not specifically refer to these courses of study but the *Kāmandaka Nitisāra* enumerates them which we find quoted by the commentator while explaining the phrase *catasrah vidyābh*⁶. According to Kāmandaka⁷ the course of study were the following four, namely, (1) *Ānvīkṣikī*, logic, systems of philosophy and metaphysics; (2) *Trayī*, the three Vedas, their sections, sub-sections and appendages; (3) *Vārtā*, agriculture, trade and commerce, pastures and rearing of the cattle; and (4) *Danḍanīti*, statecraft, the science of government and administration. The school of Manu (Mānava) accepts only three sciences, namely, the triple Vedas, *Vārtā* and *Danḍanīti* and thinks that *Ānvīkṣikī* is nothing but a special branch of the Vedas⁸. According to Bṛhaspati there are only two sciences, namely, *Vārtā* and *Danḍanīti*⁹. The school of Uṣanas declares that there is only one science, that of Government¹⁰. "But Kautilya holds that four, and only four, are the sciences¹¹." Thus Kautilya agrees with Kālidāsa in his enumeration of the *Vidyās*.

¹ *Raghu*, I. 8, 23, 88, III. 30, V. 20, 21, X. 71, XVIII. 50; *Śāk.*, p. 125; V. 25; *Vik.*, pp. 40, 128; *Māl.*, p. 7.

² *Raghu*, III. 30.

³ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 50.

⁴ धर्मार्थौ त्रय्यामर्थार्थौ वार्तायां नयानयो दण्डनीत्याम् । *Artha*. त्रयीवार्तादण्डनीतिस्तिस्रो विद्यामनोर्मता *Kām.* Here Kāmandaka refers to three vidyas discussed by Manu.

⁵ *Raghu*, V. 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III 30.

⁷ आन्वीक्षिकीत्रयीवार्तादण्डनीतिश्च शास्वती ।

एता विद्या चतस्रस्तु लोकसंस्थिति हेतवः ॥ Quoted by the commentator on *Ibid.*

⁸ R. Sham Sastry: *Arthaśāstra*, Trans. p. 5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

The *Sukranīti* enumerates thirty Vidyās and sixty-four Kālās¹ and defines the former as those which can be said and the latter as those which can be done by even the dumb². Although Kālidāsa does not specifically refer to the above divisions of Vidyās and alludes to them merely categorically, nevertheless, he mentions occasionally a good number of subjects which, when put together, will make an exhaustive syllabus of study. We shall make an attempt below to give a synthetic account of the subjects of study as mentioned by the poet.

Of the four kinds of learning or courses of study for a citizen Kālidāsa even mentions two, namely, *vārtā*³ and *daṇḍanīti*⁴ by name. *Amīkṣikī* comprised subjects like logic, systems of philosophy and metaphysics. Kautilya defines *Amīkṣikī* as comprising the systems of Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata (atheism⁵). The poet has made allusions to almost all the systems of Hindu philosophy as we shall see while dealing with Religion and Philosophy. Here we may satisfy ourselves by making a hurried reference to them. Kālidāsa, for instance, clearly refers to the aphorism *nityaḥ śabdārtha sambandhaḥ* of the Mīmāṃsakas in his phrase *vāgarthāvivā samprktau*⁶. Similarly he has the *Yogasūtras* of Patañjali in his mind while describing the scene of undisturbed contemplation of Śiva in his *Kumārasambhava*⁷. Several allusions to *yoga-samādhi*⁸ have been made. Similarly references have been made to the philosophies of Kapila, Kaṇāda and Gautama also which we shall discuss in their proper places. *Jaimini*⁹ has been mentioned even by name teaching one of the six systems although not his own. It is interesting to note that Raghu learns Yoga from Jaimini for the latter has been never known to teach Yoga. Although he has been quoted no less than ten times in the *Brahmasūtras*¹⁰, he has never been connected with Yoga. Trayī included the Śruti¹¹ or the revealed literature comprising the four Vedas, R.ṛ, Yajus, Sāman, and Atharva; the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads; Aṅgas¹² (lit, limbs) of the Vedas or aids to their study which were six in number, namely, chandas (prosody), mantra (hymns), nirukta (etymology), jyotiṣa (astronomy and astrology), vyākaraṇa (grammar) and śikṣā (pronunciation); Upavedas¹³ which again were six in number, viz, *Dhanurveda* (the treatises on the use of bow and arrow and other arms), *Āyurveda* (medicine), etc. *Smṛti*¹⁴, Sāstras¹⁵ or the Dharmaśā-

¹ Trans. of *Sukranīti*, Ch. IV. Sec. III.

² Ibid., 47-48.

³ *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.

⁴ Ibid., XVIII. 46.

⁵ Sastry: *Arthaśāstra*, Trans. p. 6.

⁶ *Raghu.*, I. 1.

⁷ *Ku.*, III. 47-50.

⁸ Ibid., I. 59, III. 40; *Raghu.*, VIII. 17, 22, 24. (योगसमाधि).

⁹ *Raghu.*, XVIII. 33.

¹⁰ Quoted in footnote No. 3 on p. 715.

¹¹ Ibid., II. 2, III. 21, V. 2, 22, 23, 24.

¹² Ibid., XV. 35.

¹³ *Vik.*, p. 128.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, II. 2.

¹⁵ Ibid., I. 19.

tras like the code of Manu; Itihāsa¹ comprising the epics like the *Rāmāyana*² and the *Mahābhārata*³; and Purāṇa⁴ treating of the genealogies of gods and kings in the various Purāṇas. *Vārtā*, as mentioned above, was agriculture, rearing of the cattle and trade and commerce. *Dandanīti*⁵, or the art of government, was a necessary subject of study for a king and it might have comprised the sections of the Dharmaśāstras which dealt with the duties of a king, and of treatises on statecraft like the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya, *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka and Sūtras of Uśanas⁶—perhaps an earlier recension of the *Sukranīti*. Thus the curriculum for a king comprised subjects bearing on the administration of his kingdom and the chastisement of casual offenders wherefor he was expected to have an *akunḥbitābuddhi* in the śāstras⁷ (the scriptures and the *Arthasāstras*), besides those marked out for an ordinary student.

At another place we find mention of fourteen kinds of Vidyās⁸ (*vidyāparisaṅkhyāya* . . . *catasrodaśa*) after the manner of Manu. Manu, quoted by the commentator⁹ on this point enumerates the following fourteen kinds of the Vidyās: six Aṅgas of the Veda, the four Vedas, Mīmāṃsa, Nyāya, Purāṇa and Dharmaśāstra¹⁰. Yājñavalkya also has the same¹¹.

Kālidāsa specifically mentions the following: *Sruti*¹², *R̥k*¹³, *Yajus*¹⁴, *Sāman*¹⁵, *Atharva*¹⁶, Aṅgas¹⁷ of the Vedas (*sāṅgam vedam*), and the Smṛtis¹⁸ following the sense of the Srutis. The mention of *Dhanurveda*¹⁹ and its several terms, namely, *ālīḍha*²⁰, *vājīnirājana*²¹, etc. may warrant the existence of the other Upavedas also of which medicine (*Āyurveda*) has been alluded to, which we shall discuss below. Smṛtis have been referred to in the phrase *śāstra*²² which also

¹ इतिहासनिबन्धेषु *Śāk.*, p. 91. पूर्ववृत्तकथितैः पुराविदः *Raghu.*, XI. 70, XVIII. 23.

² *Raghu.*, XV. 33, 63, 64, I. 4.

³ पूर्वसूरिभिः *Ibid.*, I. 4; *M. P.*, 48.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XI. 10, XVIII. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 46.

⁶ अध्यापितस्योशनसापिनीति *Ku.*, III. 6.

⁷ *Raghu.*, I. 19.

⁸ *Ibid.*, V. 21.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ अंगानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसान्यायविस्तरः ।

पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं च विद्या ह्येता चतुर्दश ॥ *Manusmṛti*.

¹¹ पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्रांगमिश्रिताः ।

वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥ *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*

¹² *Raghu.*, II. 2, III. 21, V. 2, 22, 23, 24.

¹³ वेदविदा *Ibid.*, V. 23 refers to all the four Vedas.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ku.*, VIII. 41.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, I. 59.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XV. 33.

¹⁸ श्रुतेरिवार्थं स्मृतिरन्वगच्छत् *Ibid.*, II. 2.

¹⁹ *Vik.*, p. 128.

²⁰ Vide *ante* under Army.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Raghu.*, I. 19.

denoted the treatises on statecraft¹ like the *Arthaśāstra* and codes of punishment. The study of grammar has been mentioned in expressions like *dhātor-gamanārthamaribavat*², *dhātoḥ sthāna ivādeśām*,³ *pratyayaṣṭakṛtiyogasannibhaḥ*⁴ and *pravr̥ttirāsitsabdānāmcārītārthācatuṣṭayī*, which allude to the primitive roots, suffixes and prefixes and to the pure and undeclined nominal and verbal bases. Again there occur analyses of several proper names which point to the same direction. Then we read of *varṇas* (alphabets) and their *sthāna*⁵ (pronunciation) which are parts of *Sikṣā*, an āṅga of the Veda. Further, study of etymology may be instanced in phrases like *vāgārthāvivāsamprktau vāgārthapratipattaye*⁶ and *ṣṣatāṅkila trāyata iti*⁷, which refer to the inseparability of a word from its sense and to the elucidation of the sense of a word through etymological analysis. Mention of the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁸ as the first style and model of *kāvya* by Vālmīki is made by name while the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and other such metrical compositions have been referred to by the phrase *pūrvasūribhiḥ*⁹. Purāṇas (*pūrvavṛtta*) naturally formed part of the knowledge of the *Purāvidas*¹⁰, the narrators of the Purāṇas. Other metrical *kāvya*s and dramatic plays extant in the time of Kālidāsa have been alluded to by him in the names of their authors, namely, Bhāsa, Saumilla and Kaviputra¹¹ whose superiority in the excellence of their poetic pieces he is not prepared to acknowledge¹². Treatises on polity and governance also formed part of the study of a king and his ministers and were quoted in discussions¹³. Music and dancing as well as acting were other important subjects which were mostly specialized by ladies, particularly the courtesans¹⁴ who practised them as trade¹⁵. Śarmisthā has been credited with the invention of a particular kind of dance based on a certain order of pacing called *catuṣpada*¹⁶, and with the accompanying music the entire system is known as *chalika*¹⁷. It is contained in a distinct treatise composed by her¹⁸. From the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta we learn that he was a past master of poetry and music¹⁹. His excellence in music is also attested to by his Lyrist type of coins. Aja also is

¹ शास्त्रदृष्टमाह *Māl.*, p. 11.

² *Raghu.*, III. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, XIII. 58.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XI. 56.

⁵ वर्णस्थानसमीरिता *Ibid.*, X. 36.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II. 53.

⁸ कविप्रथमपद्धतिम् *Ibid.*, XV. 33.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XI. 10, XVIII. 23.

¹¹ Text quoted *ante*; *Māl.*, p. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, I. 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I. 8, तन्त्रकारवचनं p. 11; शास्त्र *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, III. 19, XIX. 35.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XIX. 35.

¹⁶ *Māl.*, p. 21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ शर्मिष्ठायाः कृतिं *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Text quoted *ante*.

reported to have taught fine arts (*lalita kalāvidhan*) to his wife¹. Agnimitra runs a school of fine arts where music, dancing, acting and painting are taught². Agni-varṇa puts courtesans and their preceptors to shame by pointing out their mistakes in singing and dancing³. Thus kings were expected to be proficient in fine arts no less than in other important branches of learning. Painting was likewise an academical pursuit. We read of architecture, sculpture and terracottas and of pots and utensils of clay and metals and of other useful arts of the goldsmiths and blacksmiths. A guild of artisans is mentioned⁴ and we may therefore safely conclude that students of the above useful arts must have flocked to the various guilds for training in their respective professions. Soldiers, particularly the Kṣatriyas and kings, were trained in the use of arms which called for the physical strength⁵ of the student and even occasionally was endowed with a subtle occult influence through the charm of mantras⁶. Kings learnt, besides other aspects of learning, diplomacy and various other deceptives⁷ items of the statecraft as part of *daṇḍa-nīti*. Astronomy and astrology have also been mentioned and so has been mentioned medicine. But of astronomy and medicine we shall treat later. Other arts were of magic. *Aparājita*⁸ was a kind of magic, otherwise known as *Śikhā-bandhinī vidyā*⁹ which made one free from all molestation¹⁰. It was chanted while the *śikhā* was being tied. Another kind of magic known as the *Tiraskariṇī vidyā*¹¹ made one invisible the moment one chanted a particular mantra. A fourth stranded the movements of a snake within a charmed circle¹².

Here we must distinguish between the liberal education and the training in the useful arts. Besides the primary education (to which we shall refer below), which may have been imparted ordinarily to all, the technical education naturally fell to the respective callings of men, who may be easily classed among the following, namely, kings, nobles, state officers, teachers, priests, military-men, musicians and actors, workers in metals, other craftsmen, artisans, etc. *Vāstu* and the like were the usual arts which naturally formed a branch of learning specialized by a particular class. For the apprentices learning the useful arts Manu¹³, Yājñavalkya¹⁴, Bṛhaspati¹⁵, Kātyāyana¹⁶, Nārada¹⁷, and Gautama¹⁸ prescribe

¹ *Raghu.*, VIII. 67.

² Cf. *Māl.*, Acts I and II.

³ Evidenced *ante*.

⁴ शिल्पिसूत्राः *Raghu.*, XVI. 38.

⁵ स्ववीर्यगुप्ता *Ibid.*, II. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, V. 57, 59.

⁷ परातिसंधान the six expedients, four kinds of Rājānīti, etc. quoted in the *Thoughts on Polity*. Vide *Ante*.

⁸ अपराजिता नाम *Vik.*, p. 40.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Pandit: *Vikramorvaṣī*, II. Note on the passage.

¹¹ *Vik.*, pp. 41, 47, 49, 72.

¹² *Raghu.*, II. 32; *Ku.*, II. 21.

¹³ *Manusmṛti*, IV. 146, VIII. 299-300.

¹⁴ *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, II. 187.

¹⁵ XVI. 6.

¹⁶ Colebrooke's *Digest of Hindu Law*, Vol. II. p. 7. ¹⁷ *Nārada-smṛti*, V. 16-21. ¹⁸ II. 43-44.

special rules.

The above are the subjects which Kālidāsa mentions in his writings, a thorough study of which awakened in the pupil a sense of perfect discipline¹ (*prabodharinayāvira*). A study of the language² (*vāṇimaya*) started with first picking up the alphabets³ (*varṇaaparicṇyam*). The characters (*akṣara*) of the alphabets were first picked up by writing them on the ground⁴. This practice obtains even now in some pāṭhaśālās of the eastern U.P. and Bihar.

Initiation of a Student

The commencement of education was marked by a particular ceremony called *Upanayana*⁵ with which the student was initiated in his new venture by his teacher. The choice of an intelligent pupil was the credit of a good teacher⁶, but the latter was not blamed if an initiated pupil turned out to be dull and slow in learning his course of study;⁷ yet that teacher was commended who had the excellence of imparting education to his pupil of little merits and making him grasp the sense of a subtle art or science⁸.

Teacher

The teacher, the priest-preceptor, was held in high reverence⁹ by his pupils and by the people at large including their sovereign. He was respected as a very god and it was supposed that nothing was unattainable by him which he desired. His status and ability were such that the king again and again approached him for advice in his difficulties¹⁰. The common names for the teacher were *Guru*¹¹ and *Ācārya*. He was generally the head of his establishment. In an institution, whether a State school or a hermitage, there were several teachers¹². The diversity of subjects naturally called for a multiplicity of teachers. Huen Tsang refers to a hundred professors lecturing at one time on as many diverse subjects in the University of Nālandā¹³. The religious preceptor was known by the simple term *Guru*¹⁴. Another sort of teachers was called *Upādhyāya*¹⁵, who presumably worked under the Guru or *Kulapati*. Those who taught the professional and

¹ *Raghu.*, X. 71.

² *Ibid.*, III. 28.

³ *Sāk.*, p. 150; लिपेर्यथावद्ग्रहणेन *Raghu.*, III. 28, XVIII. 46.

⁴ न्यस्तक्षरामक्षरभूमिकायां *Ibid.*, XVIII. 46.

⁵ *Raghu.*, III. 29.

⁶ *Māl.*, p. 19, text quoted *ante*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, text quoted *ante*; *ibid.*, I. 6; *Raghu.*, III. 29.

⁸ *Māl.*, II. 9.

⁹ अथाथर्वनिषे *Raghu.*, I. 59, तथोर्जग्रहन्तुः पादान् 57. गुरोर्मवान्दर्शितशिष्यभक्तिः *Nāl* II, 9, 40; Cf. *Ibid.*, I. 61-64, 71-72.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, I. 61 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II. 40, III. 29, V. I. 17, 20, 24, 31, 38; आचार्य *Māl.*, pp. 4, 14, 19, 60 etc.

¹² गुरु *Raghu.*, II. 40, III. 29, V. I. 17, 20, 24, XVIII. 50; आचार्य *Māl.*, pp. 4, 14, 19 etc; उपध्याय *Vik.*, pp. 60, 61.

¹³ Water's Translation of Huen Chwang—Nālandā, 165, *Harṣa*, p. 130.

¹⁴ Cf. note No. 1.

¹⁵ *Vik.*, pp. 60, 61.

technical arts like music, acting, dancing and painting have been styled in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* as Ācāryas¹. Gaṇadāsa and Haradatta are such ācāryas whose contest in the dramatic art (*viññāna saṅgharṣa*) is described in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*². The specialization of different topics of learning had tended to make the various lores hereditary³ (*kula vidyā*). The head of the teaching institution, which was mostly the hermitage of the sage, was called *Kulapati*⁴. The term illustrates the fact that the entire establishment breathed a homely atmosphere and it was consequently known as a *Kula*, family, of which the *Guru* or sage was the head. His love for his concern is brought forth by his designation.

Salary

The teachers of the penance grove do not seem to have received any pay, but those of an institution run at the state expense drew regular salaries⁵ (*vetana*) from the coffers of the state. Such an institution with a building containing several windows commanding a grand landscape has been described in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*⁶. This, however, seems to have been a place where only inmates of the royal household were taught.

School of Music and Painting

There the students studied music and painting. We read of exercises⁷ given to students. Besides great authorities, sūtirthas⁸, on the various subjects of art, there were lay persons equally adepts (*viśeṣajñāḥ*) in them who occasionally judged contests between teachers⁹. The teacher succeeding in the contest was rewarded¹⁰ by the king (*puraskāramarhati*). This particular school mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* had two branches in one of which was taught music (*saṅgītaśālā*)¹¹ and in the other painting (*citraśālā*)¹². In later times when the system of hermitages serving as educational institutions declined *pāṭhaśālās* of the mediæval type came into existence. We read in an epigraphical record of the generous gift of a donor who assigned some land for the maintenance of a grammar hall in the temple at Tiruvorraiyyur called '*Vyākaraṇa-dāna vyākhyāna-maṇḍapa*' for the upkeep of the teachers and pupils who should study grammar there¹³. In another record there is a reference to the establishment of a school for the study of the Vedas, Sāstras, Grammar, *Rūpavatāra*, etc. in a certain jananātha-

¹ pp. 4, 14, 19.

² p. 17.

³ Ibid., F. 7, *Raghu*, XVII. 3.

⁴ *Raghu*, I. 95; *Sāk.*, pp. 21, 32, 84.

⁵ वेतनदानेन *Māl.*, p. 17.

⁶ Ibid., p. 9, text quoted *ante*.

⁷ संगीतव्यापार *Vik.*, p. 27.

⁸ सुतीर्थोदभिनयविद्याभुक्षिता—*Māl.*, p. 14.

⁹ विशेषज्ञः प्राश्निकः Ibid., p. 15, मध्यस्था p. 17, प्रधानगुरुवसमज्ञ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁰ Ibid., 24.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 4, 6.

¹² Ibid., p. 5.

¹³ Mookerji: *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 274.

maṇḍapa by a royal grant of Virarājendra Deva (A. D. 1062¹). During the time of Kālidāsa the system of gurukula seems to have yet flourished and not quite died out as may be gathered from abundance of such references, and the reference to the state school of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* would mark the beginning of the type of institutions recorded in the inscriptions cited above.

Life of the Student

When the pupil was first initiated by his guru his period of studentship commenced. He was called a *śiṣya*² or *varṇi*³. The latter designation was in consequence of the fact that the pupil had to lead a life of strict celibacy till the completion of the courses of his study. The teacher's feet was touched as a mark of obeisance at the hermitage⁴. The pupil became a resident of the hermitage of his teacher and put on the skin of the *ruru* deer in the manner of other residents of the āśrama. Although *Raghu* did not enter a hermitage for his education, he is said to have put on the skin of a *ruru* deer⁵ which was an essential form of conduct in the hermitages. In the penance grove the pupil slept on a mat of kuśa grass in the manner of Dilīpa⁶. There a very cordial⁷ and intimate relationship grew up between the teacher and the taught. Kālidāsa himself was perhaps taught in a hermitage, which is suggested by a detailed description given by him in the 1st canto of the *Raghuvamśa*. His Vasiṣṭha, Kēnva, Marīca and Cyavana are typical Kulapatis of their respective *guru-kulas* as is Varatantu (*Raghu*, V.) a typical pupil. It was in this surrounding of purity and affection, where even the most timid deer frolicked and played with him⁸, that the student pursued his courses of study⁹. There the masters of the Vedic literature¹⁰ and learning infused in him the secrets of the Aryan culture. A Kṣatriya was at times taught the use of arms by his own father¹¹; but there is a reference to this too as being taught in the hermitage¹². There residing, he finished the study of Vedas¹³ (*śrutapāradaśvā*). When he had completed the period of learning the fourteen vidyās¹⁴ he was permitted to return home (*anumatogrbhāya*). It may be noted here that treatises¹⁵ make the permission of the Guru obligatory and the poet only conforms to this older tradition. Then

¹ Ibid., p. 275.

² *Raghu*, V. I. 18, XV. 74; *Śāk.*, p. 184.

³ *Raghu*, V. 19.

⁴ Ibid., I. 57. Dilīpa, an old pupil of Viṣiṣṭha, does so.

⁵ Ibid., III. 31. The commentator quotes Manu on this.

⁶ कुशशयने निशां निनाय *Raghu*, I. 95.

⁷ गुरुर्बो गुरुप्रियम् Ibid., III. 29.

⁸ तदकशय्या . . . मृगीणां Ibid., V. 7.

⁹ विद्यामभ्यसनेन Ibid., I. 88.

¹⁰ वेदविदां Ibid., V. 23.

¹¹ अशिक्षितास्त्रं पितुरेव Ibid., III. 31.

¹² *Vik.*, V. Ayus comes taught from the hermitage of Cyavana.

¹³ उपात्तविद्यां *Raghu*, V. 23. श्रुतपारदृश्व Ibid., 24.

¹⁴ Ibid., 21, ज्ञानमशेषं Ibid., 4.

¹⁵ Ibid., III. 33.

the graduate performed the *godāna*¹ ceremony and married². This *godāna* ceremony was performed at the close of the student life and prior to marriage³. The graduate or *Snātaka* married immediately after. Manu enjoins *godāna* to be performed by the Brāhmaṇa in his sixteenth year, by the Kṣatriya in his twenty-second year and by the Vaiśya in his twenty-fourth year⁴. *Godāna* ceremony, which was the shaving of the hair on chin, was performed at the appearance of the first crop of hair on the face.

Period of Study

Therefore it may be concluded that the end of the period of study for the the *dvija* generally ranged between the-sixteenth and the twenty-fourth year of his age.

Students

Students were naturally both slow⁵ and brilliant⁶. Mālavikā, for example, is *medhāvinī* (very brainy) and *paramanīpunā*⁷ (perfect adept). The choice and initiation of an intelligent pupil reflected credit on the part of the teacher⁸, and it was supposed that the degree of success of a teacher much depended upon the proportion in which his pupil was slow or intelligent to receive his teaching, otherwise the skill of the teacher had chances of being wasted in the manner of an article placed in a utensil of bad metal⁹, and consequently no discredit was attached by a section of thinkers to those teachers¹⁰ who had by chance initiated slow pupils. Nevertheless, it was contended that the method of teaching on the part of a teacher should be so excellent as to turn even a dull pupil into an intelligent one and make him fully receive the secret of his lore. The excellence of his art must not be affected by the dullness of his pupil just as gold remains unimpaired even when tested in fire.¹¹ In fact the capacity of the pupil to receive and absorb his teacher's teaching was supposed to grow in proportion to the *saṃskāras* (impressions) of his earlier birth¹². It was the previous *saṃskāras* that determined a pupil's dullness or intelligence. Thus it is evident that theories regarding types of students differed as they do now. When the pupil had completed his course and had married he was termed a *snātaka*. Kālidāsa refers to Brahmin *snātakas*

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ केशान्तः षोडशे वर्षे ब्राह्मणस्य विधीयते ।

राजन्यबन्धोर्द्वाविंशे वैश्यस्य द्व्यधिके ततः ॥ Manu quoted by the Commentator on *Raghu.*, III.

⁵ 33.

⁶ मन्दमेधाः *Māl.*, p. 19.

⁷ उदारधीः *Raghu.*, III. 30; text quoted *ante*; *Māl.*, p. 8.

⁸ *Māl.*, p. 8.

⁹ Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁰ Ibid., I. 6; cf. also *Raghu.*, III. 29.

¹¹ *Māl.*, p. 19.

¹² Ibid., p. 9.

¹² प्राक्तनजन्मविद्या *Ku.*, I. 30.

receiving largesses on the occasions of marriage¹ and coronation².

Fees

It seems that no fees were charged from the pupil. At the end of his student life³ he presented to his teacher something by way of fees for learning⁴ (*śrutanīṣkeraya-vidyāmūlyā*—commentator) which was technically known as *gurudakṣiṇā*⁵. But to receive something from pupil was considered by a section of teachers so low as to occasion their wrath at the mention of the *gurudakṣiṇā* by a pupil⁶. Thus there was a marked reluctance on the part of the guru to receive anything as fees for his teaching from his pupil. It has been even affirmed that one who teaches for an income or subsistence is verily one who trades in learning⁷ and is therefore condemnable.

Writing

Kālidāsa has alluded frequently⁸ to writing. We read of letters⁹, letters within an envelope¹⁰, love letters¹¹, sometimes written on the leaves of lotus¹², and of other written documents¹³. Letters had a set form and were mostly commenced with a mention of blessing and a few phrases of affection¹⁴ which was known as *svastivācanikā*¹⁵. We also read of letters written in a versified form¹⁶ (*kāvya-baddha*). Writing of biographies (*caritam*¹⁷) is also referred to at one place. There are references to characters inscribed on arrows¹⁸ and rings¹⁹. An allusion has been made to the materials of writing²⁰ (*lekhanasādhanaṃ*). It is not specifically mentioned as to what these materials were. But two of these, *bhūrjatraca*²¹ (the skin

¹ *Raghu.*, VII. 28.

² *Ibid.*, XVII. 17.

³ उपात्तविद्य *Ibid.*, V. 38, ज्ञानमशेषप्राप्तं *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 20, 24.

⁶ निर्बन्धसजातस्यार्थकार्यं—*Ibid.*, 21.

⁷ यस्यागमः केवल जीविकार्थं

तं ज्ञानपथं वणिजं वदन्ति ॥ *Māl.*, I. 17.

⁸ *Raghu.*, III. 28, XVIII. 46; *Śāk.*, pp. 150, 97, 100, 124, III. 23, VII. 5; *Vik.*, pp. 44, 45, 46, 47, 53, 54.

⁹ *Vik.*, p. 56; *Māl.*, pp. 10-11, 102.

¹⁰ Text quoted *ante*—*Māl.*, p. 101.

¹¹ अनंगलेख मन्मथलेख—*Śāk.*, p. 67, III. 23.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 219; *Vik.*, II. 13.

¹⁴ *Vik.*, p. 46; स्वस्ति *Māl.*, p. 102.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ काव्यबन्ध—*Vik.*, p. 54.

¹⁷ *Śāk.*, VII. 5.

¹⁸ *Raghu.*, III. 55, VII. 58, XII. 103; *Ku.*, III. 27, V. 127; *Vik.*, V. 7.

¹⁹ *Śāk.*, pp. 49, 120, VI. 12.

²⁰ लेखनसाधनानि *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²¹ *Ku.*, I. 7.

of the birch tree) and *bhūrjapatta*¹ (leaves of the same tree), have been frequently² mentioned as materials to write upon. Students beginning to learn alphabets wrote on the ground³, presumably with a piece of chalk or chalk-like substance which practice is retained upto now in most of the old type village schools of India.

¹ *Vik*, pp. 44, 53

² *Ku*, I 7, *Vik*, pp. 44 (thrice), 53

³ *Raghu*, XVIII 46

LITERATURE

Internal

We shall now discuss below the works of Kālidāsa themselves and the sciences and other literature cited in his writings. No study of literature furnished by the poet can be complete which ignores the invaluable literary treasure which he himself has created. Therefore a study of what he himself produced becomes almost imperative at the outset and we consequently must start with a discussion of his own works.

Works of Kālidāsa

These works bear ample testimony to his considerable acquaintance with the Vedas, the philosophy of the Upaniṣads, the *Bhagavadgītā*, the Purāṇas, the philosophical systems of the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya, medicine and astronomy and to works on polity and other sciences. For the sake of clarity and convenience we shall divide our study in this chapter between two sections, namely, Internal and External literature. Internal literature is obviously the poet's works whereas the external one is that reflected in the same. We shall proceed first with the former.

Of a score of works ascribed to his authorship only the following seven may be authentically proved to have been the production of his genius. They are: the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, *Vikramorvaśī*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Raghuvaṃśa*, *Meghadūta*, *Kumārasambhava* and *Rtusambhāra*. Of these the first three are plays and the rest four epics and short lyrical poems. We shall treat them individually.

Śākuntala

Abhijñāna Śākuntala ranks undoubtedly the foremost in the whole range of the Sanskrit dramatic literature. It has been pronounced by the greatest masters of the art of dramaturgy as one of the best works of the literatures of the world. The genius of the poet has been remarkably displayed in this work in his treatment of the admirable graces of poetry, in the exquisite description of nature, in the melody of the rhythm, in the lucid simplicity of his language, in the grand conception of his ideas and in the pathetic grace with which the various scenes are depicted. The piece is a *nāṭaka* and contains seven Acts. Its theme has been drawn from the *Mahābhārata* but it deviates at several places from the narrative of its source. The pathos and tenderness of the grief of the heroine is portrayed with consummate skill. Her attachment to her comrades, lower animals, trees, creepers, the sorrow of separation felt by the sage Kaṇva, have so much life in them that they cannot fail to win for the immortal bard undying fame and monumental glory in dramatic skill and poetic diction.

Vikramorvaṣī

The *Vikramorvaṣī* belongs to the class of *Troṭaka* and is completed in five Acts. It represents events partly terrestrial and partly celestial. The theme is taken from the *Rgveda*¹. This play is very skilfully finished and the succession of events herein is very natural. Dr. Wilson has rightly pointed out that "Fate is the ruling principle of the narrative and the monarch, the nymph and the sovereign of the gods himself are portrayed as subject to the inscrutable and inevitable decrees of destiny."

Mālavikāgnimitra

Mālavikāgnimitra is a play in which court life is fully depicted. Though this play does not contain either the dignity and the tenderness of the *Sākuntala* or the natural sequence of events of the *Vikramorvaṣī* yet its importance cannot be underrated. The simplicity of the theme is particularly marked, the story having been taken from the life of a historical personage—Agnimitra, the son of Puṣyamitra and the Viceroy of the southern possessions of his empire. The description of events is lifelike and the court intrigues would have held the breath of the audience for a time. Nevertheless, the play is not of the first order and the painstaking exposition of the theory of music and acting, however learned and detailed, must have tired out the patience of the audience. It tends to turn prosaic.

Raghuvamśa

The *Raghuvamśa* is an epic. The line of the *mahākāvya*s inaugurated by the great and earliest poet *Vālmiki* has been consummated by the genius of Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa*. With perfect poetical skill the poet has compressed the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* within the scope of nineteen cantos adding here and there his own contribution to the theme. Philosophic reflection is happily mixed with descriptive verse, the beauty of which at places remains unsurpassed by any other composition in the whole range of the Sanskrit literature. The great work may rightly rank as the finest specimen of the *mahākāvya* as defined by writers of poetics.

Kumārasambhava

The *Kumārasambhava* also seems to be intended as a *mahākāvya* but it has been left unfinished by the poet. The reader is struck by its rich variety, the brilliance of its fancy and the great warmth of its feeling. While describing the progress of the procession of the marriage party of Śiva in the city of *Himālāya*, Kālidāsa repeats several verses of the *Raghuvamśa* evidently for the sake of beauty and graphic description. The theme of description happens to be the same in both the works which is the procession of a marriage party. The *Kumārasambhava* is replete with natural beauties. It ends with the eighth canto.

Meghadūta

The *Meghadūta* has won the applause of the western critics. It has been nearly

¹ X. 95.

as often translated as the odes of Horace. It is a lyric piece of a hundred and odd stanzas. The theme of the lyric is absolutely original and its treatment is subjective. It may stand to proclaim the inauguration of a romantic cra in Sanskrit poetry. The touches are brilliant and personal. The use of so elaborate a metre as the *Mandākrāntā* throughout the work proves its author to be a masterly wielder of poetic pen.

Rtusambhāra

The *Rtusambhāra* is a descriptive poem of the six Indian seasons. It contains brilliant scenes depicting the beauties of nature where the human feelings have been brought in full accord with the voice of nature. Erotic scenes are interspersed here and there and the poet has successfully interwoven the expression of human emotions with his brilliant and graphically detailed penpicture of nature. Nature has everywhere played a prominent part in the works of Kālidāsa but being dissatisfied with them all, as it were, he treats an exclusive theme devoted to nature and to make it live he has brought a stream of human sentiments to flow within. Nowhere has the poet been so much in sympathy with nature as here. His observation and skill in depicting weather have nowhere been so striking and the hues of his pictures so varied as in the *Rtusambhāra*.

Style

One chief reason of Kālidāsa's superiority over other poets is his brilliantly polished style. There is no other Sanskrit poet who possesses such command over language, so simple and withal so graceful. All the works of the poet have been written in what is known as the *Vaidarbhī* style which contains the ten chief excellences of a poetical composition as mentioned by Daṇḍin¹. Kālidāsa's poems have been taken for a standard of poetical perfection and natural melody. His similes are known for their aptness. His style is simple, graceful and natural and he generally touches a point and passes on working upon the reader's feeling to exercise his full imagination. He has an inexhaustible store of fancy and is a consummate artist. He stands unsurpassed, even unequalled, in his profound knowledge of the human heart, in his delicate appreciation of its most refined feelings and in his familiarity with its conflicting sentiments and emotions.

His language following the convention of Sanskrit drama consists of Sanskrit and Prakrit. For his Prakrit he uses *Saurasenī* for prose and *Mahārāṣṭrī* for verse. In the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* the constables and the fisherman speak Māgadhī but the Śyālā uses *Saurasenī*. Prakrit seems to have become stereotyped by the poet's time. That is why there are deviations, but of course they are defensible.

The age of Kālidāsa had come to appreciate stereotyped tastes which he challenged and replaced or improved upon to a great extent. Everything new was spurned at and whatever was ancient was welcomed with zeal and respect. But he asserted himself and inspired a class of admirers for his newly conceived ideas

¹ श्लेषः प्रसादः समता माधुर्यं सुकुमारता ।

अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्वमोजः कान्तिसमाधयः ॥ *Kāyādarśa*, I. 41.

and new plays. He declared that things ancient alone were not good simply by virtue of their being ancient and the new ones were not to be necessarily despised and dismissed as futile merely because of their newness¹.

The poet's works together employ a number of meters which are the *āryā*, *śloka*, *vasantatilakā*, *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *upajāti*, *praharsinī*, *śālīnī* *srucirā*, *sragdharā*, *ratboddhatā*, *mañjubhāsinī*, *aparavaktṛā*, *aupachandasikā*, *vaitālīya*, *drutavilambita*, *puṣpitāgrā*, *prthivī*, *mandākṛāntā*, *mālinī*, *vamśastha*, *śikharīnī*, *bāriṇī*, *indravajrā*, *mattamayūra*, *svagatā*, *toṭaka*, and *mahāmālikā*.

Judging from the comparative merits and poetical and dramatic skill of the poet as evidenced in his works, their chronology may be indicated in the following order: *Rtusambhāra*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Vikramorvaśī*, *Raghuvamśa*, *Kumārasambhava*, *Meghadūta*, and *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*. But since the *Kumārasambhava* is an incomplete work, it may have been attempted last and left unfinished by the event of the poet's death. Mallinatha stops with eighth canto.

External

There are scores of references in the works of the poet which throw immense light on the existing literature of his time. This literature, which we have termed *external* at the outset of this chapter, also incidentally points to the sources of Kālidāsa's knowledge and to those of his works. Several branches of learning, arts and sciences, have been referred to which we shall discuss below.

Astronomy

We get a fair glimpse of astronomy in the works of the poet. The solar system and other stars have been referred to. Below is given a list of astronomical names furnished by him. The planets², nine in number, the zodiacs (*rāśis*³), *nakṣatras*⁴ and other stars⁵ have been mentioned, some of them even specifically. Of the planets, counting by the Hindu system, the following have been specifically alluded: *Sūrya*⁶ (sun), *Candra*⁷ (moon), *Bhūmī*⁸ or *Prthivī* (earth), *Maṅgala*⁹ (mars), *Budha*¹⁰, *Brhaspati*¹¹ (*Jupiter*), *Rāhu*¹² and *Ketu*¹³. The last two have been traditionally acknowledged as casting baneful influence¹⁴. The distance or pro-

¹ *Māl.*, I. 2.

² *Raghu.*, III. 13, XII. 28, 29.

³ राशिं *Māl.*, p. 61.

⁴ *Raghu.*, VI. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 19, VI. 22, ध्रुव *Ku.*, VII. 35.

⁶ *Raghu.*, II. 15, III. 13, 22, XII. 25, etc.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 46, 83, II. 39, III. 17, V. 61, VII. 19, XII. 36, XVI. 27, III. 22, VI. 22, VIII. 42, XIV. 40, XVII. 30, XVIII. 27; *Ku.*, VII. 1, 6; *Śāk.*, p. 96, VII. 22; *Vik.*, pp. 19, 72; *Māl.*, V. 7, etc.

⁸ *Raghu.*, XIV. 50, etc. etc.

⁹ *Māl.*, p. 61, अंगारकः (संगलग्रहः Kāṭyavema). The planet is called अंगारक because of its dull red colour as seen in the sky which resembles that of a heated charcoal.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XIII. 76.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, II. 32, XII. 28.

¹³ *Ku.*, VI. 7.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, II. 39, XII. 28, 29; *Ku.*, VI. 7.

ximity from one another among the planets has been considered as causing good or evil¹ according to the circumstances. Of the *nakṣatras* the following are on record: *Citrā*², *Viśākhā*³, *Puṣya*⁴, *Phālgunī*⁵ and *Robiṇī*⁶. The existence of Svāti is also warranted in a passage referring to the cātakas⁷. Comets⁸ (*dhūmaketu*) were considered to auger misfortune to the people⁹. A passage in *Vikramorvaśī* has the expression *sūryopasthānam*¹⁰ which according to the *Bhāgavata*¹¹ refers to the six *gaṇas* attending each month on the sun. The *apsaras* of the said passage is one of those same. In the *Alālavikāgnimitra* there is a passage referring to the return of the planet Mars¹². In a simile¹³ a lion constantly watching a pine tree without moving from his place is compared to *Suradriṣ* (*rāḥu*), which is the name given to the nodes of the path of the moon. Hence the poet implies that *Rāhu* is

¹ *Māl.*, p. 61.

² *Raghu.*, I. 46; *Vik.*, p. 12.

³ *Sāk.*, p. 96; *Vik.*, p. 19.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XVIII. 32.

⁵ *Ku.*, VII. 6.

⁶ *Sāk.*, VII. 22; *Vik.*, pp. 64, 72; *Ku.*, VIII. 82.

⁷ *Sāk.*, VII. 7.

⁸ *Ku.*, II. 32.

⁹ *Ibid.*,

¹⁰ *Vik.*, p. 86.

¹¹ Sk. XII. Adh. 11 vs. 47-49. "Every month in Sūrya's progress the Ṛṣis praise him in such of the hymns of the three Vedas as are addressed to him: the Gandharvas sing and the Apsarases dance before his car; Nāgas serve him as ropes to tie his car; the Yakṣas accompany the car as harnessers; mighty Rākṣasas push the car from behind, and the sixty thousand holy Brahmarṣis called Vāḥkilyas go forth before him, the Lord Sūrya, singing his praises." Each month these six *gaṇas* serve the sun by turns. The names of the Ṛṣis, the Gandharvas, the Apsarases, the Yakṣas, etc., that attend upon and serve the sun, are set forth with the months in which they serve (stt. 33, 43). We learn there that the Apsaras Kṛtasthālī attends and serves in the month of Caitra, Punjikasthālī in Vaiśākha, Menakā in Jyēṣṭha, Rambhā in Āṣāḍha, Anumlocā in Bhādrapada, Tilotamā in Āśvīn, Rambhā in Kārtika, Urvāśī in Mārgśīrṣa, Purvacitti in Pauṣa. Gṛtācī in Māgha and Senajit(?) in Phālguna. The month of Śrāvaṇa is omitted doubtless accidentally. A commentary on the *Bhāgavata* (*Bhāvārthadīpikā*) quotes from the *Kūrma Purāṇa* certain verses which give all the seven *gaṇas* that form the Sūrya's train of attendants in the twelve months. It will be seen that our Citralekhā of the *Vikramorvaśī* is not among the apsaras enumerated there in the *Bhāgavata* or the *Kūrma Purāṇa* unless she is identical with one of those there enumerated. According to what Citralekhā says she has to attend upon the sun in the hot season which comes after the spring; i.e., in Jyēṣṭha or Āṣāḍha in which months according to the *Bhāgavata* the attendant apsaras are Menakā and Rambhā, according to the *Kūrma Purāṇa* Menakā and Sahajanyā. Citralekhā can be identified with none of these as they are separately mentioned in the play. It is probable therefore either that Citralekhā and her turn of service in the hot season are creation of our author or, if not, he has refused to follow slavishly the order of service of the Purāṇas and assigned her the month that suited her purpose best being indebted to the Purāṇa simply for the idea that the apsaras have to attend upon the sun by rotation.

¹² *Māl.* The passage reads: "least she should return like the planet Mars." This, it was supposed, when turned back towards the Earth, was more favourable than when it had turned back from it. In certain positions the planets are said to look towards the Earth and in others to turn away from it. When they had turned their back on it they were said to be unfavourable and when they were looking towards it they were favourable. Mars is the only exception, because it was supposed to cast a favourable influence when it returned towards the Earth.

¹³ *Raghu.*, II. 39.

fixed and does not hunt after the moon to devour her. This is also evident from the epithet *pradiṣṭakālā upasthitā*. The cow had her time to become a meal of the lion, ordained before-hand, and she appeared at the appointed hour, just as the moon has her time, and appears before *Rāhu* accordingly. There is a limited area (*aṅga*) within which the animal must be, in order to be seized upon by the lion, just as there is a limit, on both sides near the node, within which the moon must be for the eclipse to be possible. This is the astronomical theory of eclipses which Kālidāsa knows scientifically. The cow was copper coloured after entering the penumbra, just before the actual eclipse takes place. In the *Sākuntala*¹ a reference is made to the 'path of *parivaha*.' The heavens are divided into seven *mārgas* (paths or orbits) to each of which a particular wind is assigned. The sixth of these paths is that of the Great Bear, and its peculiar wind is called *Parivaha*. The wind is supposed to bear along the seven stars of Ursa Major, and to propel the heavenly Ganges which is the *chāyāpatha*² or the milky way of the poet. Even *āvaha* the *bhūvāyu* or the region of clouds and lightning of the *Siddhāntasiromani* is indirectly referred to in the *Sākuntala*, VII. 7. The relation of *Citrā* to moon is also alluded to³. In the month of *Caitra* when the *Citrā* rises with the moon the latter scans the sky which is rendered cloudless⁴, when the night is free from the frost⁵. The beauty of *Viśākṣhā* rising with the moon is also registered⁶. The beauty of the moon was supposed to grow by the contact with *Rohiṇi*⁷. The period commencing with the contact of the moon with *Phālgunī* was considered auspicious for the applying of the cosmetics and other items of toilet to the body of the bride on the eve of her marriage⁸. The phases of the moon have also been alluded to⁹. Her contact with the planets *Budha* and *Brhaspati* has been mentioned in a verse¹⁰. The moon further has been named as the lord of the herbs or plant life¹¹. On a full moon day the rise of the water of the ocean and the seas due to attraction and gravitation has been recorded¹². Again the act of looking at the moon or the second day of the bright half month has been mentioned as auspicious as also of the people flocking about to have a look at her¹³. The moon reflecting light received from the sun at the end of the dark fortnight is indirectly referred to in a verse as we shall see below. *Dhruva*¹⁴, a fixed star was shown to

¹ *Śāk.*, VII. 6. According to the *Siddhāntasiromani*, quoted by the commentator Rāghava-bhaṭṭa, the seven courses of the wind in order of their distance from the Earth are *Āvaha*, *Pravaha*, *Sarvaha*, *Udvaha*, *Suvaha*, *Parivaha* and *Parāvaha*.

² *Raghu.*, XIII. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, I. 46.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *हिमनिर्मुक्त* *Ibid.*

⁶ *Vik.*, p. 19; *Śāk.*, p. 96.

⁷ *Ku.*, VIII. 82; *Śāk.*, VII. 22; *Vik.*, pp. 64, 72.

⁸ *Ku.*, VII. 6.

⁹ *Raghu.*, XVII. 30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XIII. 76.

¹¹ *नायमिवौषधीनां* *Ibid.*, II. 73.

¹² *Ibid.*, III. 17, V. 61, VII. 19, XII. 36, XVI. 27.

¹³ *नेत्रोत्सवः सोमश्चद्वितीयः* *Ibid.*, XVIII. 27.

¹⁴ *Ku.*, VII. 85.

the bride and the bridegroom to make their relationship and love steadfast. The formation of the clouds by smoke (steam), light (heat—*jyotiṣ*), water (*salila*) and air (*maruta*) together making a compact mass is mentioned in the *Meghadūta*¹. There is another reference to the young moon receiving and growing by the rays of the sun². Thus the principle of the light of the sun being received and reflected by the moon was known. The *Varāhasamhitā* has been quoted by the commentator to elucidate this sense³. A popular branch of astronomy had grown up and astrology had been given the place of a pseudo-science. Particular moments had been declared auspicious against those inauspicious. The year⁴ (*saṃvatasara*) had been divided into six seasons (*ṛtu*) called *Nidāgha* or *Grīṣma*,⁵ *Varṣā*⁶, *Sarat*⁷, *Hemanta*⁸, *Śiśira*⁹, and *Vasanta*¹⁰. Further the year was divided into twelve months each named after a particular *nakṣatra*. A few of these months have been named. They are *Āṣāḍha*¹¹, *Śrāvaṇa*¹² and *Kārtika*¹³. The months of *Caitra*, *Vaiśākha* and *Pauṣa* may be inferred from the reference to corresponding *nakṣatras* *Citrā*¹⁴, *Viśākha*¹⁵ and *Puṣya*¹⁶. The months had been further parcelled out in days¹⁷, which, although they are not specifically named, are in their turn divided into increasingly smaller units of time, and these moments were reckoned as auspicious or inauspicious according to the principles of astrology, by the distance and nearness of the good and evil stars¹⁸. Thus a higher position of five planets with the sun was considered very auspicious and a son born at this hour was, it was supposed, bound to be great and favoured by fate¹⁹. The direction dominated by Śukra was awaited by an invading force²⁰. There were auspicious and inauspicious days on which one could start on journey²¹ (*yātrānukūle abhī*). The *brāhma mubhūrta*²² about four o'clock in the morning was an auspicious time when the

¹ *M. P.*, 5.

² ०हरिदश्वदीधितेरनुप्रवेशादिव बालचन्द्रमा: *Raghu.*, III. 22.

³ The commentator quotes the *Varāhasamhitā*:

सलिलमयेशशिनिरवदीधितयो मूर्च्छितास्तमो नेशम् ।

क्षययन्ति दर्पणोदरनिहिता इव मन्दिरस्यान्तः ॥

⁴ *Māl.*, p. 100.

⁵ *Rtu.*, I. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, V. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VI. 1.

¹¹ *M. P.*, 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, 4; *Raghu.*, XIII. 6.

¹³ *Raghu.*, XIX. 39.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 46.

¹⁵ *Śāk.*, p. 96; *Vik.*, p. 19.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, XVIII. 32.

¹⁷ वाररात्रिषु—*Ibid.*, XIX. 18.

¹⁸ सोपसर्गं वो नक्षत्रम् *Māl.*, p. 71.

¹⁹ सुचितभागसंपदे—*Raghu.*, III. 13.

²⁰ *Ku.*, III. 43.

²¹ यात्रानुकूलहनि *Ibid.*, XVI. 25.

²² *Raghu.*, V. 36.

hermits and students left their bed. The ceremonies of marriage were sought to be performed in the auspicious period of the bright fortnight (*śukla pakṣa*) on a date marked by the *Jāmitra lagna*.¹ *Jāmitra* is the Diametron of the Greeks. The *Maitra mubhūrta* when the nakṣatra *Uttarra phālgunī* was in contact with the moon was considered particularly favourable for preparing the bride for marriage by applying auspicious cosmetics to her body and thus anointing it for the hour of sacred wedlock². The branch of astrology had become pretty popular and a profession³ had already arisen which lived by reading the fate of the people as a result of the influence cast on them by good or evil stars.

Medicine

Medicine had made considerable headway, which may be inferred from many references furnished by the poet. Mallinātha, Hemādri, Cāritravardhana and other commentators repeatedly turn to works of medicine like Vāgbhata, *Ajīr-nāmrtamañjarī* by Kāśirāja, *Madātyayavikitsā* and others in their commentaries for explaining passages of the poet.

As may be expected, there are several general references to *Vyādhi*. We read of diseases⁴ (*vyādhi*), their treatment⁵ (*vikitsā*) medicine⁶ (*aṇṣadhi*) and cure⁷ and of physicians⁸ (*vaidya*, *bhīṣaja*). The following diseases have been referred to by the poet: bile⁹ (*pitta*), consumption¹⁰ (*rājayakṣmā*) and delirium¹¹ (*sannipāta*). Bile was supposed to produce aberration, raving and ardent passion¹², and it was sought to be cured by sweet and delicious food¹³, as the Vidūṣaka desires, for it is caused in one case by lack of food¹⁴. The fatal disease of consumption baffled all efforts of the physicians and was incurable¹⁵. Its symptoms are given as paleness of the face, emaciation¹⁶, walking with the help of a support (in its last stage), hoarseness of the voice and an increased yearning for the sex¹⁷. Its cause, how-

¹ *Ku.*, VII. 1.

² *Ibid.*

³ दैवचित्तकः *Māl.*, p. 71.

⁴ लङ्घित एष . . व्याधिना—*Śāle.*, p. 197.

⁵ न जाने . . इति—*Ibid.*

⁶ *Ku.*, II. 48; *Raghu.*, XII. 97; *Māl.*, pp. 32, 68.

⁷ रोगशान्ति *Raghu.*, XIX. 54, स्वस्थः भवतु *Vik.*, p. 56; *Māl.*, p. 69.

⁸ वैद्य *Raghu.*, XIX. 53; *Māl.*, pp. 32, 68, भिषज *Raghu.*, I II. 12, VIII. 93, XIX. 49.

⁹ पित्त, *Vik.*, p. 56.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XIX. 48, 50.

¹¹ *Ku.*, II. 48.

¹² Cf. श्रीविभ्रमः सत्त्वपरिप्लवश्च पर्याकुलादृष्टिरधीरता च ।

अब्रह्मवाचस्व हृदयं च शून्यं सामान्यमुन्मादगदस्यचिह्नम् ॥ Quoted by the commentator.

¹³ त्वरयस्वास्य भोजनं *Vik.*, p. 56 कफं दुर्जनवत् तीक्ष्णवातं स्नेहेन मित्रवत् ।

पित्तं जामातामिव मधुरैर्भोजनैर्जयेत् ॥ Quoted by the commentator.

¹⁴ कुप्यति पित्तमुपोष्णतः *Añjananidāna*, quoted by the commentator.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, XIX. 53.

¹⁶ क्षिणोत् *Ibid.*, 48.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

ever, was attributed wrongly to sexual indulgence ¹ (*ratirāgasambharam*). The modern medical science has proved beyond doubt that the disease is the result of the activities of Tubercular Bacilli which attack a part of the body, deposit and multiply there and consume the area about them and cause the various symptoms of sputum, fever and the like. Sexual indulgence is also recognized by the modern authorities but only as an auxiliary and not as a cause. Evidently the germ theory of Tuberculosis was not known to the physicians of the time of Kālidāsa. Caraka himself is silent regarding the germ theory. Delirium or *Sannipāta* was the extreme effect of the disease when the affected brain aberrated. For its treatment very potent medicines were prescribed². Poisons³ and their antidotes⁴ were known. *Kalpa*⁵ was a technical term meaning the doctrine of poisons and their antidotes. A particular class of physicians treated ailments produced by poisons and they were known as *Viśarādyas*⁶. Even charms and chants were used to cure certain diseases. The effect of the poison occasioned by a snakebite was sought to be cured by a ceremony called *Udakumbhavidhāna*⁷. The manner in which the ceremony was performed may be described from other sources. An unbroken earthen jar was selected. Its neck was tied round with a thread spun by a maiden. A paste was made of several specified plants which was then to be mixed with the juice of the plant Kumāri, and the inside of the jar served with it. The outside of the jar was to be fumigated with the paste as also with the plants madhūka, madhūkapadma, kesara and sandal. The jar was then filled with water which had been brought in a copper jar by a person observing silence. While the water was being poured into the earthen jar certain mantras were to be chanted. When the jar was filled the performer was expected to touch it, and standing with his face to the north he was to charm the water with another mantra. Then a maiden who had just bathed, pounded and threw into the water certain other plants. The water thus prepared was sprinkled upon the part bitten by the snake the same mantras being repeated again. The poison of the deadliest snake, it was supposed, could thus be completely counteracted. The process is described in the *Bhairavatantra* at length. Like the *Udakumbhavidhāna*, there was also a *Nāgamudrāvidhāna* or a ceremony whereby a ring or something having the image of a snake upon it was charmed for curing snakebites. In this case too, however, what cures is water charmed for curing snakebites, with chants and sprinkled upon the person bitten. The *Rasaratnāvalī* gives a full account of it. The use of profuse water in curing the snakebite was called *Sītakriyā*⁸. Kālidāsa, evidently drawing from some medical authority suggests amputation, burning or pressing out the blood from the wound caused by the bite as a pos-

¹ रतिरागसंभवो Ibid., 48.

² Ku., II. 48.

³ Māl., pp. 67, 69; Raghu., XI. I 61.

⁴ महौषधि Raghu., XII. 61.

⁵ Māl., p. 69; निवृत्तविषवेगः Ibid.

⁶ विषवैद्यानां कर्म संप्रति Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ शीतक्रिया प्रचस्ता Māl., p. 70.

sible cure¹. Thus surgical operation is also recorded. The movements of a snake were further sought to be restricted within a circle by the force of a mantra². A fatal poison and a highly efficacious medicine are warranted respectively by the phrase *viṣaballī*³ (a particular creeper) and *mahaṇṣadhi*⁴. The use of a certain kind of sugar called *matsyaṇḍikā*⁵ has been recorded as an antidote against intoxication by liquor which is borne out by several medical authorities⁶. The Parivrājikā of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is an adept in medicine⁷.

Kālidāsa alludes to *Kumārabbṛtya*⁸, a name given by Suśruta to one of the eight branches (*aṣṭāṅgabhrdaya*) of medical science which deals with the proper development of the foetus, taking care of the mother during the days of her pregnancy and of the babe when born. Extensive references are on record to the state of pregnancy⁹ (*dauhrda*) and its symptoms (*lakṣaṇa*). The following symptoms¹⁰ have been noted: the thinness of the body¹¹, paleness of the face¹², geophagy or the desire to eat earth¹³, and the enlargement of the breasts and the growing darkness of the nipples¹⁴. The room marked out for the birth of the child is also mentioned. It was known as the *sūtikāgrha*¹⁵. We have references also to a nurse¹⁶ (*dhātṛī*) suckling the babe¹⁷. Other references to diseases and their treatment are directly and indirectly alluded to in the *Raghuvaṃśa*, VIII. 94, XII. 97, XIX. 49, etc. While commenting on a verse in the *Meghadūta* Mallinātha depicts a dhvani and quotes Vāgbhaṭa¹⁸. (We have also allied references in the *Sāk.*, II. 40, *Raghu.*, ix. 59, ii. 32, iv. 75, viii. 54, ix. 70, xii. 61, xiv. 80 and *Ku.*, vi. 45). In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* IV. 4 and further in *ibid.*, Dhruvasiddhiḥ, etc. there is a reference to Suśruta¹⁹).

¹ *Ibid.*, IV. 4. Similar remedies are given in *Vāgbhaṭa*, VI.

² *Raghu.*, II. 32; *Ku.*, II. 21.

³ *Raghu.*, XII. 61.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ एतत्सु... उपनता—*Māl.*, p. 42, cf. *Vāgbhaṭa*, I. 5, 49; *Ajṭṛnāmṛtamañjarī*, 42 by Kāśīrāja, and the *Yogācāra. Madāyātayacikitsā* on the point.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Māl.*, p. 67; IV. 4.

⁸ *Raghu.*, III. 12. cf. कुमारभृत्यं नाम कुमारभरणधात्रीक्षीरदोष संशोधनार्थं दुष्टस्तन्यग्रहसमुत्थानां च व्याधीनामुपशमनार्थम् । Suśruta quoted by the commentator कुमारभृत्या गर्भिण्याः परिचार्योच्यते । *Hārāvālī* quoted by a commentator.

⁹ *Raghu.*, III. 1, 6, XIV. 26.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III. 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, III. 2, 7, X. 69.

¹² *Ibid.*, III. 2, X. 59, XIV. 26. Cf. *Vāgbhaṭa* quoted by a commentator.

¹³ मत्सुरभि *Raghu.*, III. 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Cf. *Vāgbhaṭa* quoted by the commentator. अम्लेष्टता स्तनौ पीनौ श्वेतान्तौ कृष्णचूचौ

¹⁵ अरिष्टशय्या *Raghu.*, III. 15, X. 68.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 26, X. 78, XIII. 62.

¹⁷ धात्रीस्तन्यपायिनः *Ibid.*, X. 78.

¹⁸ “काषायश्चाहिमास्तस्य... योगिनः”

¹⁹ Cf. *Cikitsākalpa*, *Adhyāya*, V (p. 25). 2, 3.

Other Sources and Literature

Kālidāsa refers to other external literature and has drawn upon other sources which may now be discussed below. Although the citations are obscure sometimes, nevertheless, it is not very difficult to bring out a possible parallelism between the ideas of the poet and their probable sources. The poet could not help referring to the existing literature from which he borrowed themes for many of his immortal works. The subject matter of the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* was drawn from the *Mahābhārata*, of the *Vikramorvaśī* from the *R̥gveda*¹ and the *Satapatba Brāhmaṇa*², of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* from the Purāṇas, of the *Raghuvamśa* from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and of the *Kumārasambhava* from the Purāṇas. We have already seen that he refers directly to the Vedas, Purāṇas and the *Itihāsas*³ and *Nibandhas*⁴. Other sources of his knowledge were the *Manusmṛti*, *Kāmasūtras*, some edition of the *Sukraniti*, for he directly refers to the study of the polity of Uśanas⁵, the *Arthaśāstra*, treatises on music, astronomy and medicine to which we have already made a reference and to various other works. We find further references to the *R̥gveda* in the *Raghuvamśa*, i, 61, xv. 76 and the *Kumārasambhava*, ii. 12. A reference to the *Yajurveda* is implied in the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Atharvaveda* has found mention in the *Raghuvamśa*, i 59 and xvii 13. In like manner there is a deep imprint of the Upaniṣadic thought left on his writings. His prayers to gods breathe an air of the philosophy propounded in the Upaniṣads and the *Bhagavadgītā*. But this point we shall deal later in its proper place.

Smṛtis

Kālidāsa's ideas about the divine right of kingship are quite akin to those of Manu. In the performance of personal purity and social rites also the poet mostly follows Manu. This idea is much strengthened by the fact that Manu has been very frequently⁶ named by him. Besides Manu, several smṛtikāras or subjects of their works have been indirectly alluded to. Smṛtis following the sense of the *Śruti*⁷ is a patent expression of Kālidāsa. The devolution of property in the *Śākuntala*⁸ and the partition of Rāma's empire in the *Raghuvamśa*⁹ impliedly refer to the Smṛti laws. Conduct of the newly married couple in the *Kumārasambhava*¹⁰ and the marriage ceremonies of Aja and Indumati in the *Raghuvamśa*¹¹ evidently follow the details of the *Gṛhyasūtras*.

¹ X. 95.

² V. 1-2.

³ *Śāk.*, p. 91.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁵ *Ku.*, III. 6.

⁶ *Raghu.*, I. 11, 17, II. 33, IV. 7, ICX. 3, XIV. 67. Indirect references to Manu are too many to be quoted here. They have already been enumerated in the foregoing chapters.

⁷ *Raghu.*, II. 2.

⁸ *Act.*, VI.

⁹ XV.

¹⁰ VII. 84.

¹¹ VII.

Kāmasūtras

The poet has evidently made use of the *Kāmasūtras* of Vātsyāyana or other authors not extant now, for his descriptions in his dramas, in the last canto of the *Raghuvamśa* or in cantos vii and viii of the *Kumārasambhava*. Although it may not be strictly possible to equate passages of the poet with those occurring in Vātsyāyana, it, nevertheless, appears on the whole that he does refer to the *Kāmasūtras* such as Ghoṭakamukha, Gonardīya, Gaṇikaputra, Vātsyāyana and others. The following are the general references to the *Kāmasūtras*: the *Kumārasambhava* canto viii, verses 8-10, 14-19, 22, 23, 25, 83, 87, 88; the *Raghuvamśa*, vi. 17, xi. 52, xix, 16-21, 22-35, 38-46 and others as also several references in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Vikramorvaśi* and *Sākuntala*. The entire talk of Anusūyā and Priyamvadā, the friends of the heroine of the *Sākuntala* with Duṣyanta, the hero, bears a deep stamp of the Kanyāsamprayuktaka adhikaraṇa of the *Kāmasūtra*, and so have the blessings of Kaṇva to Sakuntalā been greatly influenced by the Bhāryyādhikaraṇa of the same work¹. In the *Meghadūta*, 11, 4, the poet uses the technical term *prañayakalabha*² from Vātsyāyana's tenth adhyāya, second adhikaraṇa³. At the close of the third Act of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* king Agnimitra falls at the feet of Irāvati; so does the king Duṣyanta in the seventh Act of the *Sākuntala*. This act of the two kings corresponds to a particular Sūtra of Vātsyāyana⁴. In the 23rd and 33rd verses of the nineteenth canto of the *Raghuvamśa* dūtī affairs are described; these affairs come under the fifth chapter of Vātsyāyana where *dūtīkarma* is explained in detail.

Arthaśāstra

Mallinātha has in his commentaries freely quoted from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya to explain political terms used by Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kumārasambhava*. Of these quotation, given below⁵ along with their parallels in the commentaries, the first is intended to explain the phrase *svargābbhisandavamana*, which occurs both in the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kumārasambhava*; the second to expound the words *niyoga* and *vikalpa*; the third *prakṛti-vairāgya*; the fourth *śakyeṣu-yātrā*; the fifth *parābbhisandhāna*; the sixth *daṇḍopanatacaritam*; and the seventh to point out the three branches of knowledge, *tiśro vidyāḥ*. Again in defence of hunting as a good sport of kings Kālidāsa uses in the *Abhijñāna Sākuntala* almost the same words as are used by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*⁶ for the same purpose.

It follows therefore that Kālidāsa was indebted to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* for the technical terms of polity and that Mallinātha could find their explanation in

¹ *Kāma.*, IV. 1, 39-40

² नान्यन्यस्मात्प्रणयकलहद्विप्रयोगोपपत्ति (Some editions omit it).

³ स्वभवनस्था तु निमित्तात्कलाहिता तथाविधचेष्टैव नायकमभिगच्छेत् । तत्र पठिमर्दविटविदूषकैर्नायक-प्रयुक्तैरपशमितशेषा तैरेवानुनीतैः सहैव तद्भवनमभिगच्छेत् । तत्र च वसेत् । इति प्रणयकलहः ॥

⁴ तत्र युक्तरूपेण साम्ना पादपतनेन वा प्रसन्नमनास्तमनुनयश्चुपक्रम्य शयनमारोहयेत् quoted by a commentator.

⁵ Text quoted *ante* at several places.

⁶ Cf. *Śā.*, II. 5; *Arthaśāstra*, VIII. 3.

no other political work than that of Kauṭilya¹. The great detail given of the administration of Atithi in the 17th canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa* presupposes a thorough knowledge of the Arthaśāstras and the Nītiśāstras on the part of the poet. Mallinātha, however, quotes Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra*² also in order to explain the political terms used by the poet.

Other Works Cited

In the *Raghuvaṃśa*, canto vi, verse 27, Kālidāsa refers to *Ġajasūtrakāras*. By *Ġajasūtrakāras* he means the treatises of Gautama, Rājaputra, Mṛgaśarman, Pālakapya and others. In the footnotc³ below are given the poet's reference to the *Ġajasūtras* of Pālakapya. The commentators have also supported these verses with quotations from Gautama, Rājaputra, Mṛgacarman or Mṛgaśarman and Pālakapya. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata was a work mastered by the poet as is evidenced by the various dramatic terms used by him in the 1st and 2nd acts of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. The *Vikramorvaśī*, Act III, preserves a reference to the course of Bharatamuni to Urvaśī in consequence of her fault in a play entitled the *Lakṣmīsvayamvara* composed by the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and staged in the presence of Indra under the instructions of Bharata himself. Most of the mythology referred to by the poet came from the Purāṇas. The prayers to various gods, Brahmā⁴, Viṣṇu⁵, and Śiva have been drawn from the Purāṇas and other works the chief of which were the Upaniṣads, and the six systems of philosophy a detailed reference to which will be given in the chapter on Philosophy. The details of the coronation rites of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, 17th canto, embody the principles of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. Works on polity have been categorically referred to in the phrase *tantra*⁶. He also draws from extant works on music⁷. Then there were extant dramatic and poetical compositions of Bhāsa⁸, Saumillaka⁹ and Kāviputrā¹⁰. Of these Bhāsa's works are still available.

¹ Preface to the Translation of the *Arthaśāstra* by R. Sham Sastry.

² On *Raghu*, XVII. 51; परेषु 66 कोशेन and on others.

³ पवनस्यानुकूलत्वात् etc., *Raghu*, I. 42 अनिर्वाणस्यदन्तिनः 71 असूययेव तन्नागाः IV. 23, अंकुशं . . वेदिनः 39 गन्धः . . द्विरेफाः VI. 7, विनीतः 27 सुरद्विपाः . . वंश XVI. 3 रणो . . दन्तिनः XVII. 70.

⁴ *Ku.*, II. 4-25.

⁵ *Raghu*, X. 7-33.

⁶ *Māl.*, p. 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Acts I and II.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

BOOK VII
RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

CHAPTER XVIII

RELIGION

The Outlook

The works of Kālidāsa reveal a store of data on which a detailed account of the spiritual activities of the people can be built up. Had the poet not furnished us with endless allusions to the spiritual outlook and the religious character of the people, it would have been a common-place error to believe that the people during the epoch when the poet lived and wrote had fallen to a state of utter materialism. But it is here, that the superiority of the Indian life asserts itself. Other branches of the Aryan family, for example the Greeks and Romans, succumbed ultimately to cultural death in spite of their 'Stoics' and 'Philosophers', whereas the Hindu Aryans despite their wealth and wine, art and luxury, have lived with their store of spiritual knowledge to this day. Most of their beliefs and superstitions, philosophy and rational speculations have survived along with their religious and social institutions. Below we shall attempt to give an account of the religious activities of the people as disclosed in the writings of Kālidāsa.

Pantheon

The people were god-fearing and righteous. Temples of the Brahmanical gods and goddesses abounded in the land and the drift from the Vedic to the Puranic worship had been completed. Now this trait on the whole is of the poet's own times; and in view of the frequent references to the Hindu pantheon and the innumerable images, as also to the Puranic outlook on the religious life, we may safely conclude that although Kālidāsa is describing ancient times, he in most incidents is giving an account of contemporary India. Everywhere in the writings of the poet one gets the impression of the prevalence of the Puranic faith, although the culture of the Upaniṣadic thought and of the systems of philosophy does not seem to have been in any way the less known. The Puranic pantheon had been almost completed wherein the Vedic gods had been reborn. The earlier gods had assumed new names and associations. Their nomenclature had grown to enormous dimensions. Their preponderant number had already suggested to the Purāṇas and to Kālidāsa through them the idea of an 'army of gods' (*'devasenā'*)¹.

¹ *Raghu.*, VII. 1; *Ku.*, II. 52.

Vedic and Puranic

The following (Vedic) gods (*devas*,¹ *divaukasaḥ*)² with their various names have been referred to by the poet: Indra³, Agni⁴, Varuṇa⁵ Sūrya⁶, Yama⁷, Tvaṣṭrā⁸, Dyāvā Pṛthivī⁹, the Rudras¹⁰ and Viṣṇu¹¹. Of these, as we shall see below, all, except Agni and Dyāvā Pṛthivī, have been described with the later Puranic imprint on them. They are no more the anthropomorphic features of nature and have already become personal gods to their respective devotees. Of these Viṣṇu is no more a phase of Sūrya but his all-powerful Puranic successor who incarnates himself among such leaders and heroes of men as Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, and Buddha. Of the new advents to the older pantheon the following have been named: Brahmā¹², Viṣṇu¹³, Śiva¹⁴, and their composite form of Trimūrti¹⁵, Kubera¹⁶, Skanda¹⁷, Seṣa¹⁸, Jayanta¹⁹, Lāṅgali²⁰, Madana²¹ and the Lokapālas²².

Goddesses

Of the Vedic goddesses only Śacī²³, the consort of Indra, Sarasvatī²⁴ (or Bhārati²⁵) and Pṛthivī (jointly with Dyāvā²⁶) are mentioned. But these also have been amply coloured by Puranic notions, and when looked at through their Vedic traits, they can hardly be recognized. Sarasvatī and Bhārati, unlike their Vedic prototypes²⁷, are not two distinct goddesses; the latter instead has been made

¹ *Ku.*, VII. 35.

² *Ibid.*, II. 1. VII. 92.

³ *Raghu.*, II. 50, 42, 74, III. 23, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 46, 49, 53, 62, 64, IV. 3, 28, IX. 24, XVII. 81. *Ku.*, II. 1, 23, etc.

⁴ *Raghu.*, X. 50, 51, I. 6, V. 25; *Śāk.*, VI. 30.

⁵ *Raghu.*, IX. 6, 24, XVII. 81; *Ku.*, II. 23.

⁶ *Vik.*, pp. 11, 26, 86; *Ku.*, VIII. 41, 42, 43, 44; *Rm.*, I. 16; *Śāk.*, p. 18, VI. 30.

⁷ *Raghu.*, II. 62, IX. 6, 24, XVII. 81; *Ku.*, II. 23.

⁸ *Ku.*, VII. 41; *Raghu.*, VI. 32.

⁹ *Raghu.*, X. 54.

¹⁰ *Ku.*, II. 26; *Raghu.*, II. 54.

¹¹ *Māl.*, V. 2; *Raghu.*, III. 27, 49, IV. 27, VI. 49, VII. 13, 35, X. 9, 18, 6-35, XI. 86; XXVIII. 8; *Ku.*, III. 13; *M. P.*, 15, 46; *M. U.*, 47.

¹² *Raghu.*, V. 36; *Ku.*, I. 1, II. 3, 4-15.

¹³ Vide above.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, I. 1, II. 35, 36, 38, 44, III. 49, XI. 13, XVIII. 24; *Ku.*, I. 57, II. 57, 60, III. 17, 65-70, V. 77-81, VI. 16-24, 26, 75-77; *Śāk.*, I. 1; *Vik.*, I. 1; *Māl.*, I. 1, etc.

¹⁵ *Ku.*, II. 4.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, V. 26, 28, IX. 24, 25, XIV. 20, XVI. 10, XVII. 81; *Ku.*, II. 22, 23, III. 25; *M. P.*, 7.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, II. 36, 37; *Ku.*, II. 52; *M. P.*, 43, 45.

¹⁸ *Raghu.*, X. 13, 7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, III. 23, VI. 78.

²⁰ *M. P.*, 49.

²¹ *Ku.*, III. 22, II. 64, III. 10, 21, 23, VII. 92, etc.

²² *Raghu.*, II. 75; *Ku.*, VII. 45.

²³ *Raghu.*, III. 13, 23.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 6; VI. 29; *Ku.*, VII. 90.

²⁵ *Raghu.*, X. 36.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, X. 54.

²⁷ *Cf.*, *Rgveda*, I. 3, 10, 11, 12; I. 22, 10.

identical with the former and both denote the goddess of learning¹. The Puranic goddesses preponderate during this age and have been named as follows: Lakṣmī² Pārvatī³ and the Seven Mothers (Mātaraḥ⁴).

Semi-Gods and Goddesses

A number of semi-gods like the Gandharvas⁵, Yakṣas⁶, Kinnaras⁷, Kirīpuruṣas⁸ or Aśvamukhyas⁹, Puṇyajanas¹⁰, Vidyādhara¹¹ and Siddhas¹² have either made their appearances anew or have been reborn from their Vedic predecessors. The feminine counterparts of the Siddhas¹³ are on record. Of these those of the Gandharvas have been named as the Apsarasah¹⁴ or Surāṅganās¹⁵.

Deification of Animals and Rivers, etc.

Kālidāsa has referred to that phase of the popular religion also in which the deification of animals and inanimate objects becomes a marked feature. Thus Vṛṣa¹⁶ (the bull or Nandi) the vehicle of Śiva, Garuḍa¹⁷ (the eagle), the vehicle of Viṣṇu, Śeṣa¹⁸ (the thousand-headed serpent) the couch of Viṣṇu, and Simha¹⁹ (the lion), the vehicle of Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva, are all deified objects. The cow²⁰ likewise has been sanctified and is endowed with divine qualities. She²¹ and the lion²² speak the human language at will. Nandi keeps guard over the entrance to Śiva's abode²³. Airāvata²⁴, the vehicle of Indra, is also mentioned. Rivers also have been deified and Gaṅgā and Yamunā become the bearers²⁵ of the fly-whisks of important gods. The Sarasvatī²⁶ of the Brahmāvarta is also simi-

¹ Cf. *Raghu.*, IV. 6; *Ku.*, VII. 90.

² *M. P.*, 32; *Raghu.*, IV. 5, X. 8, etc.

³ *Ku.*, V. 6-29, VI. 80, 81, VIII. 18, 78; *Raghu.*, I. 1; *M. P.*, 36, 44, etc.

⁴ *Ku.*, VII. 38, 39.

⁵ *Raghu.*, V. 53; *Ku.*, VII. 48, etc.

⁶ *Ku.*, VI. 39; *M. P.*, 1 and later etc.

⁷ *Raghu.*, VIII. 64; *Ku.*, I. 8, 11, 14, VI. 39; *M. P.*, 56.

⁸ *Ku.*, I. 14.

⁹ Quoted *ante*.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, IX. 6.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, II. 60; *Ku.*, I. 4.

¹² *Ku.*, I. 5; *M. P.*, 45.

¹³ *M. P.*, 45.

¹⁴ *Vik.*, I. II. III; *Raghu.*, VII. 53, etc.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, VI. 27, etc.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, II. 35, 36; *Ku.*, III. 41, VII. 37, 49, etc.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, X. 13, etc.

¹⁸ *Śāk.*, V; *Raghu.*, X. 7, 13.

¹⁹ *Raghu.*, II. 35, before and after.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 75-81, II.

²¹ *Ibid.*, II. 61.

²² 34-40, 47-51, 52.

²³ *Ku.*, III. 41.

²⁴ *Raghu.*, III. 55.

²⁵ *Ku.*, VII. 42.

²⁶ *M. P.*, 49.

larly deified. The three together make up the sacred confluence called Trivenī¹.

Demonology

The enemies of gods are no less prolific in number, and just as the number of the Puranic gods has multiplied so has also grown that of the demons (*daityas*², *suradriṣas*)³, for without the creation of important terrifying traits of the latter, the greatness of the former could have hardly been possible to extol. Rāvaṇa⁴, Kāliyā⁵, and Lavaṇa⁶ have therefore been alluded to. Rāhu⁷ and Ketu⁸, represented by two evil planets, have also been classed among the demons after the manner of the Purāṇas. Śiva has his following made up of the Gaṇas⁹ who belong to the class of spirits. So also are the yoginīs¹⁰ making up the following of Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva. An apparition has been mentioned in the *Sākuntala*¹¹ possessing the Vidūṣaka while he himself remaining invisible.

A class of gods the spirits of the forest, Vanadevatā¹², evidently benign, have been alluded to. Pitṛs¹³ or the manes, the deceased ancestors, also figure among the gods and so do the Seven Sages, the Saptarṣis¹⁴ or Brahmarṣis¹⁵. Ancient historical and mythological personages and heroes like Paraśurāma¹⁶, Kārtavīryārjuna,¹⁷ Sagara¹⁸, Yayāti,¹⁹ Dilīpa²⁰, Raghu²¹, Aja and such others figure as endowed with almost divine powers.

Some of the important gods, goddesses, both Vedic and Puranic, and other superhuman characters may be treated with a special reference below.

Indra

Indra had been the most powerful god²² in the pantheon of the *Ṛgveda* but later on he was superseded by younger gods of the Puranic pantheon of whom Viṣṇu and Śiva became the ruling deities. Kālidāsa refers to Indra usually with

¹ *Raghu.*, XIII. 54-58.

² *Ibid.*, X. 12 etc.

³ *Ibid.*, 15 etc.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XII. 51, 55, etc.; *M. P.*, 58, etc.

⁵ *Raghu.*, VI. 49.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XV. 17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II. 39.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ku.*, VII. 36, 40, etc.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XI. 5.

¹¹ अदृष्टरूपेण केनापि सत्त्वेनातिक्रम्य *Śāk.*, p. 223; cf. *Raghu.*, XI. 16.

¹² *Ku.*, VI. 39, VII. 38, 40.

¹³ *Raghu.*, I. 66, 67, 69, 71, V. 8, etc.

¹⁴ *Ku.*, I. 16, VI. 3, 6, 7, 3-12; *Raghu.*, X. 63, etc.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, X. 63.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XI. 68, 61-68; *M. P.*, 57.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, VI. 38.

¹⁸ *Śāk.*, III.

¹⁹ *Māl.*, p. 102.

²⁰ *Raghu.*, I. II. III.

²¹ *Ibid.*, III, IV.

²² 250 hymns have been addressed to him cf. *Vedic Mythology*, p. 59.

regard to ancient narratives¹. It would appear that during his time this god had ceased to be worshipped except on the occasion of the first appearance of the rainbow² and on that of a sacrifice³. According to the Puranic mythology an earthly king performing a hundred sacrifices attained to the office of Indra but the latter would not permit him to complete the number hundred and would thus save his exclusive designation of the *Satakratu* which idea the poet reiterates through his use of the phrase⁴. This is why we find Indra stealing away the horse⁵ consecrated for the Rājasūya by a king who has already performed ninety-nine sacrifices. Yet a number of names has been given to the god evidently in pursuance of the Puranic mythology, viz., Vajrī, Puruhūta⁶, Satakratu⁷, Vṛtraśatru, Vajrapāṇi⁸, Purandara⁹, Surendra¹⁰, Śakra¹¹, Parvatapakṣaśātana¹², Hari¹³, Maghavā¹⁴, gotrabhid¹⁵, Vāsava¹⁶, Viḍaujā¹⁷, Sureśvara¹⁸, Prācinabarhī¹⁹, Turāsāha²⁰, Sahasra-netra²¹. In the Gupta epigraphs the exploits of a king have been equalled to those of Indra²². His son Jayanta²³ was considered an ideal prince. Agni, another important deity of the *R̥gveda*²⁴, is thrown in the background and is alluded to only in connection with sacrifices²⁵, marriage²⁶, etc.

Agni

It was expected of a king to receive ascetics, physicians and such other personages in a room (*agnyāgāra*) where fire was kept ever kindled²⁷. He has been called *Havirbhuj*²⁸ for he receives the oblations.

¹ *Raghu.*, III; *Ku.*, VII. 45; *Śāk.*, VI.

² *Raghu.*, IV. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, III. 38, 44, VI. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III. 38, 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 39, 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III. 38.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II. 42.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III. 23, 51.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹² *Ibid.*, 42.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, IV. 28.

²⁰ *Ku.*, II. 1.

²¹ *Raghu.*, VI. 23.

²² All P. Ins. of Samudra Gupta, l. 26; Mathura Stone Ins. of Chandīa Gupta II.

²³ *Raghu.*, III. 23, VI. 78.

²⁴ 200 hymns are addressed to him; cf. *Vedic Mythology*, p. 88.

²⁵ *Raghu.*, X. 50, 79, etc.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, VII. 20, 24; *Ku.*, VII. 79, 81.

²⁷ *Raghu.*, V. 25; *Śāk.*, V.

²⁸ *Raghu.*, X. 79.

Varuṇa

Varuṇa of the Ṛgvedic pantheon becomes a water god (Jaleśvara)¹, but his character as the chastizer of the wicked he retains, although even in the *Ṛgveda* he is often called a regulator of the waters², is connected with oceanic³ and other waters⁴. He is one of the eight regents of regions and it is in his capacity that the king of Kālidāsa brings the renegade to boot (*niyamayasi kamārgapras-thitān*⁵, *pathascyutaḥ*⁶). In the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta sculptures Varuṇa is represented as riding a crocodile and bearing a noose, *pāśa*, of chastizement. He is a familiar god in the Gupta epigraphical records⁷.

Yama

Yama, also called Daṇḍa⁸, Vaivasvata⁹ and Antaka, has been mentioned fifty times in the *Ṛgveda*¹⁰ and three whole hymns are dedicated to him in the 1st and 10th maṇḍalas. He 'gives bliss to the good and woe to the bad'¹¹ in the *Ṛgveda*. This character he retains till the time of Kālidāsa, and as the chastizer of the wicked he is given a weapon like the thorny silk-cotton tree called the *Kaṭṭasālmali*. The poet refers to this weapon¹². Yama in his epithet Antaka, the destroyer, has been referred to in Gupta inscriptions¹³.

Tvaṣṭrā

Tvaṣṭrā, the Vulcan of the Hindu pantheon, is the architect of the gods. He has been mentioned sixty-five times in the *Ṛgveda*¹⁴. He is the precursor of the later Viśvakarmā and is referred to by the poet in an ancient context where the story of *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*¹⁵ is hinted at. Tvaṣṭrā's daughter Sañjñā was married to the sun and it is said that the god placed the sun on his turning lathe and trimmed off a portion of the bright disc since his daughter was unable to endure the excessive splendour of the luminary. Tvaṣṭrā used the part of the sun, so trimmed, in fashioning the discus of Viṣṇu, trident of Śiva, the rod of Yama, and other weapons of gods with which they destroyed the demons.

¹ Ibid., IX. 24, XVII. 81.

² II. 28, 4, V. 85, 6.

³ I. 161, 14, VIII. 58, 12; VII. 87, 6.

⁴ VII. 49, 3, IX. 90, 2.

⁵ *Śāk.*, V. 8.

⁶ *Raghu.*, Text quoted elsewhere.

⁷ All P. Ins. of Samudra Gupta, 1. 26; Mathura Stone Ins. of Candragupta II. etc.

⁸ *Ku.*, II. 23.

⁹ *Raghu.*, XII. 95.

¹⁰ *Vedic Mythology*, p. 171.

¹¹ V. 42, 6.

¹² *Raghu.*, XII. 95.

¹³ All P. Ins. of Samudra Gupta, 1. 26; Eranst. Inst. of Ibid., 1. 9; Mathura Stone Ins. of Candragupta II, etc.

¹⁴ *Vedic Mythology*, p. 119.

¹⁵ 106-108.

Rudra

Rudra, to whom three entire hymns are addressed in the *Ṛgveda*¹, is identified with Siva by Kālidāsa². But it is to be noted that Tryabamka, a common epithet of Siva in post-Vedic literature which has been used as a designation of Siva by the poet³ also, is already applied to Rudra in Vedic texts⁴.

Sūrya

Sūrya also belonged to the *Ṛgvedic* pantheon⁵; and his other aspect, that contained in Savitā, has been referred to by Kālidāsa in his word Savitā⁶. He has been given other names like Ravi⁷, Bhānu⁸, Hari⁹, Saptasaptiḥ¹⁰ and Haridaśvadīdhiti¹¹. His horses have already found a mention in the *Ṛgveda*¹². It may be noted here that the worship of Sūrya had been a feature of the *Ṛgvedic* times but the sun-cult as such, was introduced in India later as a foreign form of worship. The tradition preserved in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*¹³ that the first sun temple was built in Sindhu on the Candrabhāgā by Śāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa by Jāmbhavatī, who brought the Śakadvīpī, Brāhmanas (the Maga priests) to serve as priests to the deity, also corroborates this view. It may be remarked that according to Varāhamihira the Magas should be appointed priests of the sun temples¹⁴. It is interesting that the specimens of the Sūrya image of the Kuṣāṇa period¹⁵ evidence an absolutely foreign treatment of the god by giving him a dagger, a close-fitting waist-coat and a pair of long Central Asian boots, the last item of dress being specially marked on the Kuṣāṇa royal¹⁶ and military images. Kālidāsa refers to a temple containing an image of the sun-deity and mentions people returning from the shrine at the feet of which, obviously the feet of the image, (*pādamaṣṭam*)¹⁷ their attendance was required. We know that at one time the sun-cult had become considerably popular in northern India, particularly in Kashmir, and specially with the Hūṇas. Several temples of the sun were erected of which

¹ *Vedic Mythology*, p. 74.

² *Raghu*, II. 54; *Ku.*, II. 26.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, III. 8; *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II. 6, 2, 9.

⁵ Ten entire hymns are addressed to him in the *Ṛgveda*; cf. *Ved. Mytho.*, p. 31.

⁶ *Ru.*, I. 16.

⁷ *Ku.*, VIII. 43, 44; *Śāk.*, V. 5.

⁸ *Sāk* V. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VI. 30.

¹¹ *Raghu*, III. 22.

¹² *VIII*. 61, 16.

¹³ Ch. 139. It may be remembered that a sun temple standing in Multan on the bank of the Candrabhāgā (Chenab) was actually seen by Huen Tsang. The same temple which was seen by Alberuni about four centuries later was destroyed by Aurangzeb in the 17th century. Obviously it was not the temple built by Śāmba, but it may have been one of the reference of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* which the *Purāṇakāra* may be associating with the name of Śāmba.

¹⁴ *Brhatsamhitā*, 60, 19.

¹⁵ *Muttra Museum*, Exhibit No. D. 46.

¹⁶ *Muttra Museum Exhibit Nos.* 212 (Caṣṭana) 213 (Kaniska), and 215 (Vema Kadphises).

¹⁷ *Vik.*, V. 4.

the Mārtaṇḍa temple of Kāshmir, the remains of which may still be seen, was the most famous. The Kuṣāṇas and the Śakas in general were great worshippers of the sun even though Śaivism gained the upper hand with them also later on. Muttra seems to have been a prolific centre furnishing the devotees of Sūrya with the beautifully finished images of this deity and their several specimens dating from the Kuṣāṇa period are preserved in the Muttra Museum. Kālidāsa refers to the deity as having seven horses, all of the green colour¹ (*haridāśva*) harnessed to his chariot. Seven, sometimes four, horses draw the chariot of Sūrya in sculptural pieces. The images of the Muttra Museum have their chariots yoked to the horses, which manifest a highly animated attitude while flying fast with the chariot. The deity himself is represented as sitting in the squatting posture with a long knife or dagger in his right hand, and he puts on a close-fitting vest or bodice and a pair of long boots in the manner of those worn by the Kuṣāṇas and other Central Asian people, as pointed out above. The composition gives easily the impression of an alien method of execution. An indigenous specimen may be witnessed among the sun-images in the collection of the Bharata Kala Bhavana, Benares, where the deity stands or sits on a chariot borne by seven horses and driven by his charioteer, the thighless Aruṇa. The deity bears the figures of lotus on the spread out palm of the hand or on the shoulders. Often he is accompanied with his two wives, Prabha and Chāyā. During the mediaeval period the making of the Sūrya images after the Indian manner became very prolific and we find an endless number of such images both of stone and metal (bronze and copper) finished during the Pāla period. The sun temple of Konarak in the district of Puri is a marvel of the mediaeval age. The repairs of a sun temple almost contemporary with Kālidāsa is the elaborate subject of an important inscription of the reign of Kumāra Gupta².

Lokapālas

Lokapālas were a class of eight gods including Indra, Kubera and Varuṇa who were the guardians of directions and who were expected to enter the womb of a queen to impregnate her for the birth of a royal child.³ It was supposed that the body of a king was formed by the lustre gained from the Lokapālas⁴.

Brahmā

Brahmā is one of the principal deities described in the writings of Kālidāsa. He forms along with Viṣṇu and Śiva the well-known Hindu triad called *Trimūrti*. The poet endows him with most potent powers in the panegyric prayer that is addressed to him. He is called *svayambhū*⁵, self-born, four-faced⁶, the lord of expression⁷ (*vāgīśa*), the creator (*prabhavaḥ*) of all the mobile and immobile

¹ *Raghu*, III. 22.

² Mandasor stone Inscription of Kumāra Gupta and Bandhuvarma.

³ *Raghu*, II. 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ku*, II. 1.

⁶ चतुर्मुख *Ibid.*, 17, धातारं सर्वतोमुखं *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*

universe¹ (*carācaram viśvam*) because of his having thrown the seed on water², and the cause of all the three conditions of creation (*sarga*), maintenance (*sthiti*) and destruction³ (*pralaya*). The three qualities of Sattva, Raja and Tama are said to reside in him, the only existent being (*kevalātmane*) before the creation⁴. He is called the parents, i. e. both the father and the mother, for he is said to have split his body up in a man and a woman for the purposes of creation⁵. He works during the day and sleeps during the night and thus the creation and dissolution are commensurate with his waking and sleep⁶. He is unborn (*aja*⁷). Himself unconditioned by and so immune from causality, he is the cause of all. Himself without a cause, he is the cause of the universe; himself without an end, he is the end of the world; himself without a beginning, he is the beginning of the world; and himself without a master, he is the lord of all⁸. He knows himself through his own self, he creates himself, he is acted upon by himself and ultimately he loses himself in his own self⁹. He becomes both fluid and solid, gross and subtle, light and heavy, and manifest and unmanifest at will¹⁰. He is the cause of that expression of which *praṇava* is the beginning and of which sacrifices are the actions and heaven is the fruit¹¹. He is known as the Puruṣa, transcendent and indifferent, who is conceived as a witness to his own Prakṛti which is the cause of all attainments¹². He is the father of the fathers (i. e. the manes, ancestors), god of the gods, beyond all, and the creator of creators¹³. He is both the offering and the offerer, the edible and the eater, knowledge and the knower, the contemplated and the contemplater¹⁴. In this manner Brahmā has been given the epithets of Dhātā¹⁵, Vidhātā¹⁶, Vedhā¹⁷, Caturmukha¹⁸, and the like. Thus here Brāhma of the Upaniṣads has been treated by the poet as Brahmā of the Purāṇas. We shall have an occasion to analyse this panegyric and locate its incidents to their proper sources. Kālidāsa, following the Purāṇas, treats him as the husband of Sarasvatī in the manner of the Hindu sculptors. Composite images of Brāhmā bearing a bearded sitting figure (with Sarasvatī sitting in his lap in some) with four heads (*sarvatomukha* of Kālidāsa¹⁹) and four hands holding

¹ चराचरं विद्वं Ibid., 5.

² अमोघं बीजं Ibid.,

³ Ibid., 6.

⁴ Ibid., 4.

⁵ स्त्रीपुंसावात्मभागी Ibid., 7.

⁶ Ibid., 8.

⁷ *Raghu*, V. 36; *Ku.*, II. 5.

⁸ *Ku.*, II. 9.

⁹ Ibid., 10.

¹⁰ Ibid., 11.

¹¹ Ibid., 12.

¹² Ibid., 13.

¹³ Ibid., 14.

¹⁴ Ibid., 15.

¹⁵ Ibid., II. 3.

¹⁶ Ibid., VII. 43.

¹⁷ *Raghu*, I. 29.

¹⁸ *Ku.*, II. 17.

¹⁹ Ibid., II. 3.

the Veda, kamaṇḍalu, rudrākṣa and sruvā may be witnessed in most of the Indian museums. It is strange that we find no reference in the works of the poet to a temple of Brahmā; nor do we always come across such a temple in modern times. The only known temples of Brahmā are perhaps the late mediaeval temple of Puṣkara and the comparatively recent insignificant one at Benares. It is difficult though to realize the purpose of the images of Brahmā, which are numerous, if they were not installed in temples dedicated exclusively to that deity. Or it may be that some of the temples, as now, contained images of several deities together, and the image of Brahmā may have formed an important item of such collection. Otherwise it will be difficult to reconcile the existence of a large number of such images and the endless references by Kālidāsa to the deity with the absence of a temple dedicated exclusively to Brahmā.

Prajāpati

Prajāpati has been identified by Kālidāsa with Brahmā. This is not unwarranted in earlier literature. The *Aśvalayana Gṛhyasūtra*¹ makes the two gods identical. This sūtra seems to have been followed by the poet in this regard. Already in the Brāhmaṇa literature Prajāpati had become supreme and had received the attributes of Brahmā. The *Satapatha*² and the *Taittirīya*³ *Brāhmaṇas* make him the father of all gods and the former refers to him as existing alone in the beginning⁴. Even earlier, in the *Ṛgveda* he is addressed a hymn⁵ wherein he is called the lord of all that breathes and moves, the god above gods whose ordinances are followed by all, who traverses the atmosphere, and who embraces with his arms the whole world.

Viṣṇu

Viṣṇu, a sun deity of the *Ṛgveda*, is reborn in the Puranic pantheon and has acquired new glory and boundless power. New epithets are given to him, as for example, Hari⁶, Puruṣottama⁷, Trivikrama⁸, Puṇḍarikākṣa⁹, Purāṇa¹⁰, Kavi¹¹, Caturmūrti¹², Puruṣa¹³, Parameṣṭhin¹⁴, Śārṅgi¹⁵, Māhavarāha¹⁶, Acyuta¹⁷, Bala-

¹ III. 4.

² XI. 1, 16, 14.

³ VIII. 1, 3, 4.

⁴ Ś. B., II. 4, 1.

⁵ X. 121.

⁶ *Raghu*, III. 49.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., VII. 35.

⁹ Ibid., XVIII. 8, X. 9.

¹⁰ Ibid., X. 19, 36.

¹¹ Ibid., 36.

¹² Ibid., 22.

¹³ Ibid., 6, XI. 85.

¹⁴ Ibid., X. 33, XI. 86.

¹⁵ Ibid., XII. 70; *M. P.*, 46, *U.*, 47.

¹⁶ *Raghu*, VII. 56.

¹⁷ Ibid., IV. 27.

niṣūdāna¹, Cakradhara², Bhagavān³, Kṛṣṇa⁴. Viṣṇu in the *R̥gveda* is a sun deity, who, like the sun, takes three strides (*vikrama*) across the terrestrial spaces⁵. There his weapon as the precursor of the later *cakra* is a rolling wheel represented like the sun⁶. Even his vehicle bearing the name Garutmad and Suparṇa is mentioned. The later Puranic conception of Viṣṇu's recovering the earth through his measuring out the three regions by three strides during his Vāmana incarnation is thus already foreshadowed in the *R̥gvedic* allusion given above. The inferior position of Viṣṇu as a sun deity in the *R̥gveda* is changed to one of supreme importance in the *Bṛāhmanas* where he already assumes the form of a dwarf and rescues the Earth from the Asuras in three strides⁷. Viṣṇu of Kālidāsa, who obviously follows the Purāṇas, is one of the most important gods of the later Hindu pantheon and to-day, beside Śiva, he is the supreme deity who is worshipped by the Hindus through one or other of his incarnations. By analysing the panegyric prayer addressed to Viṣṇu as given by Kālidāsa, we get his following form, attributes and functions: Viṣṇu is reclining on the couch formed by the thousand-hooded serpent⁸, his feet resting on the lap of Lakṣmī sitting on a lotus⁹, her zone covered by the silk-woven garment¹⁰. He wears on his chest the gem named Kaustubha¹¹ and is waited upon by the humble Garuḍa¹². He is beyond the scope of word and mind¹³. He remains in threefold forms being the creator of the universe in the beginning, afterwards the upholder of it and last of all its destroyer¹⁴. As rain water, originally of one taste, obtains a diversity of flavours in different lands, so does he, the immutable assume different conditions when connected with different qualities of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas¹⁵. Immeasurable himself, he has measured out all the worlds; indifferent to all the desires himself, he grants the desires of all; himself unconquered, he has conquered all; himself imperceptible, he is the cause of all the perceptible world¹⁶. Sages declare him to be present in the heart and yet not near, free from desires yet performing penance, compassionate yet not affected by grief, old and yet not subject to decay¹⁷. Though omniscient, he is himself unknown; though the source of all, he is self-existent; though himself the lord of all, he has no superior; and though he is

¹ Ibid., IX. 3.

² Ibid., XVI. 55.

³ Ibid., X. 35.

⁴ Ibid., VI. 49.

⁵ VII. 99, 2.

⁶ Cf. V. 63, 4.

⁷ J. R. A. S., 27, 188-89.

⁸ *Rāgh.*, X. 7. The word विग्रह (idol) has been used here.

⁹ Ibid., 8.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., VI. 49, X. 10.

¹² Ibid., X. 13.

¹³ Ibid., 15.

¹⁴ Ibid., 16.

¹⁵ Ibid., 17.

¹⁶ Ibid., 18.

¹⁷ Ibid., 19.

single, immutable, one, he assumes all forms¹; the sole refuge of the seven worlds, resting on the waters of the seven oceans, he has been sung in the seven *śāmanas*, and he has the seven fires for his mouth². From his four mouths have sprung the knowledge resulting in the group of the four ends of life, the arrangement of time into the four cycles, and the people consisting of the four castes³. With minds checked by practice from the external objects, the Yogins seek him for emancipation, and he full of light abides in their hearts⁴. Unborn, he takes birth; actionless, he destroys enemies; and sleeping he keeps vigilant⁵. Able to enjoy the objects of sense, such as sound and others, he practises austere asceticism; able to protect the people, he yet lives in utter indifference⁶. The ways which lead to supreme felicity though many and differently laid down in the scriptures, it is in him that they all meet⁷. To persons whose desires for worldly enjoyments are completely gone, and who have devoted their hearts and consigned their actions to him, he is the refuge for obtaining absolution⁸. His greatness, which consists in earth and other elements, though perceptible by senses is yet undefinable; he is inferable by inference and the Vedas⁹. Since he purifies a person simply when he remembers him, the remaining functions of sense with reference to him, by this act, do declare their effects (i. e. become at once known¹⁰). His inscrutable nature transcends all praise¹¹. Nothing is unattainable by him. As an act of favour to the people he condescends to take birth and act like human beings¹². He is the primeval bard¹³, (*purāṇasya kavēḥ*). The first and middle qualities (i. e. *Sattva* and *Rajas*) of embodied beings are overpowered by the third quality *Tamas*¹⁴. Later he is described as being dreamt by the wives of Daśaratha. They were guarded by dwarfs bearing conches, swords, maces, *śārṅga* bows and quoits (*cakra*¹⁵). They were being borne in the sky by Garuḍa who displayed the mass of splendour of his golden wings and who on account of his great speed dragged the clouds in his train¹⁶. Viṣṇu is further described as waited upon by Lakṣmī with a fan of lotus in her hand, bearing the Kaustubha gem suspended between her breasts¹⁷. He is worshipped by the seven sages, who had performed the ablutions in the celestial triple streamed Ganges and who recite the hymns of the

¹ Ibid., 20.

² Ibid., 21.

³ Ibid., 22.

⁴ Ibid., 23.

⁵ Ibid., 24.

⁶ Ibid., 25.

⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁸ Ibid., 27.

⁹ Ibid., 28.

¹⁰ Ibid., 29.

¹¹ Ibid., 30.

¹² Ibid., 31.

¹³ Ibid., 36.

¹⁴ Ibid., 38.

¹⁵ Ibid., 60.

¹⁶ Ibid., 61.

¹⁷ Ibid., 62.

Vedas¹. He is endowed with four hands². The mount Himālaya has been called Viṣṇu³ in one immovable form. The pantheists identify Viṣṇu with the highest specimen of all substances and consequently with the Himālaya as the highest of all mountains. It is said that the extension of Hari's glory upward, downward and horizontally curved (*trivikrama*) was at a fixed time only when he took the corresponding three steps and covered all space—but his is everlasting—he covers space without any commencement⁴. Here, it may be noted, the reference is to Viṣṇu's dwarf incarnation. He is endowed with the eight attributes, atomic, etc. (*animādiguṇopetam*) by which he can subtilize or enlarge his stature⁵.

Nārāyaṇa

Nārāyaṇa has been identified by Kālidāsa with Viṣṇu⁶ "The goddess born of the thigh of the sage, the friend of Nara, is, while returning after she had attended on the lord of Kailāsa, taken prisoner on the road by the enemies of the gods." Nara and Nārāyaṇa of this reference are originally two ancient ṛṣis. To the former two hymns⁸ and to the latter the famous Puruṣasūkta⁹ of the *Rgveda* are attributed. But in later literature they are usually coupled together as 'most eminent ancient ṛṣis' (*purāṇarṣisattama*), 'great ascetics' (*tāpasa*) and 'gods and original gods' (*devan pūrvadevan*). Sometimes Nārāyaṇa is represented as god and Nara as the wisest of men. Subsequently Nara came to be identified with Arjuna and Nārāyaṇa with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and in this form they became dual deities whose representation in sculpture is not infrequent. Urvaśī, said to be born from the thigh of Nārāyaṇa in the above reference, flies into the sky, the middle region of her father (*pituh*¹⁰), who thus becomes identified with Viṣṇu whose middle region, as represented through the second stride of Vāmana as well as through the progress of the sun, is the sky. Sky as the region of Viṣṇu has been referred to at another place also where Kālidāsa describes it as *ātmanah* (i. e. *Viṣṇoḥ padam*¹¹). Since Viṣṇu as said above, is originally only a sun-deity, the firmament becomes his region as the progress of the sun through the sky is called a middle stride.

Trivikrama

Subsequently elevated to the status of an independent deity, Viṣṇu naturally retained all the poetical conceptions that belonged to him when he was only a form of the sun-god. Hence he came to be called *Trivikrama*, i. e., 'three paced' or 'of the threefold prowess,' an attribute which belongs to the sun. Thus again the ancient ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa having been identified with Viṣṇu, all the attributes and

¹ Ibid., 63.

² Ibid., 86.

³ *Ku.*, VI. 67.

⁴ Ibid., VI. 71.

⁵ Ibid., 77.

⁶ *Vik.*, I. 3.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ VI. 35, VI. 36.

⁹ X. 80.

¹⁰ पितुः पदं मध्यममुत्पतन्ती *Vik.*, Act, I.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, XIII. 1.

the poetical conceptions of the latter came to be associated with him.

Mahāvarāha, Bhagavān, Rāma, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa

Varāha or Mahāvarāha¹, Bhagavān², Rāma³ and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa⁴ have all been identified with Viṣṇu. Mahāvarāha, Rāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa were all famous incarnations of Viṣṇu of whom the first rescued the Earth from the Dāityas, the second killed Rāvaṇa and the last rescued the people from the clutches of the cruel Kāṁsa. Kṛṣṇa is given the Kaustubha gem of Viṣṇu to wear⁵ and his Gopāla form also is alluded to in a context where Kālidāsa compares the cloud adorned with a piece of rainbow with Viṣṇu in the shape of the cowherd adorned with a shining peacock feather. Nārāyaṇa, evolved as the Supreme Being during the Brahmanic period, was later identified with Vāsudeva⁶.

It will be relevant to survey here the progress of the Vaiṣṇava cult through its Bhāgavat dharma and Vāsudeva cult which has been referred to by Kālidāsa. Vaiṣṇavism with its incident of Vāsudeva worship is at least as old as the *Aṣṭa-dhyāyī* of Pāṇini⁷. An ambassador of the Graeco-Bactrian monarch Antialkidas named Heliodorus calls himself *Bhāgavata*, i.e., a follower of Bhāgavat dharma, in the votive inscription on the column bearing a Garuḍa capital which he erects in honour of Vāsudeva at Besnagar in the 2nd century B. C.⁸. Later during the times of the Kuṣāṇas themselves most of the Puranic tales regarding Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa take shape and we have in the Muttra Museum a stone slab bearing the carved scene of Vāsudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa crossing the Jumna with the newborn babe over to Gokula in order to shield the child from the wrath of Kāṁsa. Kālidāsa himself refers to Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa⁹, calling him Viṣṇu in the form of a Gopa. He also refers to his peacock feathers¹⁰ and gives his other associates like his brother Balarāma (*Lāṅgali*¹¹) and his wife Rukmiṇī¹². The reference to Kāliyā and Kaustubha with regard to Kṛṣṇa is also given¹³, although it may be noted that the poet while indirectly alluding to Kṛṣṇa in the context of Indumatī's *Svayamvara*¹⁴ does not save himself from falling into anachronism. It is significant that Rādhā has not been alluded to by Kālidāsa. Possibly the stories connected with this lady-love of Kṛṣṇa were yet getting shape. It is remarkable that the Imperial Guptas style themselves as *Paramabhāgavata*¹⁵ (*Paramavaiṣṇava*). There is no doubt

¹ Ibid., VII. 56.

² Ibid., X. 35.

³ Ibid., XIXV.

⁴ *Māl.*, V. 2; *Raghu.*, VI. 49, गोपवेशस्य विष्णोः *M. P.*, 15.

⁵ *Raghu.*, VI. 49, X. 10; *M. P.*, 15.

⁶ *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, by Sir R. G. Bahādarkar, p. 45.

⁷ वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वृत् IV. 3, 98.

⁸ Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Ins.*, No. 6.

⁹ *M. P.*, 15, text quoted *ante*.

¹⁰ बहुषेव Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 49.

¹² विष्णोः च रुक्मिणी *Māl.*, V. 2.

¹³ *Raghu.*, VI. 49.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Gadhwā St. Ins. of Candrar Gupta II (both 1st and 2nd parts); Ibid., of Kumāra Gupta;

about the fact that during the epoch in which the poet lived and wrote Vaiṣṇavism was a leading cult. Besides their Vaiṣṇava style in the epigraphs, their being worshippers of Bhagavat or Vāsudeva is attested to also by the occurrence of the phrase *Paramabhāgavata* on the coins of Candragupta II¹, Kumāragupta² and Skandagupta³. There are a number of other votive inscriptions and sculptures of the Gupta times pointing to the same conclusion. A four-armed Viṣṇu figure carved on a panel at Udayagiri is dated in the Gupta era 82, i. e. A. D. 400⁴. An enormous figure of Mahāvarāha (an incarnation of Viṣṇu) rescuing the Earth in the form of a woman and lifting it on its snout dating from the reign of Candragupta II may be seen in the Udayagiri cave of Central India. It answers admirably to the poet's idea embodied in his phrase—*bhīmā, mahāvarāhadamṣṭrāyām viśrāntaḥ*⁵. The epigraph inscribed on the Mehroli iron pillar of Candragupta II (Candragupta II) calls the pillar a flag-staff of Viṣṇu⁶. The great stone pillar of Skandagupta at Saidpur Bhitari records the installation of an image of Śaṅgin⁷, i. e., Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Kālidāsa, it will be noted, also calls Viṣṇu Śaṅgin⁸. An inscription recording the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu by Cakrapālita, the Viceroy of Skandagupta in Saurāṣṭra, opens with an invocation to the Vāmana incarnation of Viṣṇu. A fifth century pillar of Mandor near Jodhpur depicts scenes from Kṛṣṇa legends like the overturning of a cart by Kṛṣṇa and lifting of the Govardhana. 'Atyanta Bhagavadbhakta' brothers Mātriviṣṇu and Dhanyaviṣṇu are referred to in an inscription of A. D. 483 at Eran as having erected a dhvajastambha (flagstaff) in honour of Janārdana⁹. Jayanātha's gift of a village for the repairs and up-keep of a temple of Bhāgavat is the subject matter of a copper-plate inscription of A. D. 495 found near Khoh in Baghelkhand. In a cave cut in Śaka 500 by Maṅgaliśa of the Cālukya dynasty¹⁰ there are figures of Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa lying on the body of a serpent with Lakṣmī rubbing his feet, and of his incarnations boar and Narasiṃha¹¹. The Bhāgavatas have been mentioned by Varāhamihira, who died in Śaka 509 (A. D. 587), as the peculiar worshippers of Viṣṇu¹². The Daśavatāra temple of Ellora contains huge images of Viṣṇu reclining on the serpent and his incarnations. Thus both before and after Kālidāsa the cult of Viṣṇu was a progressive form of worship. During his own time the cult had made a great headway as may be gathered from the Gupta epigraphical records referred to above and from allusions to it in his own works. Viṣṇu along with Brahmā and Siva makes up the Trimūrti.

another of Ibid., at Gadhwā; Bihar St. P. Ins. of Skandagupta, 2nd part, etc.

¹ Allan: *Gupta Coins*, p. CXIV.

² Ibid., p. CXV, CXX.

³ Ibid., p. CXXI, CXXII.

⁴ C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 22 ff.

⁵ *Ku.*, VI. 8.

⁶ *विष्णोर्ध्वजः* V. 5.

⁷ Verse 10.

⁸ *Raghu.*, XII. 70; *M.P.*, 46, U., 47, etc.

⁹ *जनार्दनस्य ध्वजः*.

¹⁰ Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, p. 407.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, 60, 19.

Siva

Siva along with Brahmā and Viṣṇu makes up the Hindu triad. He is a favourite deity with Kālidāsa whom he invokes in the beginning of his works. From this as well as from his frequent references to the deity it would seem that the poet himself was a worshipper of Siva and a follower of the Śaiva cult. But Kālidāsa, it must be noted, was never a sectarian. As a matter of fact his praises and invocations to Brahmā and Viṣṇu are so devotedly worded that it can be said that he was no more a Śaiva than a devotee of Viṣṇu or a worshipper of Brahmā. He is a veritable liberal in the treatment of religious beliefs and refers to sects other than Śaivism with unmitigated respect.

From the description given by Kālidāsa we may easily conclude that Siva was considered a supreme deity. The names and attributes that are assigned to him well bring out his all powerful character. They are: Īśa¹, Īśvara², Maheśvara³, Parameśvara⁴, Aṣṭamūrti⁵, Vṛṣabhadhvaja⁶, Śulabhṛt⁷, Paśupati⁸, Tryambaka⁹, Trinetra, Ayugmanetra, Sthānu¹⁰, Nīlaloḥita¹¹, Nīlakaṇṭha¹², Sitikaṇṭha, Viśveśvara¹³, Caṇḍeśvara¹⁴, Mahākāla¹⁵, Sambhu¹⁶, Hara¹⁷, Girīśa¹⁸, Bhūteśvara¹⁹, Bhūtanātha²⁰, Śaṅkara²¹, Siva²², Pinākī²³, etc. Several temples were dedicated to Siva of which Kālidāsa refers to a *jyotirlinga* called Mahākāla at Ujjainī²⁴, to another of Viśveśvara²⁵ or Viśvanātha at Benares, and to a third at Gokarna. Siva has been spoken of as the wearer of eight forms, as being identical with the five elements, mind, individuality and crude matter²⁶. The worshippers of Siva who were pantheists in the sense that to them Siva was himself all that exists, as well as the cause of all that is, held that there were eight different manifestations of their god (*aṣṭa-*

¹ *Māl.*, I. 1.

² *Vik.*, I. 1, IV. 65; *Ku.*, VI. 76.

³ *Raghu.*, III. 49.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 1, II. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 35; *Ku.*, I. 57.

⁶ *Raghu.*, II. 36, III. 23.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 38; *Ku.*, VI. 94, VII. 40, etc.

⁸ *Ku.*, VI. 95; *M. P.*, 36.

⁹ *Raghu.*, II. 42, III. 49, etc.

¹⁰ *Ku.*, III. 17; *Vik.*, I. 1.

¹¹ *Ku.*, II. 57.

¹² *Ibid.*, VII. 51.

¹³ *Raghu.*, XVIII. 24.

¹⁴ *M. P.*, 33.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

¹⁷ *Ku.*, VII. 44; *Raghu.*, IV. 32, etc.

¹⁸ *Raghu.*, II. 41, XVI. 51, etc.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II. 46.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 58.

²¹ *M. P.*, 33-36.

²² *Ku.*, V. 77.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Raghu.*, VI. 34; *M. P.*, 34.

²⁵ *Raghu.*, XVIII. 24.

²⁶ *Śāk.*, I. 1; *Raghu.*, II. 35; *Māl.*, I. 1.

*mūrti*¹), called Rudra; and that these had their types in the eight visible forms, viz, Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Bhūma, Ugra and Mahādeva. It may be interesting to note that in the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*² all these gods with Agni, Aśani, etc. are enumerated as so many forms of the same god. In the *Satapatha*³ and *Sāṅkhyāyana*⁴ *Brāhmaṇas* they have been represented as eight different forms of Agni. The *Sākuntala* enumerates the following eight forms: water, fire, priest, the Sun and Moon, ether (ākāśa), earth and air.⁵ The *Sākuntala* refers to Śiva with the appellation of Īśa, the supreme lord⁶. Presiding over dissolution⁷, he is associated with Brahmā, the creator, and Viṣṇu the preserver. Kālidāsa here refers to the religious predilection of his fellow townsmen by beginning and ending the play with a prayer to Śiva, who had a large temple at Ujjain. He is alluded to have taken a deadly poison named Kālikūta at the deluge which gave a dark-blue colour to his neck in consequence of which he bears the names Nīlakaṇṭha, Śitikaṇṭha and Nīllohita. He is represented in mythology as constantly sporting at the head of ghosts in the cremation ground to which fact Kālidāsa alludes⁸. The following translation of a verse praying Śiva brings out many of his functions and attributes:—

“Īśa preserve you! he who is revealed
In these eight forms by man perceptible—
Water, of all creation's works the first;
The fire that bears on high the sacrifice
Presented with solemnity to heaven;
The priest, the holy offerer of gifts;
The sun and moon, those two majestic orbs,
Eternal marshallars of day and night;
The subtle Ether, vehicle of sound,
Diffused throughout the boundless universe;
The Earth by sages called 'The place of birth'
Of all the material essences and things;
And air which giveth life to all that breathe⁹.”

Śiva has been alluded to as being the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of all things animate and inanimate (*sthāvarajangamānām . . . sargasthithipratyavahārahetu*¹⁰). The attribute of the cause of *sargasthiti* also has been given to Śiva in imitation of the usual way in which a worshipper praises his own particular deity, however inferior in the theogony of his religion. The proper

¹ Ibid.

² 39, 8.

³ VI. 1, 3, 7.

⁴ VI. 1.

⁵ I. 1.

⁶ I. 1. cf. I. 1; *ViS.*, I. 1, IV. 65; *Ku.*, VI. 76.

⁷ *Raghu.*, II. 44; *Ku.*, II. 77, etc.

⁸ विकीर्णं केशासु *Ku.*, V. 68.

⁹ *Sāk.*, I. 1.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, II. 44.

function of Śiva is only the last of the three—*pratyavahāra*, i.e., universal destruction. His image is said to pervade the water¹. This also signifies the fact of the Earth being submerged under water after the *pralaya* when Śiva holds sway. He is the very image of the universe (*viśvamūrtiḥ*)². He is called *Īśvara*, is endowed with the *siddhis* like the *aṇimā* and he wears the crescent on his forehead³. The universe is upheld by him⁴. Yogis contemplate on him⁵. He is the witness (*sākṣī*) of all actions performed in this universe⁶. All the Lokapālas with Indra as their head bow down to him⁷. A verse says: "He whom (the sages) describe in the Vedāntas as the supreme spirit that remains (without space to occupy) after filling the earth and the heaven; he with respect to whom the word *Īśvara* (ruler), having no other person to denote, is literally true; he who is sought within themselves by those desirous of salvation, who restrain the five winds commencing with *prāṇa*—may that Eternal one, easily obtainable, through firm faith and contemplation, grant you salvation:"⁸ The phrase *vyāpyasthitiṃ rodasī* used in the above verse makes him so great as not to be containable by the earth and sky together. This idea has already been forecast in the famous *Puruṣa-sūkta* of the *R̥gveda* where the deity is said to have encircled the earth from all sides and yet being above, uncontained, to the measure of ten *aṅgulas*⁹.

His Form

Innumerable images of Śiva, both alone and with *Pārvatī*, his consort, are extant. They were quite common during the Gupta period when both his image and the phallic form were worshipped. Several of those images of his, which do not show the face have locks of matted hair falling from the top of the *liṅga*. There are several such still worshipped at Muttra. A complete picture of a Śiva image is given in *Kālidāsa*'s description of the deity in the context of his marriage in the *Kumārasambhava*. Bhasma (ashes) is besmeared over his body¹⁰ and the crescent serves for his tilaka mark on the forehead¹¹. He wears the elephant-hide¹² (*gajājina*). This robe of Śiva is also given to Rudra (his earlier representative) in the *Atharvaveda*¹³ where the latter is clad in an elephant-hide (*kṛttim vasānam*—*śatarudriya*). He uses snakes on several spots of the body for ornaments¹⁴. He is attended by his merry *Gaṇas* bearing swords¹⁵ and by gods

¹ *Ku.*, II. 60.

² *Ibid.*, V. 78, 78-81.

³ *Ibid.*, VI. 75, VII. 33; *Vik.*, IV. 65, etc.

⁴ *अग्रियते विश्वं Ku.*, VI. 76.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁶ साक्षी विश्वस्य कर्मणाम् *Ibid.*, 78.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VII. 45.

⁸ *Vik.*, I. 1.

⁹ स भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वात्यतिष्ठद् दशाङ्गुलम् । X. 90, 1.

¹⁰ VII. 32.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 33; *Vik.*, IV. 65.

¹² *Ibid.*; *M. P.*, 36; *Māl.*, I. 1. (कृत्तिवासः)

¹³ XI. 2, 1.

¹⁴ *Ku.*, VII. 34.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 36.

like Brahmā and Viṣṇu¹, and by goddesses like Gaṅgā and Yamunā bearing flywhisks². He rides his bull-vehicle³, on whose back is spread the skin of a lion⁴. And the way of his *Nandī* wearing golden girdle containing tiny bells⁵ lies through the sky⁶. This picture has quite a number of specimens produced in sculpture. It may be remarked here that the poet makes a distinction between *Nandī*, one of Śiva's gaṇas, and the bull which Śiva rides⁷.

Pāśupata Dharma

Here we may, with profit, refer to the Pāśupata cult of Śaivism which played such an important part during the early centuries of the Christian era, which became almost the ruling cult in Śaivism during the days of the Imperial Guptas and of which Kālidāsa was probably a follower. The poet refers indirectly to the cult through his designations of Śiva—Pāśupati⁸, Bhūtanātha⁹, Bhūteśvara¹⁰, etc. Here we may succinctly refer to the doctrine, and the progress of the cult through the centuries. The principles embodied in the system of Pāśupati are three: (1) the lord (*pati*), the individual soul (*Paśu*) and (3) the fetters (*Pāśa*).¹¹ The whole system has four Pādās, or parts, which are knowledge (*Vidyā*), actions (*Kriyā*), meditation (*Yoga*), and conduct or discipline (*Caryā*)¹². Rudra has already been given the epithet, Paśupa in the *Rgveda*¹³. In the *Atharvaveda* Bhava and Śarva are called *Bhūtapati* and *Paśupati* and five distinct species of animals, kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep, are marked out as belonging to the rule of, Pāśupati¹⁴. In the Brāhmaṇas Rudra becomes almost completely identified with Śiva. In the *Mahābhārata*¹⁵ the Pāśupata is named as one of the five schools or religious doctrines. Arjuna desires to possess the Pāśupatāstra which is endowed with the power of destroying the most formidable enemies¹⁶. Such a Paśupati—Śiva, says Kālidāsa, is a deity 'easy to be obtained by firm devotion and contemplation' (*sthirabbaktiyogasulabha*)¹⁷.

Kālidāsa refers to the composite figure called *Ardhanārīśvara*¹⁸ represented by Śiva with Pārvatī on his right. Such images are quite innumerable in the Hindu

¹ Ibid., 43.

² Ibid., 42.

³ Ibid., 37, 49.

⁴ *Ku.*, VII. 37.

⁵ Ibid., 49.

⁶ खे खेलगामी, Ibid.

⁷ *Ku.*, VII. 37, III. 41.

⁸ Ibid., VI. 95; *M. P.*, 36.

⁹ *Raghu.*, II. 58.

¹⁰ Ibid., 46.

¹¹ Bhandarkar; *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism*, etc., p. 177.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ I. 115, 9.

¹⁴ XI. 2, 9.

¹⁵ Śānti P. (Nārāyaṇīya), Ch. 349. 64.

¹⁶ Chs. 38-40.

¹⁷ *Vik.*, I. 1.

¹⁸ *Raghu.*, I. 1. etc.

pantheon of the Gupta times. The god, fond of music and dancing and being their generator, is represented as dancing¹.

Trimūrti

The conception of the Trimūrti, the Hindu triad, is a compromise. It is a unity in diversity and it marks a drift from the pantheistic outlook to the monotheistic one. We have seen in the foregoing pages that each of the deities, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, is all-potent in his sphere and to his devotee. But Trimūrti is a composite picture where the functions and attributes of all of them have fused. As a matter of fact the prayers addressed and the attributes assigned to each of them have in themselves the necessary elements which made for a unified character. Kālidāsa's idea that individual gods are nothing but several aspects of the same god also refers to the same idea. Here we must note that the catholic character of the poet's treatment of popular religion must have gone a long way to keep down the jarring tendencies of the followers of different sects of later days. It is interesting to note that the exploits of the family of Raghu in which those of Rama (Viṣṇu) are the most important, open with an invocation to Śiva while the *Kumārasambhava*, which is a story of Śiva, contains an elaborate prayer to Brahmā². This method of Kālidāsa has been carried on by Tulasīdāsa in his *Rāmācaritamānasa* which also, being a narrative of the exploits of Viṣṇu through his incarnation of Rāma, opens with a prayer to Śiva.

Skanda

Skanda, the god of war and the commander-in-chief of the celestial armies³, is the same as Kārttikeya and Kumāra. He is also called Śaravaṇabhava⁴ or Śarajanma⁵ from the myth that he was born among reeds. He had a temple dedicated to him on the Devagiri hill⁶. He is generally represented in sculpture with six faces and as mounted upon a peacock. Kālidāsa has taken note of his form⁷ which is reproduced by a Gupta sculptor, the figure now lying in the Muttra Museum. It is significant that Patañjali makes a reference⁸ to the worship of this god and that a few coins of Kaniṣka show on their reverse figures with names in Greek letters of Skando, Mahāseno, Komaro, and Bizago⁹. A Gupta inscription of A. D. 414 records the building of a *Pratoli* or gallery by one Dhruvaśarman in the temple of Svāmi Mahāsenā at Bilsad¹⁰.

¹ *M. P.*, 36.

² *II.* 4-16.

³ सेनानी *Raghu.*, II. 37; गोप्तारं सुरसैन्यानां *Ku.*, II. 52; रक्षाहेतोः...चमूनाम् *M. P.*, 43; *Raghu.*, VII. 1.

⁴ *M. P.*, 45.

⁵ *Raghu.*, III. 23.

⁶ *M. P.*, 43-45.

⁷ मयूरपृष्ठाश्रयिणा गुहेन *Raghu.*, VI. 4; cf. also *M. P.*, 44.

⁸ *V.* 3. 99.

⁹ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX. p. 385.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

Kubera

Kubera, the lord of Alakā¹, is a lokapāla, the guardian deity of the northerly direction which consequently derives the name *Kanverīm*² from him. His name is expressive of deformity. In sculpture he is represented as a typical *bania* or banker sitting with a protruding belly and deformed shoulders holding a purse in his hand. Several images of this deity are preserved in the Muttra Museum. His worship had become considerably popular and this is why we come across references to him in the Gupta epitaphs³. Kālidāsa also alludes to him frequently⁴.

Śeṣanāga

Śeṣanāga was a mythical serpent, the personification of eternity and king of the nāgas. His body formed the couch of Viṣṇu, reposing on the waters of chaos, whilst his thousand hoods were the god's canopy. A number of images of this deity in this form are extant. He is also supposed to be supporting the earth on one of his hoods.

Seven Mothers

The Seven Mothers have been alluded to in the phrase *mātaraḥ*⁵. They are enumerated in the *Amarakośa* as the following: Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kuamārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Indrāṇī and Cāmuṇḍā⁶. A row of the Saptamātṛkas in low skirts is carved in high relief on a Muttra stone of the Kuṣāṇa period. A similar row is to be met with in cave No. 14 of the Ellora cave temples. We have a reference to them along Skanda in a Gupta inscription⁷.

Umā

Umā⁸, the consort of Śiva, has been referred to by the poet under several names like Pārvatī⁹, Ambikā¹⁰, Bhavānī¹¹, Gaurī¹², etc. Her usual vehicle is the lion.

Kālī

Kālī¹³, the destructive counterpart of Mahākāla Śiva, wears a necklace

¹ M. P., 1 Vik., I. 4.

² *Raghu*, IV. 66.

³ Allahabad Pillar Ins. of Samudra Gupta, C. I. I., Vol. III., line 26; Eran Stone Ins. of Samudra Gupta, I. 9; Mathura Stone Ins. of Candragupta II; Bhitari Stone Pillar Ins. of Skandagupta.

⁴ *Raghu*, V. 26, 28, IX. 24, 25, XIV. 20, XVI. 10, XVII. 81; *Ku.*, II. 22; *M. P.*, 7; *Vik.*, I. 4.

⁵ *Ku.*, VII. 38.

⁶ ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव कौमारी वैष्णवी तथा ।

वाराही च तथैन्द्राणी चामुण्डा सप्तमातरः ॥

⁷ Bihar Stone Pillar Ins. of Skandagupta, I. 9.

⁸ *Ku.*, I. 43, III. 58, 62, etc.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 26, V. 1, VI. 80; *Raghu*, I. 1, etc.

¹⁰ *Ku.*, VIII. 18, 78, etc.

¹¹ *M. P.*, 36, 44.

¹² *Ku.*, V. 50, VII. 95.

¹³ *Ibid.*, VII. 39.

of human skulls¹. She cannot be identified either with Umā or with one of the Saptamātṛikas as she is mentioned distinctly as one of the train of Śiva² before his marriage following him after the divine Mothers³.

Sacī

Sacī or Indrāṇī is the wife of Indra and is invoked at the beginning of a Hindu marriage to preside over the ceremony as she is considered a wife remaining in perpetual coverture.

Gaṅgā and Yamunā

Gaṅgā and Yamunā had already become goddesses and Kālidāsa mentions them as the fly-whisk bearing attendants⁴ of Śiva. It may be noted that their representation as chouri-bearers of gods or as auspicious decorative patterns carrying water-pots and standing on the crocodile and the tortoise, the symbols of the aquatic animals predominating in the Ganges and Jumna respectively, were not infrequent during the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta times. Gaṅgā is supposed to have been generated from the toe of Viṣṇu⁵.

Sarasvatī

Sarasvatī or Bhārati, the consort of Brahmā, is the goddess of speech and learning and the patroness of arts and sciences. She holds a vīṇā in her images.

Lakṣmī

Lakṣmī⁶ to whom several references are made is the consort of Viṣṇu and is represented in sculpture as massaging the feet of her lord reclining under the hood of Śeṣa. A complete picture of this pose has been given by Kālidāsa where she sits on a lotus, her silken robe having covered her girdle and Viṣṇu's feet lying on her lap⁷.

Pitṛs and R̥sis

Pitṛs have also been alluded to as semi-gods receiving oblations⁸. These are the deceased ancestors. The primeval sages—Bhṛgu, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Aṅgiras, Marīci, Dakṣa, Atri and Vasiṣṭha according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*—are only seven⁹ in references by the poet. Kālidāsa follows the traditional number in this regard. They have been already numbered seven the *Ṛgveda*¹⁰. There

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ cf. Ibid., 38-39.

⁴ Ku., VII. 42.

⁵ Ibid., VI. 70.

⁶ *Raghu*, VI. 58, IX. 16, IV. 5; *M. P.*, 32, etc.

⁷ *Raghu*, X. 8.

⁸ Ibid., I. 66, 67, 69, 71, V. 8; *Śāk.*, VI. 25.

⁹ *Raghu*, X. 63; *Ku.*, I. 16.

¹⁰ IV. 42, 8.

they are associated with gods¹, and are called divine². The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* gives each a name³ and so also does the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*⁴. The present belief which makes them stars—the Ursa Major—is already conceived in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which calls them the constellation of the Great Bear⁵. In the story furnished by Kālidāsa the Saptarṣis beg the hand of Umā from her father for Siva⁶.

*Vidyādhara*s

The Vidyādhara, Kinnaras or Kimpuruṣas, Puṇyajanas, Yakṣas, Siddhas and Gaṇas have been treated by the poet as endowed with divine powers which may reflect the popular belief. The Vidyādhara were supposed to haunt the highest peaks of the Himalayas. Their *belles* are said to have written love letters on the birch leaves with geru⁷. Later, King Harṣa makes a Vidyādhara the hero of his *Nāgānanda*.

Kinnaras

Kinnaras were supposed to possess a human head and the body of a horse. Such specimens in sculpture are preserved in the Muttra Museum. Another kind of them was that which bore the head of a horse and the body of a human being. Females of this type have been alluded to by Kālidāsa in his phrase *aśvamukhyā*⁸. The *Aśvamukhī Jātaka* contains a story of such a being which finds itself carved on many a railing pillar of the Kuṣāṇa times. Like Gandharvas, they are also described as celestial minstrels⁹. They are otherwise called Kimpuruṣas.

Puṇyajanas

Puṇyajanas, a similar kind of demigods, have been mentioned in the *Ātharvaveda*¹⁰ along with the Gandharvas, Apsaras, Sarpas, Devas and Pitaras.

Yakṣas

Yakṣas attended on Kubera, the lord of wealth, residing in Alakā. A detailed and fanciful description of their living and habitat is given by the poet in the later part of his *Meghadūta*. A regular Yakṣa cult seems to have developed as early as the Mauryan period and numerous extant images of the Yakṣas support the view that their worship had spread over a long range of time down to the Gupta period. It may be noted that the earliest specimen of the Indian sculpture is a Yakṣa image,

¹ X. 109, 4.

² Ibid., 130, 7.

³ XIV. 5, 2, 6.

⁴ II. 2, 6.

⁵ II. 1, 2, 4.

⁶ Ku., VI. 47-88.

⁷ Ku., I. 7.

⁸ Ibid., 11.

⁹ Ibid., 8.

¹⁰ गन्धर्वाप्सरसः देवाः पुण्यजनाः पितरः VIII. 8, 15.

carved in the round, of a colossal height¹ representing the Mauryan period. Finished by Dinna, it may yet be seen preserved in the Muttra Museum. Hundreds of Yakṣa images, mostly carved in the round in all sizes, are exhibited there and they easily impress on the visitor the idea of a Yakṣa cult and worship once current in the religious practices in India. The very fact that the poet chooses for the theme of his immortal *Meghadūta* the story of a Yakṣa points conclusively to the prominent place of this class of demigods in the religious beliefs of the people. They were the ideal in love and we may witness one² of the sculptural pieces of the Muttra Museum showing a Yakṣa couple proceeding, perhaps to the market place, in a most romantic fashion, putting on a slanting head-dress in the manner of a modern Indian beau, and one of the couple supporting on the hand a bird like the parrot. The Yakṣa seems to have been a symbolical embodiment of the romantic life of the people. The Yakṣī when treated alone in art represents evil desires and passionate yearnings of man under the weight of which the latter is crushed to death. Innumerable images of the Yakṣī stand crushing under their feet the poor dwarfish creature, which is man, crouching under the weight of his own *trīṣṇā*, the Yakṣī.

Siddhas and Gaṇas

Siddhas also, like the Vidyādhara, live on the top of the Himālayas³. They are also supposed to be semi-divine and possessing the *siddhis*. Gaṇas are similar inferior deities attending on Śiva⁴, and supposed to be living under the lordship of Gaṇeśa, the elephant-headed god and son of Śiva.

Theology and Polytheism

The description of the individual gods given above brings in the context of theology to which we may briefly refer below. The existence of numerous gods in the Hindu pantheon of the time of Kālidāsa points to the belief of the people in the doctrine of Polytheism. But although the existence of a plurality of gods does point to Polytheism there is an essential unity running through the endless multiplicity of divinities.

Monotheism and Pantheism

In the popular belief the individual gods held sway and in this regard the outlook of the people can be characterized polytheistic but from this polytheistic base there emerges a monotheistic conception, for whenever Kālidāsa praises an important deity, for example Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva, he forgets the rest for the present and makes him the generator, the sustainer and the destroyer of the entire universe. Thus this belief in the omnipotence of one god and the conception of a fundamental unity in all the gods makes for what is called Monotheism. And inasmuch as the poet makes the universe part and parcel of God, by making the latter the cause and end of the former, the principle of Pantheism also easily comes to be accepted. The

¹ Parkham Yakṣa, No. C. 1.

² Plate XIV of *Handbook of Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology* by V. S. Agarwala.

³ *Ku.*, I. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VII. 40, I. 54.

principle of pantheism has been suggested in the prayer to Siva¹ where he is said to cover all the universe, pervade it, and to be yet too large to be accommodated. He is also identified with the elements of nature and is hence called Aṣṭa-mūrti².

Monism

Again the Vedantic³ conception of Kālidāsa regarding Siva and the point of Siva being but single (*ekamāmūrtiḥ*) divided threefold⁴ (i. e. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva) directly point to the doctrine of Monism.

Idol Worship

The endless number of gods that we have discussed above were worshipped through their idols⁵ (*pratimā*). A very high order of technique in iconography had already developed which had helped to bring into existence the numerous beautiful images and idols of the Mauryan, Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods. These images and icons were meant to be installed in temples dedicated to various gods. The Gupta epigraphs attest to the existence and to a growing number of consecrated temples and other votive monuments. Kālidāsa himself refers to several temples of gods (*pratimāgrha*⁶). A Siva temple at Benares dedicated to Viśveśvara finds mention in the *Raghuvaṃśa*⁷. The famous temple of Mahākālā (Siva) otherwise known as Caṇdeśvara at Ujjayinī has been described at length in the *Meghadūta*⁸. The same work refers to a temple dedicated to Skanda⁹. Thus the popular faith centred round the practice of idol worship.

We shall now pass on to other religious practices, the rites and ceremonies like the saṁskāras, sacrifices and anuṣṭhānas, festive occasions, beliefs and superstitions, etc.

Saṁskāras

Kālidāsa refers to various Saṁskāras¹⁰ or ceremonies necessary for the three *Dvija*¹¹ castes. These ceremonies were supposed to confer on them the rights of a new birth by virtue of which they were termed *Dvija* or the twice-born. Of them the following have been noted by the poet, viz., the Pūṁsavana,

¹ *Vik.*, I. 1.

² *Raghu.*, II. 35; *Śāk.*, I. 1; *Māl.*, I. 1.

³ *Ku.*, VII. 44.

⁴ *Vik.*, I. 1.

⁵ *Raghu.*, XVI. 39, विग्रह Ibid., X. 7, जलजासिगदाशाङ्गचक्रलाञ्छितमूर्तिभिः Ibid., 60 etc. We have already discussed the making of images and idols of gods in our chapter on *Sculptures and Terracottas*.

⁶ *Raghu.*, XVI. 39.

⁷ XVIII. 24.

⁸ *Pūrva.*, 33 ff. also महाकालनिकेतन *Raghu.*, VI. 34.

⁹ *M. P.*, 43.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, III. 18, X. 78.

¹¹ Ibid., III. 10; *Śāk.*, p. 219.

Jātakarma,¹ Nāmadheya,² Cūḍākarma³, Upavīta,⁴ Godāna,⁵ Vivāha⁶ and Daśāha.⁷

Puṁsavana

Puṁsavana is the first of the purificatory rites performed on the quickening of the foetus on a woman perceiving the signs of a living conception with a view to the birth of a male child⁸. Hindus from the earliest times rejoiced at the idea of being blessed with a son, who freed them from one of the three debts, that of their ancestors⁹. The most important and peculiar part of the *Puṁsavana* ceremony is one in which a grain of barley and two of *masha* are placed on the palm of the right hand of the woman and after pouring a small quantity of cream or curds over these the woman is made to sip and taste the whole while mantras are chanted.

Jātakarma

Jātakarma, natal ceremony, is the fourth of the purificatory rites and the first after the child-birth. It was performed before the scission of the navel string. Soon after the birth of a son was announced the father saw his face and bathing and anointing himself properly, he performed a śrāddha to his nine ancestors and gave to the babe honey mixed with clarified butter. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa gives the details of this ceremony in his *Prayogaratna*.

Nāmadheya and Cūḍākarma

The father performed this rite, but in his absence any one might take his place. Treatises on saṁskāras and prayogas do not make a difference between the birth ceremonies of a Brāhmaṇa and those of a Kṣatriya. The *Nāmadheya* saṁskāra was performed just after the purificatory bath after the natal impurity was over according to Śaṅkha quoted by the commentator¹⁰. Cūḍākarma was performed in the first or the third year of the child¹¹. It was in this ceremony that the bunch of long hair¹² (śikhā) on the crown of a male child was left to grow.

¹ Ibid., III. 18; *Śāke.*, pp. 249, 261; *Vik.*, p. 128.

² *Raghu.*, III. 21, V. 36, VIII. 29, X. 67.

³ वृत्तचूल (चूडाकर्म) Ibid., III. 28.

⁴ Ibid., 29.

⁵ Ibid., 33.

⁶ Ibid., also cf. *Raghu.*, VII and *Ku.*, VII.

⁷ *Raghu.*, VIII. 73.

⁸ व्यक्ते गर्भे द्वितीये तु मासे पुंसवनं भवेत् । गर्भेऽव्यक्ते तृतीयेचेच्चतुर्थे मासि वा भवेत् ॥ Śaunaka quoted by the commentator; मासे द्वितीये तृतीयेवा पुंसवनं यदा पुंसा नक्षत्रेण चन्द्रमायुक्तः स्यात् Pāraskara quoted by the commentator.

⁹ ऋगुनिर्मोक्षसाधनम् *Raghu.*, X. 2; संततिच्छेद . . उपतिष्ठन्ति *Śāke.*, p. 220; also cf. *Raghu.*, I. 66; *Śāke.*, VI. 25; *Vik.*, V. 9.

¹⁰ 'अशौचं तु व्यतिक्रान्ते नामकर्म विधीयते'—on *Raghu.*, p. 42, III. 21.

¹¹ चूडाकार्या द्विजातीनां सर्वेषामेव धर्मतः ।

प्रथमेऽब्दे तृतीये वा कर्तव्या श्रुतिचोदनात् ॥ *Manusmṛti*, II. 35.

¹² स वृत्तचूलश्चलकाकपक्षकैः *Raghu.*, III. 28.

Upanayana

*Upanayana*¹ was a ceremony performed on the male child of a 'dvija' when he was given a sacred thread to wear and when he was first initiated in the vedic studies. It was thus a ceremony of initiation. The sacred thread has been considered on the person of Paraśurāma as the representative of his father² (*pitṛya-mamśa*), a Brāhmaṇa. His bow likewise was considered the sign of a Kṣatriya³ and in his case pointed to his descent from a Kṣatriya mother Reṇukā, the daughter of king Prasenajit. In still earlier times, however, the Upavīta was not the characteristic of a Brāhmaṇa alone, but of the first three classes alike. From Kālidāsa mentioning it as if it belonged to the Brāhmaṇas exclusively, it is quite likely that in his time it had come to be considered fit to be worn, as now in some cases, by the Brāhmaṇas alone. This thread, as described in the *Manusmṛti*⁴, could be made of various substances, such as cotton, hemp or woollen thread according to the class of the wearer, and it was worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The right of investiture with this thread which conferred the title of 'twice-born' was performed on youths of the first three classes, at ages varying from eight to sixteen, from eleven to twenty-two, and from twelve to twenty-four, respectively in pursuance of the Code of Manu⁵.

Godāna

Godāna⁶ was the first shaving ceremony. This ceremony differed from the Cūḍākarma in that it was performed when the chin was shaved for the first time. According to the Code of Manu⁷ it was performed in the sixteenth year of a Brāhmaṇa, twenty-second year of a Kṣatriya and in the twenty-fourth year of a Vaiśya. According to the description of Kālidāsa, it seems that the Godāna ceremony preceded the 'Vivāha' ceremony by a few hours and that it was probably performed on the occasion of Marriage⁸.

Daśāha

Vivāha was the next ceremony, that of marriage. Kālidāsa gives a detailed account of the various forms of this saṃskāra which we have already discussed at length in a previous chapter. Then comes the last that the poet has mentioned. Daśāha. This was the last ceremony performed on a *Dvija* when he was dead. It refers to the tenth impure day after which the Śrāddha ceremony was performed when the final purification was attained. These ten days were counted since the day of death, and so the saṃskāra included all the rites relating to obsequy, or *aurdh-*

¹ Upanayana or initiation in Vedic studies is a subject for which Kālidāsa furnishes enough that we have discussed under *Education*.

² *Raghu.*, XI. 64.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ II. 44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 36 ff.

⁶ *Raghu.*, III. 33.

⁷ *Manusmṛti*, II. 65.

⁸ *Raghu.*, III. 33.

*vadaibikam*¹, for example, the final decoration² (*antyamaṇḍanam*) of the dead body (which, as the passage—this very painting will be my funeral adornment³—states, refers to a custom according to which the dead body was adorned with ornaments and flowers and anointed with aguru and sandal wood⁴ before being consigned to fire); Agni-Saṃskāra⁵ or actual setting fire to the funeral pyre, after wrapping the dead body with the new white cloth (*preta cīvara*⁶); and finally the rites of the tenth day⁷. It particularly refers to the obsequial ceremony on the tenth day, still prevalent in Kashmir, which is practised in a still more complicated form among the Sivites of Kashmir. *Vallabha*, a commentator on Kālidāsa, however, points out that “Daśāha here denotes a particular ceremony and not the ten days of impurity⁸.”

We read of morning purities⁹ forming the many rites to be performed in course of the day by a *dvija* as enjoined by the Sāstras.

Fires

Before we proceed to discuss the religious observances, rites and ceremonies it will be necessary to make a reference here to the sacred fire through which all the sacrifices reached gods and with the help of which the ceremonies and rites were performed. The brahmachārī performed his various rites by the sacred fire and the householder offered his daily and other sacrifices with the help of it. It was the sacred fire of which the couple made rounds at the time of the marriage and they were expected consequently to keep it kindled all their life. The poet refers to the various kinds of the sacred fire. In the *Raghuvamśa*¹⁰ he alludes indirectly to its three kinds, namely Dakṣiṇā, Gārhapatya and Āvahaniya¹¹ which a twice-born was enjoined to consecrate and keep up. Manu¹² mentions two more fires, namely Sabhya and Avasath. The second of the three fires was that which the householder received from his father and passed on to his son and from which fires for sacrificial purposes were lighted; the third was that, lighted from the perpetual fire, in which all the offerings were made. A particular room of the house consecrated for this purpose was called *agnyagāra*¹³, fire-chamber, where fire was

¹ Ibid., VIII. 26.

² Ibid., VIII. 71; cf. *Ku.*, IV. 22.

On अन्त्यमण्डनम् Āśvalāyana's injunction is as follows प्रेतं स्तपयित्वा नलदेनानुलिप्य नलदमालां जपामालां वा प्रतिमुख्य मूलतो हतवाससः पादमात्रमच्छिद्यशेषेण प्रत्यागग्रेण प्राक्शिरसमाविः। पादमाच्छादयेयुः परिधानीयं चात्यद्बुः *Grhyapariṣṭhā*, Adhyāya III, Khanda 1.

³ मृत्युमण्डनं भविष्यति *Māl.*, p. 45.

⁴ *Raghu.*, VIII. 71.

⁵ अग्निसंस्कारतत्परा Ibid., XII. 56; cf. Ibid., VII. 72, 57; *Ku.*, IV. 22.

⁶ *Raghu.*, XI. 16.

⁷ Cf. Ibid., VIII. 73; *Śāk.*, p. 94.

⁸ दशाहोऽत्र विधिविशेषो न तु दशदिनानीति *Vallabha*—*The Birth-Place of Kālidāsa* by Lakshmidhar Kalla, p.

⁹ *Raghu.*, V. 6.

¹⁰ चतुर्थाग्निः V. 25, I. 6.

¹¹ *Manusmṛti*, II. 321.

¹² Ibid., III. 100, 185.

¹³ *Raghu.*, V. 25; अग्निराग्रेण *Śāk.*, pp. 125, 156; *Vik.*, p. 60. मंगलगृह *Māl.*, p. 88.

kept always kindled. Every morning and evening oblations were offered to it.

Sacrifices

Kālidāsa describes sacrifices frequently¹. We have already referred to the horse sacrifice as a means of conquest in a previous chapter. This was of a political nature. In the following pages we shall briefly discuss its religious aspect. Sacrifices were long and short. That kind of sacrifice in which priests sat a sacrificial session was called a *dirghasatra*². According to the fanciful theory of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the period of time required for the performance of a *satra* varied between a year and a thousand years³. *Adhvarya*⁴ has been explained by earlier writers as a sacrifice in which there was no killing⁵. But Kālidāsa does not seem to use it in this sense as his references allude to the immolation of animals⁶ and 'medhya' indeed originally referred to the object which was to be sacrificed. The animal was tied to a post called *Yūpa*⁷ and the process of fastening of the sacrificial victim itself was one of the rites of the sacrifice⁸. The poet speaks of villages granted to the śrotriya Brāhmaṇas marked by the abundance of sacrificial posts⁹. Two colossal images of such a Yūpa with an *argalā*, fastening rope, in relief are preserved in the Muttra Museum one of which is dedicated for worship by a Sāmavedī Brāhmaṇa¹⁰.

Avabhṛtha

At the beginning of a sacrifice the sacrificer (yajamāna¹¹) underwent an initiatory ceremony called *dīkṣā*¹². At that time Śiva was supposed to enter his body¹³ and make it as sacred as himself. The sacrificial enclosure was called *Yajña-saṛaṇa*¹⁴ and it could not be left by the sacrificer after he had once entered it¹⁵. The close of the sacrifice was marked by the performance of an important ceremony

¹ यज्ञ *Raghu.*, I. 26, 44, VIII. 30; *Ku.*, I. 17, II. 46, VI. 72; अध्वर *Raghu.*, I. 31, V. 1, VI. 23, XI. 1, XVI. 35; अवभृथ *Ibid.*, I. 84, IX. 22, XIII. 61; कर्तुं *Ibid.*, IX. 20, XVII. 80; *Ku.*, I. 51; सत्र *Raghu.*, I. 80; सवन VIII. 75; *Śāk.*, III. 24, cf. also *Raghu.*, I. 82, VI. 38, IX. 21, X. 4, 51, 79, XI. 24, XI. 25, 30, XIII. 37; *Ku.*, VI. 28.

² *Raghu.*, I. 80, महाकर्तुं XVII. 80.

³ I. 1, 4.

⁴ *Raghu.*, I. 31, V. 1, VI. 23, XI. 1, XVI. 35.

⁵ *Vide Manusmṛti*, V. 44.

⁶ पशुमारणकर्मयारणो. . . श्रोत्रियः *Śāk.*, VI. 1; also cf. the use of the Yūpas.

⁷ *Raghu.*, I. 44, XI. 37, VI. 38, IX. 30, XIII. 61, XVI. 35.

⁸ Cf. *Raghu.*, XI. 37.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 44.

¹⁰ Q. 13 of J. Ph. Vogel *Catalogue*.

¹¹ *Ku.*, VI. 28; *Raghu.*, I. 82; cf. *Raghu.*, IX. 21.

¹² *Raghu.*, VIII. 75, XI. 24.

¹³ *Ibid.*, IX. 21.

¹⁴ The letter of Emperor Pusyamitra to his son Agnimitra; *Māl.*, p. 102.

¹⁵ Cf. *Raghu.*, VIII. 75, मात्वन्यत्रदीक्षितविमितादादित्योभ्यदियाद्वाभ्यस्तमिवाद्वा Also Baudhāyana, *Somaprakaraṇa*.

called *Avabhr̥tha*¹ (which itself was a short sacrifice). It was performed with sixteen officiating priests at the conclusion of a *dirghasatra*, and it consisted chiefly in collecting the articles, the sacrificial implements and the refuse of the principal sacrifice for throwing them down in a river after offering oblations to Varuṇa, and in taking the final bath².

Viśvajit And Putreṣṭi

Kālidāsa alludes, besides the *Aśvamedha* and the *Dirghasatra*, to two other kinds of sacrifices called the *Viśvajit*³ and *Putreṣṭi*⁴, the former of which was performed after a world conquest and hence styled as *Mahākratu*. It distinguished itself from other sacrifices of conquest by making the sacrificer give all his treasures away⁵. The *Putreṣṭi* was performed by one desiring a son.

Dakṣiṇā to Priests

*Dakṣiṇā*⁶, the sacrificial fee, was an essential gift to officiating priests made after the conclusion of a sacrifice. The number of the officiating priests had long before become sixteen. Two of them, the Hotā⁷ and the Rtvij⁸, have been mentioned by the poet. The former of these was a term applied to the sacrificer, Yajamāna, also. The latter (i.e. Rtvij) was the priest. *Dakṣiṇā* to sixteen priests would indeed have been considerable. After the *Viśvajit* sacrifice which Raghu performed his treasury became absolutely empty⁹ and he had to make use of utensils made of clay¹⁰ instead of those of gold.

The material offered at the sacrifice was called *medhya*¹¹. It could be an animal or other offerings called *havi*¹² (also *svadhā*¹³) or *payas̥caru*¹⁴, *keḥīra* (a preparation of rice in milk and sugar). It was because of accepting the *havi* that the sacrificial fire was called *Havirbhuj*¹⁵. The sacrifices were usually offered to Indra¹⁶ whence he was styled as *makhāmśabhāj*¹⁷ also. *Srucā*¹⁸, ladle, made of the *Vikāṅkata* wood¹⁹

¹ *Raghu*, I. 84, IX. 82, XIII. 61.

² Baudhāyana, Agniṣṭomasūtra, Prāśna 5, Sūtras 62, 63 cf. दीक्षान्तोऽवभृथो यज्ञः *Amarakośa*. Also a purificatory bath at the close of a great sacrifice, Vide *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, II. 66.

³ *Raghu*, V. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, X. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 31, XVII. 80.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 82.

⁸ *Ibid.*, X. 4, XI. 25, 30, XVII. 80.

⁹ निःशेषविश्राणितकोषजातम् *Ibid.*, V. 1.

¹⁰ मृण्मये वीतहिरण्ययत्वात्पात्रे *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I. 84.

¹² *Ibid.*, 79, XIII. 37; *Ku.*, II. 15, 46, VI. 28.

¹³ *Raghu*, VIII. 30.

¹⁴ *Raghu*, X. 51.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, VI. 23, etc.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, III. 44.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XI. 25.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XI. 25.

and *araṇī*¹ were respectively the implements by which the oblations (*ābuti*²) were offered and the fire churned. *Srīvā* has been explained by Sir N. Monier Williams as 'a small wooden ladle (with a double extremity, or two oval collateral excavations, used for pouring clarified melted butter into the large ladle or *Sruk*; sometimes also employed instead of the latter in libations.)'³ *Araṇī* is likewise explained by the same lexicon as 'the piece of wood used for kindling fire by attrition.'⁴ Kuśa⁵, a sharp grass, was also utilized in the sacrifices. The sacrificer during the performance of the sacrifice carried a staff⁶ (*daṇḍa*) and sat on a skin⁷ (*ajina*). The altar was known as *vedāṣ*⁸.

Endless slaughter of animals in sacrifices seems after all to have reacted on the minds of some as we find a reference to a sacrifice free from killing an animal and thus rendered agreeable to the eye⁹. Buddhism also must have contributed its quota in bringing about such ideas respecting life.

Worship

Apart from the institution of sacrifices there were other modes of worship. The act of worship was variously called as *saparyā*¹⁰, *vidhi*¹¹, *kriyā*¹², *arcana*¹³, *balikarma*¹⁴, *pūjā*¹⁵, and the like. *Vidhi* also stood for the proper mode¹⁶ of the worship. Kuśa¹⁷, dūrvā¹⁸, unhusked rice¹⁹ (*akṣata*), flowers²⁰, etc. were the main requirements in worship. *Arghya*²¹, a preparation of honey and clarified butter mixed with certain other ingredients, was an offering made to gods²² and guests²³. We learn of offerings made at least twice a day, i. e., in the morning²⁴ as well as in the evening²⁵. *Añjalikriyā*²⁶ was the offering of water made during the daily prayer.

¹ Ku., VI. 28.

² Raghu., I. 82.

³ *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 1274, column 3.

⁴ Ibid., p. 86. column E.

⁵ Ibid., I. 49.

⁶ Ibid., IX. 21.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Śāk., III. 24.

⁹ कान्तं कर्तुं चाक्षुषं *Māl.*, I.

¹⁰ Raghu., V. 22.

¹¹ Ibid., I. 56, V. 76, VIII. 76; Ku., VIII. 50.

¹² Raghu., V. 7; Ku., 73, VIII. 47.

¹³ Śāk., p. 117.

¹⁴ Ibid., *Vik.*, III. 2, *M. M.*, 22.

¹⁵ Raghu., VII. 30.

¹⁶ Ibid., 22; Ku., VIII. 47.

¹⁷ Raghu., I. 49.

¹⁸ *Vik.*, II. 12, etc.

¹⁹ साक्षतपत्रहस्ता Raghu., II. 21; लाज Ibid., VII. 25, 26; Ku., VII. 81.

²⁰ *Vik.*, III. 2; *Māl.*, p. 66; *M. U.*, 24.

²¹ Raghu., V. 2; Ku., VI. 50.

²² Raghu., V. 2.

²³ Ku., VI. 5.

²⁴ दिवसमुल्लोचितं त्रिभिः Raghu., V. 76.

²⁵ Ibid., I. 56; Ku., VIII. 47, 50; Śāk., III. 24.

²⁶ Ku., VIII. 47.

This was also an incident of an offering made in an obsequial ceremony wherein sesamum (*tila*) was also used along water¹. The modes of worship were prescribed by the *śāstras*² which were followed³.

Anuṣṭhānas

We read in *Kālidāsa*, besides the above, *anuṣṭhānas*⁴ and *vratas*⁵ or religious rites and observances. *Anuṣṭhāna* among other things meant the reciting of certain Vedic verses for a certain number of times within the limit of a definite period accompanied by fasts and offering of oblations. It was performed to avert an imminent calamity, to restore a sick man's health or to gain an objective. For its performance generally a part of the house was kept separate. It was called *māṅgalagrha*⁶, and it may have included even the *agnyaḡāra* about which we have already made a mention.

Vrata

Vratas, religious observances, were commonly observed. Their main feature was fasting⁷ (*upavāsa*) during which certain rites were performed. *Vrata* was broken with a meagre meal called *pāraṇa*⁸ when *Brāhmaṇas* were fed and presents⁹ were given to them. *Vratas* were kept on the fulfilment of a vow, and on certain religious festivals. A woman performing a *vrata* put on a white garment, a few indispensable ornaments and stuck *dūrva* blades in her locks of hair¹⁰. The separation from the husband threw a wife into a state of *vrata* and her clothes got soiled and her tresses dry and rough¹¹. We read also of a wife observing a vow for gaining the pleasure of her husband¹² (*priyaprasādanavratam*). Some people kept the fatal observance of *prāyopaveśa*¹³ which was a gradual death through fasting. It must have been something in the manner of the religious suicide of the *Jainas*. *Kālidāsa* very enthusiastically describes the *Govrata*¹⁴ observed by *Dilīpa*. The veneration of the cow was a marked feature of the poet's days and already she had been made worthy of a reverential round by the scripture. *Asidhārāvrata*¹⁵ was perhaps the act of sleeping on the same bed with a young wife and yet abstaining from the temptation of sex appe-

¹ तिलोदकं *Śāk.*, p. 94; also जलाञ्जलिं *Raghu.*, VIII. 68.

² शास्त्रदृष्टं *Raghu.*, V. 76; विधिविदो *Ku.*, VIII. 47.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Māl.*, Act. V.

⁵ *Śāk.*, VII. 21; *Vik.*, III. 12, Ibid., pp. 74, 77.

⁶ *Māl.*, p. 88.

⁷ *Śāk.*, p. 81; *Raghu.*, VIII. 94.

⁸ *Raghu.*, II. 39, 55.

⁹ स्वस्तिवायनं *Vik.*, III.

¹⁰ *Vik.*, III. 12.

¹¹ *Śāk.*, VII. 21.

¹² *Vik.*, pp. 74, 77.

¹³ *Raghu.*, VIII. 94.

¹⁴ Ibid., II. 25.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, X. 41, XIII. 67.

tite¹. It may also have indicated a difficult task.

Religious Festivals—Purubūta

We may here make a brief mention of the religious festivals when certain gods were worshipped. The *Purubūta*² festival was observed in honour of Indra on the first appearance of the rainbow. It was held for five days from the eighth of the bright half of Bhādrapada to the twelfth. Kale explains this festival as follows: "Its chief feature is the erection of a post with a flag attached to it. Its size—गजाकारं चतुस्तम्भं पुरद्वारे प्रतिष्ठितम् । पौराः कुर्वन्ति शरदि पुरुहूत महोत्सवम् ॥ पुरुहूत, पुरुहूतध्वज lit., is he who is invoked by many, either for protection or in sacrifices; Indra, पुरुहूतध्वज, originally meant the rainbow which being the standard of fresh or retiring clouds was worshipped to show honour to Indra, the god of rain³."

Kākabali

*Kākabali*⁴ was performed for the safety of a husband living in a distant land. The wife hung up flowers corresponding to the number of days her husband was expected to remain absent. She then threw them on the floor, one by one, to ascertain the number of days that they had passed alone.

Rtūtsava

*Rtūtsava*⁵ or the great vernal festival was celebrated on the return of the spring, in honour of Kāmadeva, the god of love, who was worshipped with mango blossoms⁶. The occasion was marked with distribution of sweets⁷. This festival at present has become identical with the *Holi*, the saturnalia or the 'carnival of the Hindus when people of all conditions take liberties with one another, especially by throwing coloured water with syringes and waterpipes, as described in the *Ratnāvalī*. *Rtūtsava* or *Vasantotsava* was also celebrated by inaugurating the performance of a piece of drama. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* was first staged on such an occasion⁸.

Full-Moon Night

On full-moon days the public (*janatā*) celebrated the occasion by coming out in the open and enjoying the sight of the setting sun and the rising moon⁹. It was pre-eminently a social festival.

Festivals were observed by decorations. The external form of a festivity

¹ यत्रैकशयनस्थापि प्रमदा नोपभुज्यते ।

असिधारान्नतं वदन्ति मुनिपुंगवाः ॥ Yādava.

² *Raghu.*, IV. 3.

³ *Raghuvamśa*, note on IV. 3.

⁴ *M. U.*, 22, 24.

⁵ *Raghu.*, IX. 46; *Śāk.*, pp. 189, 912. *Māl.*, p. 2.

⁶ *Śāk.*, p. 191.

⁷ *Māl.*, p. 48.

⁸ *Māl.*, p. 2.

⁹ *Raghu.*, XI. 82.

was the decoration of the houses and the city with auspicious articles like *torana*¹, flags², made of China silk, and paintings³, etc. Ayodhya, at the coronation of Rāma⁴ Oṣadhiprastha⁵, the imaginary city of Himalaya, on the occasion of Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī, and Kuṇḍinapura⁶, the capital of Vidarbha, were all well decorated. *Torana* was a row of hanging leaves from a rope tied to posts in front of doors and along walls⁷. It was also constructed in the form of crescent gates, or arches,⁸ on roads through which a procession passed.

Pilgrimage

An important religious practice was to visit the places of pilgrimage. A bath at a place of pilgrimage (*tīrtha*⁹) was supposed to wash away sins and to attain righteous merit for the bather. The places of pilgrimage were generally fixed on the bank of some sacred stream, or in the vicinity of some holy stream. *Sacitīrtha*, referred to in the *Śākuntala*¹⁰, was such a place of pilgrimage and so were the confluences of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā¹¹ (*trivenī*), and Gaṅgā and Sarayū¹². Kāṇva goes to Somatīrtha¹³ (Prabhāsa) in order to propitiate the evil destiny of Śakuntalā. Other places of pilgrimage were Gokarna¹⁴, Puṣkara¹⁵, Apsarastīrtha¹⁶. The bank of the Tamasā was full of ascetics¹⁷ and consequently it was considered a place of pilgrimage. A dip at these *tīrthas* was supposed to render the soul free from re-birth¹⁸ and the attainment of the status and body of gods¹⁹ possible. At the coronation ceremony of a king water brought from places of pilgrimage was used for his consecration²⁰.

Popular Beliefs and Superstitions

Let us now describe the religious beliefs and superstitions of the people. A blind faith in superstitions and omens is a weakness of all early peoples, and Indians at the time of Kālidāsa were no exception to this rule. Kālidāsa says that

¹ Ibid., VII. 4; *M. U.*, 12; *Ku.*, VII. 3.

² ध्वजं *Raghu.*, VII. 4; *Ku.*, VII. 3.

³ *M. U.*, 12.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XII. 3.

⁵ *Ku.*, VII. 3.

⁶ *Raghu.*, VII. 4.

⁷ Ibid., *M. U.*, 12.

⁸ *Raghu.*, VII. 4; *M. U.*, 12.

⁹ *Raghu.*, V. 8, VIII. 95, XI. 4, 7; *Ku.*, VI. 56; *Śāk.*, pp. 22, 172, 182, 206, 260, V. 30.

¹⁰ Pp. 172, 206.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, XIII. 54-57; गङ्गायामुनयोः संगमे *Vik.*, p. 121.

¹² *Raghu.*, VIII. 95.

¹³ *Śāk.*, p. 22.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, VIII. 33.

¹⁵ Ibid., XVIII. 31.

¹⁶ *Śāk.*, V. 30, pp. 88, 260.

¹⁷ तपस्विगाढा तमसां *Raghu.*, IX. 72.

¹⁸ Ibid., XIII. 58.

¹⁹ Ibid., VIII. 95.

²⁰ Ibid., XIV. 7.

the throbbing of the right¹ eye foreboded ill to women and that of the left one² good to them. Likewise the throbbing of the right arm³ in case of a man was supposed auspicious and expected to result into something very beneficial to him.

The noise of jackals was considered an ill-omen⁴ and the work-in-hand was postponed to counteract the effects of the omen. Likewise the vulture was considered a very inauspicious bird and to auger evil to an army round whose flags it fluttered⁵.

Amulets of protection⁶ and charms of victory⁷ were worn by children and men respectively. A kind of amulet was a sort of locket, containing some herb⁸ (*aparājītā*) with supposed talismanic properties and was worn round the wrist as a safeguard against the dangers of evil spirits or the evil eye. *Aparājītā* is a climber and is botanically known as *Clitoris ternata*. If an undesirable person touched the body of the child wearing this amulet, it was supposed to change instantaneously into a serpent and bite that person⁹ (*sarpo bhūtvā daśati*).

It was believed that those who had cultivated the charm or *vidyā* called *Tiraskariṇī*¹⁰ and thus attained the power of remaining invisible, could disappear all of a sudden from the vision of all around them although remaining actually where they were. Raṅganātha explains it as *antarbhāna vidyā*—the power of remaining unseen. We read of a particular *Sikhābandhana vidyā* known as *Aparājītā*¹¹. "The idea appears to be", says S. P. Pandit, "that they were taught certain charms which they were to repeat and as they repeated them they were to tie their hairs. As long as the tie remained undisturbed they were to be proof against all molestation from the enemies of the gods. Tying certain parts of the body with charms is still practised and with this belief. . . . The *Sikhābandhana* may be either tying the hair by collecting into a knot or simply tying a piece of thread round it as round the arm. Bṛhaspati appears to have taught the Apsarases the *vidyā* in question¹²."

The belief in the lines of the palm as divine writing predestining every happening has been alluded to¹³, and we can infer from it that palmistry was a supposed science of current belief. Belief in astrology—in the effect on the fate of a person of the nearness or distance of a particular good or evil star—has been registered¹⁴ by the poet. It was believed that the swan had the instinct of separating water from milk¹⁵.

¹ *Śāk.*, p. 161.

² *Māl.*, p. 92.

³ *Śāk.*, VII.; *Vik.*, III. 9.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XVI. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XI. 26.

⁶ रक्षाकरण्डकं *Śāk.*, p. 248.

⁷ जयश्रियः वलयः *Raghu.*, XVI. 74; जैत्रामरण *Ibid.*, 83.

⁸ *Śāk.*, p. 249.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

¹⁰ *Vik.*, pp. 41, 47, 49, 72; *Śāk.*, p. 189.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹² S. P. Pandit, Note on the passage in the *Vikramorvaśī*, Act. II.

¹³ *Ku.*, V. 58.

¹⁴ *Māl.*, p. 71.

¹⁵ *Śāk.*, VI. 28.

A passage refers to a general belief of the people in the idea that a miser whose whole heart is set on his treasure throughout his life becomes a serpent after his death and keeps guard over his treasure buried in the earth¹, so that no one can touch it without the risk of his life. The guarding of the treasure is a very old belief and must have originated from the idea that serpents live in the nether regions and treasures also are kept under ground. The *stūpa* of Rampurava containing the remains of the body of Buddha was guarded by serpents of which many representations in sculpture may be witnessed in the Muttra Museum.

It was an established belief that the cobra could be reduced to a helpless condition² and made a prisoner within a charmed circle by serpent charmers. It is so even at the present time. Snake-bite was sought to be remedied by the performance of a rite called *Udakumbha-vidhāna*³. The details of the rite curing a snake-bite by using charmed water from a specially enchanted water-jar will be found in the passage quoted in the commentary from the *Bhairavatantra*. It appears that something bearing a serpent's image was duly enchanted which, it was believed, acted as an antidote. This is the manner in which the feigned snake-bite of the Vidūṣaka in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is sought to be cured. From the following speech of the Vidūṣaka it also appears to have been a common notion of the people that a person who falsely pretended an illness was visited by the fates with a reality of it in retribution, and he is glad that he is fortunate enough to escape the chastisement of pretension after a mere fright: "I think, however, I am punished for the pretended snake-bite⁴."

There were also *Daivacintakas*⁵ or fate-tellers who were believed to read and foretell the destinies of people. They seem also to have been attached to royal courts who, under the code of the *Arthaśāstra*⁶, received regular salaries like other officials of the State.

It was believed that an adverse fate could be reconciled through propitiation⁷. We read of moving shades of apparitions⁸, of houses haunted by ghosts⁹ and of persons possessed¹⁰.

It was the current popular belief that subjectively developed powers could work wonders. These powers were termed *siddhis*¹¹ *anīmā*, *laghīmā*, etc. and through these one could even journey through the air (sky¹²). Power to enter through closed doors was supposed attainable through the practice of yoga¹³.

¹ Ibid.

² *Raghu.*, II. 32.

³ *Māl.*, p. 69.

⁴ Ibid., p. 82.

⁵ Ibid., p. 71.

⁶ Bk. V. ch. 3.

⁷ दैवमस्याः . . . सोमतीर्थं गतः *Śāk.*, p. 22.

⁸ Ibid., III. 24.

⁹ सत्त्वैरभिभूयन्ते गृहाः Ibid., p. 223.

¹⁰ संशयगतं Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 30.

¹² विहायसा गत्वा Ibid., p. 263.

¹³ *Raghu.*, XVI. 7.

Most of the Puranic traditions and mythological legends had got current. Thus the story of Sagara's sacrificial horse and Kapila Muni¹, the birth of Agastya from a jar², the birth of the Gaṅgā from the toe of Viṣṇu³ and her subsequent descent to Earth from Śiva's matted hair through the efforts of Bhagīratha⁴ were current beliefs. So also were current the superstitions of a rock-raining mountain⁵, the flying mountains⁶, the gods moving in the sky⁷, celestial women⁸, Bali's deceit by Viṣṇu⁹, the rescue of Earth by Mahāvarāha an incarnation of Viṣṇu¹⁰, the birth of Hariṇī in the form of Indumatī¹¹, the existence of fire in the Samī tree¹² and such other legends referred to at several places in this work. The Puranic legends had become so current that they were recorded by poets freely and were understood clearly in poetical allusions.

The age undoubtedly believed in the supernatural tales that were made current by the Purāṇas many of which were compiled during the epoch of the poet. Magical incantations and occult rituals were freely practised. In this regard the picture of society painted by Kālidāsa is very much similar to that described by Daṇḍin, the writer of the great romance *Daśakumāracarita*, who flourished not much later than the former.

Attitude towards Life.

The attitude towards life was a fusion of both optimism and pessimism. As a matter of fact, the organization of the Hindu society is based on a synthetic and well balanced arrangement of situations and values and naturally therefore, all phases of outlook are easily discernible in it. The arrangement of the *āśramas*, particularly of the first two—the Brahmacharya and the Gārhasthya—was such as to necessarily fill the holders of these stages with a will to make progressive efforts. And in this regard the attitude of the people may be considered optimistic. It may also be borne in mind that the common people led a happy, merry and contented life. But the fact of the birth being considered a misery from which emancipation was sought, and the belief in the predestination of events and happenings may point to the acceptance of a helpless state of things and in this regard the outlook may have tended to become pessimistic. It must, however, be added here that although asceticism and the renunciation of the world may have been the outcome of such an attitude towards life which the Buddhistic pessimism may have accentuated, yet exertion was an essential and marked feature of the hermitages also. The *āśramas* themselves, especially the last two, i. e., the

¹ Ibid., III. 50.

² Ibid., IV. 51.

³ Ku., VI. 70.

⁴ Raghu., IV. 32.

⁵ Ibid., 40.

⁶ Ku., I. 20.

⁷ वैमानिकां Raghu., VI. 1.

⁸ Ibid., 27, etc.

⁹ Ibid., VII. 35.

¹⁰ Ibid., 56.

¹¹ Ibid., VIII. 79-82.

¹² Śāk., IV. 3.

vānaprastha and *sanyāsa*, were not a result of disgust and sorrow, but the consequence of a properly thought out project of life in which it was seen that no side of life starved.

Asceticism¹, of course, was considered an ideal state necessary for the attainment of the highest bliss² and Kālidāsa makes almost all his kings renounce the world and retire to the solitude of the forest. But there also an intense activity was their lot and function. There the ascetics worked for their own emancipation from the births by spiritual practices and strove to create a good order of things by imparting education to the youth who flocked to their hermitages. Those who ran the *Gurukulas* were the Brahmin anchorites. It was there that they strove to burn their actions in the fire of knowledge (*jñāna*³) and practised yoga.

Kinds of Ascetics

We read in Kālidāsa of many kinds of ascetics⁴. They were the *Jaṭilas*⁵, *Sādhakas*⁶ and *Yatis*⁷ besides those other numerous types not mentioned by the poet. Of these the *Jaṭilas* were eremites growing long matted hair⁸. *Sādhakas* were those performing *anuṣṭhānas* and bent upon acquiring their objective—the *sādhya*. *Yatis* were another class of ascetics whose dead body was not cremated but buried under ground.

Dress, etc.

The dress and emblems⁹ of an ascetic were distinctive. The dress proper was made of the bark of trees¹⁰ (*valkala*) which was worn even by women¹¹ ascetics. Śiva is said to use an elephant hide for his dress¹². Whenever dress made of cloth was put on it was dyed red (*kaṣāya*¹³). The girdle was made of a rope of the *muñja* plant whence it was called *mauñjī*¹⁴. It was also sometimes made of *kuśa*¹⁵. The seeds of *akṣa* or *rudrākṣa*¹⁶, as they were called, were made into a string and used as an earring¹⁷, wristlet (*valaya*¹⁸) and a necklace (*mālā*) and a rosary. Sometimes even crystals were used to make an *akṣamālīkā* for the fingers¹⁹. Skin (*ajina*²⁰) and

¹ प्रव्रज्या-Raghu., VII. 6; न्यास Ibid., 18.

² अपवर्ग Ibid., VIII. 16.

³ Ibid., 20.

⁴ Ibid., 17, 25, IX. 76, बैखानस Śāk., p. 21; Raghu., XIII. 87; Ku., V. 29; Māl., p. 97.

⁵ Raghu., XIII. 78.

⁶ Vik., IV.

⁷ Raghu., VIII. 25; Māl., I. 14, p. 97.

⁸ Raghu., XIII. 59; Ku., III. 46, V. 9, 47; Śāk., VII. 11; Vik., V. 19.

⁹ Raghu., VIII. 16.

¹⁰ Raghu., XII. 8, XIV. 82; Ku., V. 8, 30, 44; Śāk., I. 17, p. 28, II. 12; Vik., p. 135.

¹¹ Śāk., I. 17, II. 12; Raghu., XIV. 82; Ku., V. 8, 44.

¹² कुत्तिवास Ku., I. 54.

¹³ Māl., p. 99.

¹⁴ Ku., V. 10.

¹⁵ Raghu., IX. 21.

¹⁶ Ibid., XIII. 43; Ku., III. 46, V. 11 63.

¹⁷ Raghu., XIII. 43.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ku., V. 63.

²⁰ Raghu., IX. 21; Ku., V. 30.

kusa were utilized as *āsanas*. The bed of the ascetic was either of the *kusa*¹ grass or the bare earth² itself. A particular class of ascetics called *Danḍi* carried a staff (*danḍa*³). A *kamaṇḍalu* also was a necessary emblem of the ascetic. People living in penance groves used *iṅgudī* oil for their head⁴ and for lamps⁵.

Austerities

Ascetics excelled in the performance of *tapas*⁶, i. e., self-mortification. Kālidāsa depicts very vividly the kinds of rigorous austerity which they practised in their *tapovanas*, the penance groves. The descriptions do not always seem to have been given of austerities witnessed and they may have been recorded on the strength of the *Purāṇas* which are full of them. The description of Marici in the *Sākuntala* is vivid. The sage had become so completely absorbed in meditation that he was quite oblivious to all that was happening to his mortal tenement in the place where he was sitting. He stayed unmoveable like the trunk of a tree or a pillar. An anthill had grown round him and had buried half his body. Serpents freely moved on his chest and birds had made nestles in the mass of his matted hair⁷. Another mode of performing penance was by sitting in the middle of four fires, the summer sun shining on the head as the fifth⁸. In the *Kumārasambhava* Umā, performing penance for obtaining Śiva as her husband, exposes herself to the appalling heat and smoke of four fires during summer, lies in icy cold water in winter and sleeps on naked rocks in the rains⁹. She puts on a girdle of the *muñja* plant¹⁰ and wears a string of akṣa on her fingers¹¹. She living on bare water like trees¹² and wearing barks of trees¹³ put the austerities of great anchorites to shame¹⁴ through her own mortification. The penance of Umā may be taken for the type. We have, besides, the reference to a sage living exclusively on *darbhā* grass¹⁵, to another, self-restrained in his actions, standing in the midst of four fires constantly fed with fuel while the sun scorching his head¹⁶, to a third with his one arm always kept raised up and the other holding the rosary of *rudrākeṣa* on the wrist¹⁷. Another such ascetic is said to be throwing himself in the fire propitiated with the sacred fuel after having consecrated himself with

¹ *Raghu*, VIII. 18.

² *Ibid.*, I. 95.

³ *स्थाण्डिल Ku.*, V. 12.

⁴ *Raghu*, IX. 21.

⁵ *Śāk.*, p. 200; *Raghu*, XIV. 81.

⁶ *Ku.*, V. 6, 18, 25, 28, 29; *Śāk.*, p. 262.

⁷ *Śāk.*, VII. 11.

⁸ *Ku.*, V. 20; *Raghu*, XIII. 41.

⁹ *Ku.*, V. 23-25.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹² *Ibid.*, 22.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 8, 16.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁵ *Raghu*, XIII. 39.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 41; cf. 43.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

*mantras*¹. There were those others hanging from the branches of trees with their heads downwards and their eyes red with the smoke of the fire². In this manner the ascetics performed *tapas* for the realization of their object³. It was supposed that as a result of penance one could know and see everything⁴ whether past or future, and that the ascetic could punish his offender through *śāpas* (curses). But *śāpa* utilized as a weapon against a miscreant when other means were existent was considered ruinous to *tapas*⁵. A non-twice-born ascetic had no right to perform penances⁶. In spite of these instances of self-mortification, sane people advocated moderation in austerities and asserted that the physical body was the first and the foremost requisite in the performance of *Dharma*⁷ and so it must be kept safe. As a matter of fact, there is an indication in a reference that keeping a moral restraint on the body, speech, and thought was the real *tapas* of the three kinds⁸.

Hermitages

Uninterrupted austerities could be practised only in the hermitages situated in the solitude of forests. There the conventional bonds of the society were conspicuous by their absence and harder regulations and stricter modes of religious life were practised. There in the sylvan solitude, nature herself aided the meditation of the ascetics. Kālidāsa gives a graphic picture of the quiet and peaceful life in these hermitages (*tapovanas*)⁹. A hermitage could be easily distinguished by the wild rice fallen about from the nests of the parrots¹⁰, by the oily stones used for cracking the *ingudi* fruit,¹¹ by the deer, accustomed to freedom and love, standing unconcerned on the approach of a chariot¹², by the water dripping from the bark-clothes of the ascetics suspended from the boughs of trees¹³, and by the narrow artificial canals full of water washing the roots of trees¹⁴.

Towards the end of the day the penance grove got full of hermits returning from other parts of the forests fetching the sacrificial wood, *kusa* grass, and flowers and fruits¹⁵. This function was perhaps allotted to the young sons of the sages¹⁶. Birds and animals were affectionately looked after¹⁷. Many a deer was almost

¹ Ibid., 45.

² Ibid., XV. 49.

³ फलोदय *Ku.*, V. 6.

⁴ तपः *Śāk.*, p. 262.

⁵ *Raghu.*, XV. 3.

⁶ द्विजेतरतपस्विभ्युतं Ibid., IX. 76.

⁷ शरीरमाद्यं खलुधर्मसाधनम् *Ku.*, V. 33.

⁸ *Raghu.*, V. 5.

⁹ *Ku.*, III. 24, V. 17; *Raghu.*, II. 18, XI. 13; *Śāk.*, I. 28, p. 52, II. 7, p. 174; *Vik.*, p. 135.

¹⁰ नीबाराः शुक्कगर्भकोटर *Śāk.*, p. I. 13.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., also *ibid.*, 28.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, I. 51.

¹⁵ Ibid., I. 49; *Vik.*, p. 128.

¹⁶ पुष्पसमिलकुशनिमित्तं ऋषिकुमारकैः *Vik.*, p. 128.

¹⁷ *Śāk.*, I. 13, IV. 13; *Raghu.*, I. 50, 51, etc.

adopted as a son and was given a name¹. When the deer got hurt by the sharp *kuśa* grass while grazing, *ingudi* oil was applied to its wound². Hermitages were often crowded with the deer blocking the doors of the huts approaching the wives of sages to be fed³ by them as children by mothers⁴. After the sunset the deer sat ruminating⁵ on the *āśrama* ground near the altars⁶. The wild rice (*nīvāra*) was collected and heaped⁷ before the huts. The trees of the *āśrama* were regarded as children and were irrigated by the daughters of hermits.⁸ Umā⁹, Sītā¹⁰, and Sakuntalā¹¹ are said to have watered these trees with small irrigating jars¹².

Guests

An ascetic was given a hut (*nṭaja*¹³, *parṇasālā*¹⁴) where a light fed by the *ingudi* oil¹⁵ burned at night and a bed of the holy hide¹⁶ or *kuśa* mat¹⁷ was spread out. Such a peaceful *āśrama*¹⁸ was indeed to be approached with due restraint¹⁹ on the part of a guest, for it was a *dharmāranya*²⁰, a righteous penance grove. Polite eremites, who were themselves pre-eminent in the practice of self control²¹, received him with regard while the gathering smoke laden with the sacrificial offerings sanctified²² the new comer. The guest to the hermitage was then duly entertained²³.

Hermitages were celebrated for their life of restraint (*śamapradhāna*²⁴) and they breathed a calm and peaceful air. This is why the city when entered by a hermit presented such a contrast to him. He felt as though he had entered a house ablaze with fire²⁵ or as though the bathed had been touched by the oily, cleanliness

¹ स मे पुत्रकृतको दीर्घापांगो नाम मृग *Śāk.*, p. 173. IV. 13. Ibid., IV. 13.

² *Raghu.*, I. 50.

³ Ibid., *Śāk.*, IV. 13, p. 173.

⁴ *Raghu.*, I. 52.

⁵ Ibid., XIV. 79.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Cf. Ibid., II. 36; *Ku.*, V. 14.

⁸ तपस्विजन्यकाः सेचनघटैः *Śāk.*, p. 25; cf. *Raghu.*, XIV. 78; *Ku.*, V. 14.

⁹ *Ku.*, V. 14.

¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XIV. 78.

¹¹ *Śāk.*, pp. 25 ff.

¹² *Raghu.*, XIV. 78; *Ku.*, V. 14; *Śāk.*, p. 25.

¹³ *Raghu.*, I. 50, XIV. 81, XIX. 2; *Ku.*, V. 17.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, I. 95.

¹⁵ Ibid., XIV. 81.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., I. 95.

¹⁸ शान्तं *Śāk.*, I. 14; cf. आश्रम Ibid., pp. 23, 65, VII. 11; *Vik.*, 128.

¹⁹ विनीतवेष्टेण *Śāk.*, p. 24.

²⁰ Ibid., I. 29.

²¹ *Raghu.*, I. 55.

²² Ibid., 53.

²³ Ibid., 58, XIV. 82; *Ku.*, V. 31; *Śāk.*, pp. 21, 22.

²⁴ *Śāk.*, II. 7.

²⁵ Ibid., V. 10.

had been oppressed by dirt and the free put in chains¹. Naturally therefore, the conduct not suited to the hermitage was condemned. Violence was detested and considered an unpardonable offence². A rigorous discipline was maintained and the transgressor was readily sent away. A little boy, Āyus, the son of Purūravā, who had aimed at and killed a vulture, was expelled³ from the *āśrama* by Cyavana despite his young age.

A number of ancient hermitages has been recorded by Kālidāsa. We read of penance groves spreading along the Ganges⁴. The *āśramas* of individual sages mentioned by the poet were those of Vālmiki⁵, Vasiṣṭha⁶, Kaṇva on the Mālinī⁷ Cyavana⁸, Agastya⁹, Śātakarṇī¹⁰, Śarabhaṅga¹¹, Marīci¹² and of others.

Religious Cults

Religious cults had arisen long before Kālidāsa and both Vaiṣṇavism and Saivism were flourishing in the land. We have already discussed the Bhāgavata, Pāsupata, and other cults before in the context of important individual deities. Although there are no direct references made by the poet to Buddhism, its existence is warranted by the record of Fahien¹³, a contemporary pilgrim from China.

Cosmogony

We have already noted the belief in the creation of the cosmos (*ṣṛṣṭi*¹⁴, *sarga*¹⁵) by Brahmā, here we may revert to the subject of cosmogony and mark a few more features of it. The universe has been variously called as *saṁsāra*, *jagat*, and by such other synonyms of these which imply a constant change of form typified by the births and deaths. The universe is supposed to be created and destroyed by Brahmā at the end of a *Kalpa*¹⁶. A *Kalpa* which forms but a day of Brahmā is equal to 1,000 cycles of human ages, i.e., 432 millions of human years; so long the creation exists. At the end of this period a night of equal duration follows, in which the universe collapses and is turned into an immense ocean, all things merging into hopeless chaos. Viṣṇu, the lord of all, sleeps on his Śeṣa on the surface of water till the break of the morn, when the universe is created again, and a new *Kalpa* begins. It is supposed that Viṣṇu in the form of an immense boar

¹ Ibid., 11.

² आश्रमविरुद्धवृत्तिना Śāk., VII. 18; cf. Vik., pp. 128-129.

³ निर्यातमैनमुर्वशीहस्ते न्यासमिति Ibid., p. 129.

⁴ Raghu., XIV. 28.

⁵ Ibid., 75-82.

⁶ Ibid., I. 35, 48 ff.

⁷ Śāk., p. 21.

⁸ Vik., pp. 128-129.

⁹ Raghu., XIII. 36.

¹⁰ Ibid., 38, ff.

¹¹ Ibid., 45.

¹² Śāk., pp. 238 ff.

¹³ James Legge: *Fahien's Record of Buddhist Kingdom*, (throughout the work).

¹⁴ Ku., II. 4, 6, 7, 8, 10.

¹⁵ Ibid., 6, 7.

¹⁶ Raghu., VII. 56; Ku., II. 8.

lifted up the submerged earth above the surface of the ocean holding it upon his jaws¹.

Kālidāsa refers to seven regions² of the cosmos which rise one above the other. He, however, does not specifically name them. But traditionally they are enumerated thus: the earth; the space between the earth and the sun, the region of the munis, siddhas, etc.; the heaven of Indra above the sun or between the sun or the polar star; the region above the polar star and the abode of Bhṛgu and other celestial sages, who survive the destruction of the three worlds situated below; that, which is described as the abode of Brahmā's sons; the abode of deified sages; and the abode of Brahmā. Brahmā, here identified with Viṣṇu³, is the holder⁴ of all these regions enumerated above.

Eschatology

Here we may discuss a few incidents of eschatology referred to by Kālidāsa. We shall first refer to the soul and its transmigration. Dim recollection of occurrences in former states of existence are supposed occasionally to cross the mind⁵.

The Soul and Its Transmigration

The chain of births⁶ is the transmigration of soul and it is the main principle of all Hindu metaphysics. The spirit or soul which occurs so often in course of the descriptions of the poet has been defined as 'witness, solitary, bystander, spectator, passive' by the *Sāñkhya Kārikā*⁷, and 'eternal' and 'indestructible' by the *Bhagavadgītā*⁸. All speculations in the Hindu philosophy start with it making it the very foundation of the metaphysical discussions. All philosophical speculations, whether Brahmanical or Buddhist, seek to answer the question: How to stop the metempsychosis? The chain of births must be discontinued. The soul which is a prisoner in the body must be emancipated. The ephemeral unreal corporeal existence must cease and the soul must be set free from the fetters of the body (*śarīrabandha*⁹) to attain the state of undefinable bliss. Freedom from the transmigration (*śarīrabandha*) is not possible unless all actions good or bad, i.e., the fruits thereof, are burnt down¹⁰. Aja, waiting for Indumatī and contemplating to commit suicide in order to regain her is warned against it by the disciple of Viśiṣṭa in the following manner: You will not be able to claim her, even if you die after her; for the ways of those who enjoy the other world lie along different roads according to their respective actions¹¹.

¹ Ibid., *Ku.*, VI. 8.

² *Raghu.*, X. 21.

³ Ibid., 20-22.

⁴ *Ku.*, II. 6-8.

⁵ *Raghu.*, I. 20.

⁶ जन्मात्तर Ibid., VII. 15. प्रथमजन्मचेष्टिताम् XI. 22, cf. I. 20; XVIII. 50; *Śāk.*, IV. 1.

⁷ Verse XIX.

⁸ II. 17-25.

⁹ *Raghu.*, XIII. 58.

¹⁰ Ibid., VIII. 20; cf. *Vedānta sūtrā*, IV. 1, 13, 14.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, VIII. 85.

But the poet asserts that for those that take a dip on the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā there is no *śarīrabandha* although they may not have obtained *tattvajñāna*¹. The idea of 'Paraloka'² or next world was always present in the mind of the people during the age of the poet.

The phrase *saṁskāra* is used in different senses by Kālidāsa, i.e., in the sense of polishing³, grammatical purity⁴, mental culture⁵, etc. He uses this word also for the impressions produced by good or bad actions performed by an individual in a previous existence⁶. Such impressions are called *saṁskāras* because they are supposed to remain clinging to the soul of the individual who performed them like the smell (*vāsanā*) of a thing like musk, which though itself separated, yet remains in the cloth. The new-born infant proceeding, untaught, to suck its mother's breast, is said to illustrate a case in point.

Death

Death was supposed but the nature of the sentient beings⁷. Life, however, was a mere deviation from that mature state, death was natural and normal, life unnatural and abnormal⁸. It has been said that death is not the final extinction of life of the spirit but only its sleep, long sleep (*dīrghanidra*⁹). This idea accords well with the theory of a chain of births and the transmigration of soul. The stupid minded alone were supposed to consider the loss of a dear person as a dart fixed in the heart, but the firm-minded regarded the same as a dart extracted on account of its serving as a door leading to bliss¹⁰. It was said that the uninterrupted flow of tears shed by relations simply tormented the departed soul¹¹. Yama, the restrainer, the Pluto of the Greeks and the regent of the southern region, was supposed to be the god of the dead and the lord of the nether regions.

Life after Death

There was thus a life after death. We read of the *lokāntara*¹² and *paraloka*¹³ which imply an existence of the spirit (*preta*¹⁴) beyond death in a particular region. The conception of *svarga* and *naraka*, consequent upon actions meritorious and otherwise, had long before come into existence. Good actions were expected to gain *svarga*¹⁵ for a man where divine women received him¹⁶ and where

¹ Ibid., XIII. 58.

² Ibid., 49, 85; *Ku.*, IV. 10, 28.; *Raghu.*, I. 69.

³ *Raghu.*, III. 18.

⁴ Ibid., XV. 76; *Ku.*, I. 28.

⁵ *Raghu.*, III. 35; *Ku.*, VII. 74.

⁶ *Raghu.*, I. 20.

⁷ Ibid., II. 57.

⁸ मरणं प्रकृतिः शरीरिणां विकृतिर्जीवितमुच्यते बुद्धेः Ibid., VIII. 87.

⁹ Ibid., XII. 81.

¹⁰ Ibid., 88.

¹¹ Ibid., 86.

¹² Ibid., I. 69.

¹³ Ibid., VIII. 49, 85; *Ku.*, IV. 10, 38.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, XI. 16; *Ku.*, V. 68.

¹⁵ *Raghu.*, XI. 87, XV. 29; *Ku.*, VI. 37; *M. P.*, 30.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, VII. 53.

the company of gods¹ was assured. Among such good actions were also included a bath on the confluence of certain rivers² and death resulting through fighting³. Svarga was otherwise known as the heaven of Viṣṇu (*Vaiṣṇavam dhāman*)⁴. Those spirits that cannot gain admittance in Svarga go to the *pitṛloka*, i. e., the celestial region of the Pitṛs, the ancestors. The seven *lokas* have already been treated elsewhere.

Pitṛs⁵ are the deceased ancestors. They reside in a particular region. The Hindu conception of a man's relationship with his departed ancestors is in the form of an obligation of the former to the latter. The Hindu male owes three kinds of *ṛṇas*, i. e., debts, namely *ṛṣi-ṛṇa*⁶ which is paid through his studies of the Vedas, *deva-ṛṇa*⁷, paid through his performance of sacrifices and other religious practices, and the *pitṛ-ṛṇa* paid through the procreation of a male child. *Pitṛ-ṛṇa*⁸ was the last of the three debts whence it was called also the last debt (*antyaṃ ṛṇam*)⁹. The idea was of handing down what one had received. Man receives a life and he must, therefore, beget a son and thus perpetuate his line. Hence the compulsory character of the rite of marriage among the Hindus. The Pitṛs are styled as *pinḍabhājāḥ*,¹⁰ eaters of oblations. This term is applied to the three immediate ancestors namely, the father, the grandfather and the great-grandfather. The ceremony of offering oblations, which was performed on the death of the father and on his death anniversaries, was called *Pitṛ-kriyā*¹¹ or *Srāddha*. These offerings were supposed necessary for securing the well-being of the souls of the dead. The offering of the oblations could be performed only by a male child in whose absence the ancestors would not receive their meals. Duṣyanta¹² and Dilīpa¹³ equally bemoan their childlessness and its far-reaching consequences.

Excepting a few incidents like the description of hermitages, the details of worship and religious convictions of the people, the endless Puranic references to idols and incarnations, rites and modes of worship are by no means remnants of that early age which the poet seeks to describe for it can be shown that they had not yet developed. They are, therefore, more truly a reflection of his own age.

¹ Ibid., 51, VIII. 95.

² Ibid., VIII. 95, XIII. 58.

³ Ibid., VII. 51-53.

⁴ Ibid., XI. 85.

⁵ Ibid., I. 67, 71, V. 8, VI. 20, VIII. 30, XII. 61; *Śāk.*, VI. 24, 25.

⁶ *Raghu.*, VIII. 30.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., I. 71, VI. 20.

⁹ Ibid., I. 71.

¹⁰ *Śāk.*, VI. 24.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, XII. 61.

¹² *Śāk.*, VI. 25.

¹³ *Raghu.*, I. 67-71.

PHILOSOPHY

Innumerable references to philosophical doctrines in the writings of the poet throw a flood of light on the metaphysical speculations current during the poet's time. By bringing together the data furnished by Kalidāsa it will be possible to build up a readable account of the contemporary philosophy. Almost all the schools of Indian philosophy, the Sāṅkhya, Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya and Yoga, have been alluded to by the poet, and we shall treat of them in the following pages, one by one.

Sāṅkhya

Kalidāsa seems to accept the Sāṅkhya-yoga view of the nature of the universe. The three constituents of Nature, *Sattva* (light), *Rajas* (activity) and *Tamas* (inertia) have found constant mention in his works¹. The mystic three or the triad of *guṇas* (*triguṇāḥ*) residing in Prakṛti (*prakṛtiṣṭham*²) are the Sattva, Rajas and Tamas³. Prakṛti is the state of a perfect equipoise of these three *guṇas*⁴. The three *guṇas* have been explained in the *Tattva Samāsa*, a text book of the Sāṅkhya school, in the following manner: By the triad of *guṇas* is meant the 'three *guṇas*.'

Triad of Qualities

Goodness is endlessly diversified accordingly as it is exemplified in calmness, lightness, complacency, attainment of wishes, kindness, contentment, patience, joys and the like; summarily it consists of happiness. Foulness is endlessly diversified, accordingly as it is exemplified in grief, distress, separation, excitement, anxiety, fault-finding, and the like; summarily it consists of pain. Darkness is endlessly diversified, accordingly as it is exemplified in envelopment, ignorance, disgust, abjectness, heaviness, sloth, drowsiness, intoxication and the like; summarily it consists of delusion.

Prakṛti

The triad of *guṇas* is a term familiar to all the systems of Hindu philosophy. The life of man with all its virtues, motives, feelings, passions, aspirations and actions of all kinds are supposed to have been generated from the three *guṇas*⁵.

¹ *Ku.*, II. 4; *Raghu.*, VIII. 21, X. 38; *Māl.*, I.

² *Raghu.*, VIII. 21.

³ सत्त्वं प्रकाशकं इष्टं, उपष्टम्भकं चलञ्च रजः, गुरुवरणकमेव तमः *Sāṅkhya-Kārika*, 13., cf. *Yogasūtras*,

II. 18.

⁴ सत्त्वरजस्तमसां साम्यावस्था प्रकृतिः *Sāṅkhya-sūtra*, I. 61. cf. also *Kārikā*, 16.

⁵ त्रैगुण्योद्भवं लोकचरितं *Māl.*, I.

These gunas constitute matter and generate all modifications. Prakṛti¹ is, according to the Sāṅkhya school, the root cause in the formation of the universe². Following *Sāṅkhya*, the poet calls it *avyakta*³. The two principal categories of the Sāṅkhyas are Prakṛti also called Pradhāna, the chief, and Puruṣa (spirit). Prakṛti is the principle of change and the object enjoyed and also the origin of the seven principal evolutes and sixteen other products⁴. Puruṣa is consciousness, the unchanging amidst change, the subject par excellence. According to the Sāṅkhya system, the universe is the development of Prakṛti, and Puruṣa or spirit takes no part in its creation. He is passive, a mere looker on, while Prakṛti evolves the cosmos. Prakṛti acts for the benefit of the Puruṣa: "The one is blind," says the *Kārikā*⁵, which Kālidāsa seems to endorse⁶, "the other is lame. Their union is essential for the purpose of creation." Prakṛti is said by the poet to be the accomplisher of the desire or purpose (*artha*) of the Puruṣa⁷. The epithet *puruṣārthapravartini* used for Prakṛti is strictly in keeping with the Sāṅkhya system⁸. It may be noted here that although the context is one of a eulogy of God, nevertheless the terminology, and the manner of treatment is that of the Sāṅkhyas. Kālidāsa characterizes Puruṣa as *Udāśina* and *taddarśi*⁹. This conception, indeed, is of the older Sāṅkhya system contained in the *Kāthaka* and the *Mahābhārata*.

Buddhi

The Sāṅkhya conception¹⁰ of *Buddhi* (*mahattatva*) or intellect has also been alluded to by Kālidāsa in his phrase *buddherivāvyaktam*¹¹. Hemādri explains the phrase to mean 'like *mūlaprakṛti*, the invisible cause of *Buddhi*'. *Mūlaprakṛti* is in fact the three gunas that have not yet produced anything¹². While commenting on the phrase *Cāritravardhana* notes that 'Prakṛti is said to be the cause of Intellect (*Buddhi*) or *Mahattatva*'.¹³

The poet refers also to the external sensory or motor organs in his phrase

¹ *Ku.*, II. 13.

² मूलप्रकृतिरविकृतिर्महदाद्याः प्रकृतिविकृतयः सप्त । षोडशकस्तु विकारो न प्रकृतिर्न विकृतिः पुरुषः *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, 3. Cf. प्रकृतेर्महान्महतोऽहंकारः *S. Sutrās* cf. *Kaṭha* I. 1, 10-11, II. 3, 7-8; cf. also *Ku.*, II. 11.

व्यक्तोव्यक्तेतरश्चासि

³ *Raghu.*, X. 18.

⁴ Cf. *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, 3.

⁵ पञ्चव्यवदुभयोरपि संयोगस्तत्कृतस्सर्गः *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, 21, cf. also *Ibid.*, 57.

⁶ *Ku.*, II. 13; cf. *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, II. 161, 163, cf. also तस्माच्चविपर्ययोऽसिद्धिं साक्षित्वमस्य पुरुषस्य । कैवल्यं माध्यस्थ्यं द्रष्टृत्वमकर्तृभावश्च || *S. K.*, 19.

⁷ प्रकृतिं पुरुषार्थप्रवर्तिनीं *Ku.*, II. 13.

⁸ *S. K.*, 17; *S. S.*, III. 1.

⁹ *Ku.*, II. 13. Puruṣa is characterized elsewhere as दर्शितविषय (*Yogasūtra-bhāṣya*: Cf. तद्दर्शनम् of the poet), and for whom the object exists. तदर्थ एव दृश्यस्यात्मा *Yogasūtra*, II. 21; द्रष्टृदशमात्रः बुद्धोऽपि प्रत्ययानुपश्यः *Ibid.*, II. 20; also cf. *S. S.*, II. 161, 163.

¹⁰ *S. K.*, 23-24.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, XIII. 60; cf. *Vik.*, p. 61.

¹² बुद्धेः स्वयं मूलप्रकृतिकारणमिव । अनुत्पादितकार्याणि सत्त्वरजस्तमांसि मूलप्रकृतिः ||

¹³ बुद्धेर्महत्तत्त्वस्य कारणं प्रकृतिं कथयन्ति ।

*sabāhyakaraṇa*¹ and to the mind in the phrases *antarātma*² and *antaḥkaraṇa*.³ The organs of sense, according to the Sāṅkhya system,⁴ are divided into two classes, external (*bāhyendriya*) and internal (*antaḥkaraṇa*). The external organs are of two kinds: the five organs of perception (*Jñānendriya*), namely the ears, eyes, skin, tongue and nose; and the five organs of actions (*karmendriya*), namely the throat, hands, feet, the organ of digestion and that of generation.⁵ The internal organs are the following, namely the inner sense (*manas*) or the organ of thought, the intellect (*buddhi*) and the ego sense (*abamkāra*). Antaḥkaraṇa carries the consciousness and feeling of misery from one birth to another. The control of the senses, the *Indriyas*⁶, the poet says, is to be achieved through *tattvajñāna*⁷, knowledge of the real nature of things. The *Kāthopaniṣad* brings out the relationship of the senses, mind, intellect, soul and Brahmā.⁸

Pramāṇās

Kalidasa, following the Sāṅkhya school, refers to the three *pramāṇās*⁹ or means of obtaining correct knowledge of the nature of all existing things. They are as follows: Pratyakṣa, perception by the senses, Anumāna, inference, and Āptavāk, credible assertion or trustworthy testimony including Vedic revelation.

The saving knowledge which delivers Puruṣa, from the misery of transmigration consists according to the Sāṅkhya system, in realizing the absolute distinction (*vivekakhyāti*) between spirit and matter. Kapila was the first to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the two domains of matter and spirit. His conception is entirely dualistic, admitting only of two things, both without beginning and end, but essentially different, matter on the one hand, and an infinite plurality of individuals on the other.

Vedānta

Kālidāsa does not specifically allude to the Vedānta philosophy as a system. There is no theory of illusion (*māyā*), no proper doctrine of the identity of the individual with the absolute except perhaps in one reference.¹⁰ He refers instead to the popular Vedānta and the pantheistic conception of God. His panegyric prayers

¹ *Sāk.*, p. 235; *Vik.*, p. 117; *Raghu.*, XIV. 50.

² *Sāk.*, p. 235.

³ *Vik.*, p. 117.

⁴ करणं त्रयोदशविधं *S. K.*, 30; अन्तःकरणं त्रिविधं दशधा बाह्यं *Ibid.*, 33, For sense organs बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि चक्षुः श्रोत्र, etc. of *ibid.*, 26.

⁵ श्रोत्रं त्वक्चक्षुषी जिह्वा नासिका चैव पञ्चमी ।

पायूपस्थं हस्तपादं वाक्चैव दशमी स्मृता ॥ *Ms.*, II. 90.

⁶ *Raghu.*, IV. 60, V. 23, VIII. 10; *Vik.*, p. 61.

⁷ *Raghu.*, IV. 60, XIII. 58.

⁸ इन्द्रियेभ्यः पराह्यर्था अर्थेभ्यश्च परं मनः । मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्बुद्धेरात्मा महान्परः । महतः परमव्यक्तमव्यक्तात्पुरुषः परः । पुरुषाच्च परं किञ्चित्सा काष्ठा सा परा गतिः । 3, 10-11 प्रकृतेर्महान्महतो जहंकारो जहंकारात् पञ्चतन्मात्राण्यभयमिन्द्रियं तन्मात्रेभ्यः स्थूलभूतानि पुरुष इति पञ्चविंशतिर्गणः ॥ *S. S.*, 61.

⁹ *Raghu.*, X. 28, XIII. 60. cf. दृष्टमनुमानाप्तवचनं च सर्वप्रमाणसिद्धत्वात् । त्रिविधं प्रमाणं इष्टं प्रमेयसिद्धिः प्रमाणाद्धि ॥ *S. K.*, 4.

¹⁰ ब्रह्मभूयं गतिं *Raghu.*

embody the spirit of the Upaniṣads and the *Bhagavadgītā* which we shall try to elucidate in due context. To the Upaniṣads the poet directly refers in his phrase *Vedāntesu*.¹ Passages² treating of the origin of the universe from *Īvara*, i.e., both the material and the efficient cause of the universe, and of all things going back to him in *pralaya* are reminiscent, of yet not identical with the Upaniṣadic conception of *Brahma* as the cause of the universe.³ The same ideas are referred to in the *Brahmasūtras*.⁴ In the *Raghuvamśa* we have a long prayer addressed to Viṣṇu. There the deity is praised as one producing, holding in existence and ultimately destroying the universe⁵. According to the Vedānta philosophy, Nirguṇa *Brahma* without form and entirely unbound and unaffected by any of three qualities is the only really existing entity. This idea of the transcendent *Brahma* existing as a *Kevalātmā* prior to his assumption of the three qualities for the purpose of creation is noted by the poet.⁶ The Upaniṣads repeat this idea of the existence of the only entity before creation.⁷ When *Brahma* wishes to create the phenomenal world he assumes the quality of activity (*Rajas*) and becomes a male person, *Brahmā* (at one stage splitting himself into two persons, both male and female⁸), the creator; next in the process of still further evolution, he invests himself with the quality of goodness or *Sattva* and becomes Viṣṇu or the preserver, and finally he invests himself with the third quality of *Tamas* and appears as *Śiva*, the destroyer. It is always one *Brahmā* that assumes these three characters⁹. In the phrase *jagadyoniḥ*¹⁰ again we read an allusion to the Vedāntic theory of creation, for there it is said that God being the material and efficient cause of the universe there can be nothing beyond Him¹¹. The principle of pantheism is illustrated in the designation of *Śiva* as *Aṣṭmūrti*¹² and in his identification with the eight elements of Nature, namely *Prthvī*, *Āpa*, *Teja*, *Vāyu*, *Ākāśa*, *Sūrya*, *Candra*, and *Brāhmaṇa*.¹³ Viṣṇu is identified with the highest specimens and consequently with the *Himālaya* as the highest of all mountains¹⁴. This conception is remarkably akin to that contained in the tenth chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā* where the lord identifies himself with all the best parts of the universe. Following the same source, *Brahmā* is identified with the father of the fathers, god of the gods, with one be-

¹ *Vik.*, I. 1.

² *Raghu.*, X. 16, 18, 20; *Ku.*, II. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

³ यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते । येन जातानि जीवन्ति । यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति । तद्विजिज्ञासस्व । तद्ब्रूहेति । *Taittirīya Up.*, III. 1.

⁴ जन्माद्यस्य यतः I. 1, 2; योनिश्च हि गीयते I. 4, 27.

⁵ X. 16. cf. *Śiva* सर्गस्थितिप्रत्यवहारहतुः *Ibid.*, II. 44; *Brahmā* प्रलयस्थितिसर्गाणां *Ku.*, II. 6.

⁶ *Ku.*, II. 4.

⁷ आत्मा वा इदमेक एवाग्र आसीन्नान्यत्किञ्चनमिषत् स ईक्षत् लोकान्सृजा इति *Aitareya Up.*, I. 1. स देव सोऽप्येदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयम् — *Chāndogya Up.*, VI. 2, 1. तदैक्ष्यत बहुस्यां प्रजायेयेति . . *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁹ एकैवमूर्तिर्बिम्बे त्रिधा सा said with reference to *Śiva*; *Ku.*, VII. 44.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 9. विश्वयोनिः *Ibid.*, 62.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II. 10.

¹² *Ibid.*, I. 57, VI. 26; *Raghu.*, II. 35; *Śāk.*, I. 1; *Māl.*, I. 1; cf., *Gītā*, VII. 4 ff.

¹³ *Harṣacarita*, I; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I. 88.

¹⁴ *Ku.*, VI. 67.

yond that which is beyond all, and with the creator of the creators¹. Likewise he has been called both the offering and the offerer, eatable and the eater, knowledge and the knower, and the meditator and the object of meditation². This seems to have been directly drawn from the *Gītā*³. He is said to cover all space without commencement⁴. He is beyond the scope of mind⁵. Following the idea contained in the Puruṣasūkta of the *Ṛgveda*⁶, Brahmā is described as remaining larger in expanse after having filled the ten directions, the entire earth and heaven⁷. Viṣṇu is endowed with the eight attributes⁸, atomic, etc. by which he can subtilize or enlarge his stature. He is supposed to dwell in the heart and yet away, to be free from desires yet an ascetic, compassionate yet unaffected by grief, old yet not subject to decay⁹. This idea is similar to those contained in the *Upa-niṣads*¹⁰. Though omniscient, he is himself unknown; though the source of all, he is self-existent; though the lord of all, he is himself without a superior; he is one yet he assumes all forms¹¹. As an act of favour to the people he condescends to take birth and act like human beings¹². The *Gītā*¹³, where a similar view of incarnation is expressed, seems to be the source of this idea. He is able to protect the people and yet he keeps indifferent¹⁴. The *Gītā*¹⁵ again seems to be the source of this view: The same work is followed in the expression of the poet where he makes Viṣṇu the end of all the roads and to whom he advocates complete resignation and consignment of all actions on the part of the devotee. The poet says: The ways which lead to supreme felicity, although they are many and differently laid down in the scriptures, all meet in him alone¹⁶. To persons whose desires for worldly enjoyments are completely gone, and who have devoted their hearts and consigned their actions to him, he is the refuge for obtaining absolution¹⁷. The phrase *antargatām prāṇabhṛtām* brings in the idea of the *antaryāmi* Brahma so well illustrated in the *Antaryāmi-Brahmaṇa* of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*¹⁸. God being attainable through *bhakti-yoga* seems to be reflected in a verse¹⁹. We

¹ *Ku.*, II. 14.

² *Ibid.*, 15.

³ ब्रह्मार्पणं ब्रह्महविर्ब्रह्माग्नौ ब्रह्मणा हुतम् । IV. 24.

⁴ *Raghu.*, X. 71.

⁵ येतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते । अप्राप्य मनसा सह । *Taitti. Up.*, II. 4, 9.

⁶ *X.* 9, 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XIII. 5; *Vik.*, I. 1.

⁸ *Raghu.*, X. 77; cf. *Svetāśvatara*, III. 20.

⁹ *Ibid.*, X. 19.

¹⁰ तदेजति तन्नैजति तद्दूरे तदन्तिके *Īśa*, 4, 5. For further antithesis cf. also *Svetāśvatara*, III.

10, 20 etc.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, X. 20. cf. एकं रूपं बहुधा यः करोति — *Kathopaniṣad*, V. 12.

¹² *Raghu.*, X. 31, 24.

¹³ IV. 6-8.

¹⁴ *Raghu.*, X. 25; *Ku.*, II. 13.

¹⁵ Cf. IX. 8-10.

¹⁶ *Raghu.*, X. 26, cf. *Gītā*, III. 23.

¹⁷ *Raghu.*, X. 27, cf. *Gītā*, IX. 27, 34, also VII. 1.

¹⁸ III. 15, 16, 22; cf. सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा *Katha. Up.*, V. 9, 10, 11, 12; cf. also *Bṛahmasūtras*,

I, 2, 18ff.

¹⁹ *Vik.*, I. 1.

have a parallel to this idea in the *Gītā*¹.

Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya

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surfaces turned upwards placed on the lap¹. The palms were placed one over the other². The half closed and steady eyes were fixed on the extreme point of the nose³. The five kinds of the air (*pañcamaruta*⁴) were restrained within the body in the manner of a cloud pregnant with water or in that of a still lake. Thus all the winds within the body were stilled to action⁵. The five airs of the body are as follows: *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *vyāna*, *samāna* and *udāna*. This *prāṇāyāma* *vidhi* of the poet⁶ has found mention with a slight detail in the *Bhagavadgītā*⁷. The use of the term 'Śirastah'⁸, has been made in imitation of the *Yogasūtra*⁹. It refers to the Brahmarandhra or an aperture on the crown of the head which is said to be extremely brilliant and which is connected with the *Suṣumṇā* or the spinal cord. Viṣṇu is supposed to sleep in the *Yoganidrā*¹⁰. This sleep of meditation different from the ordinary sleep to which mortals are subject and in which all consciousness is suspended and which, therefore, is a form of death. It is a sleep such as a *Yogī* sleeps, in which consciousness as well as memory is present, and in which the sleeper enjoys communion with absent things and persons belonging to different ages—in which, in fact, the ordinary condition, and limits of knowledge are outstripped. This is a state of the *Puruṣa* who practises it, i.e., the contemplation repose, at the end of each quaternion of *Yugas* takes repose, having annihilated the worlds, and being praised by the first creator seated on a lotus sprung from his own navel¹¹.

In the state of contemplation the mind is absolutely restrained by stopping all bodily communication with external objects through the nine doors (*navadvāra*) and fixed in the heart¹². The nine doors referred to in the *Bhagavad Gītā*¹³ also, are the nine openings of the body through which the mind has communication with the external world around. An exactly similar state of the practice of *samādhī* is given in the *Gītā*¹⁴. Thus the mind must be made 'antarmukha,' i. e., turned inward from external objects of the senses. In this state of perfect contemplation *Yogīs* meditate upon the *aṅśara* *Brahma*¹⁵ and obtain the transcending light (*paramijyotiḥ*)¹⁶. The idea of the *aṅśara* *Brahma* has been elab-

¹ This posture is warranted by the *Bh. Gītā*, VI. 13.

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¹⁰ *Raghu.*, XIII. 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ku.*, III. 50.

¹³ V. 13, VIII. 12; also cf. *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, III. 18.

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borated in the *Gītā*¹. The idea of *keśetra* of the poet² is the subject of discussion in the *Bhagavad Gītā*³. The state of the Yogī is considered remarkable and supposed to endow him with supernatural powers⁴. One possessing the power of Yoga was supposed, for instance, to gain entrance even through bolted doors⁵. Such powers have been dealt with by Patañjali also⁶.

The contemplation or Yoga, which required one to deaden entirely the activity of the senses, naturally necessitated a Yogī to seek the solitary corner of a forest. The penance grove was, therefore, a necessary institution where even sylvan 'trees in the middle of the altars of the ascetics who devoted themselves to meditation in the Virāsana posture, appeared absorbed in contemplation, on account of the stillness caused by the absence of breeze⁷.'

Yoga was taken in the sense of contemplation leading to the final emancipation⁸. When strictly analysed, this idea does not seem much to refer, as pointed out above, to the philosophy of Yoga, developed in the *Bhagavad Gītā*⁹ where Yoga has been defined as '*karmasu kauśalam*'¹⁰.

Buddhism and Jainism

It is significant that no direct reference is made to the Buddhists and Jainas. There are perhaps a few veiled references to the Buddhism but to Jainism there is none unless we care to interpret the word *Prāyopaveśa*¹¹ in the Jaina sense of starvation to death. As regards Buddhism perhaps we have a few indirect references. The word *Nirvāṇa* has been used by the poet several times¹² but it is doubtful if its implication is common with that similar term peculiar to the Buddhistic terminology. 'Nirvāṇa' means full bliss, supreme happiness. It literally means 'what is blown out' and refers to the blowing off, complete extinction, of the self. Perhaps the Parivarājikā of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* was a Buddhist nun as the Hindu rules of asceticism do not encourage *pravrajyā* among women. Her dress of the hermit colour is commended¹³ and she utters the formula *Sāntam pāpaṃ, Sāntam pāpaṃ*¹⁴ akin to the similar Buddhistic expression. We must note that the description of Siva's contemplation¹⁵, to which we have made a reference above and which we have described at length elsewhere, bears a deep im-

¹ VIII. 3, 11, 13.

² *Ku.*, III. 50, VI. 77.

³ XIII.

⁴ *Raghu.*, XVI. 7; *Śāk.*, p. 263.

⁵ *Raghu.*, XVI. 7.

⁶ *Yogasūtra*, III. (विभूतिपाद)

⁷ *Raghu.*, XIII. 52; cf. *Ibid.*, X. 14.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VIII. 22, 24.

⁹ IV. 1-2, cf. IV. VI.

¹⁰ II. 50; cf. *Ibid.*, 48.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, VIII. 94.

¹² *Ibid.* XII. 2; *Śāk.*, p. 88; *Ku.*, III. 52; *Vik.*, III. 21.

¹³ इमे काषाये गृहीते—युक्तःसज्जनस्यैष पन्थाः *Mālk.*, p. 99.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*. But there is another use of the phrase made in the *Śāk.*, p. 172 in a purely non-Buddhistic context.

¹⁵ *Ku.*, III. 45-50.

pression of the Buddhistic Yoga. It was mainly Buddhism that popularised the practices of Yoga in India. Śiva in contemplation resembles Buddha under the Bodhi tree and the images of Buddha in the *Virāsana mudrā* of which we have an endless variety preserved in the museums of India. The poet makes an allusion to the word *Arahat*¹ but perhaps without meaning thereby the Buddhistic acceptation of the term.

From the above notice of the philosophical references it will be evident that Kālidāsa takes his stand on popular Vedantism. It would seem that the saner section of the people, as represented by Kālidāsa had turned to the conception of a deity of universal character embracing all.

Mokṣa

The human aspirations according to the Hindu view centre round four ends, namely *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*². The last of these, *mokṣa*, is the final felicity, the ultimate bliss, the supreme beatitude. The poet variously refers to it by the terms *muketi*³, *apavarga*⁴, *anapāyīpada*⁵, *parārthyagati*⁶, the state of *anāvṛtti*⁷, *ajamā*⁸ and by such other expressions. Birth is considered a misery and a confinement of the soul within the walls of body (*śarīrabandha*⁹) from which liberation, *muketi*, is sought. In the absence of this liberation the soul has to take birth again and again (*punarbhavam*¹⁰) and to undergo a chain of existences according to the actions of the previous birth. Each one of the noted six systems of Hindu philosophy, and Buddhism and Jainism seek to formulate their ideas and ways regarding the final emancipation of the spirit. According to the Vedānta this state is attained by the disappearance of the distinction of the individual souls and Brahma. Kālidāsa remarks that according to the system of Yoga this state is achieved by meditation.¹¹ The Buddhists employ the word *Nirvāṇa* to express this state. *Nirvāṇa* literally means 'what is blown out' and it refers to the blowing off, the complete extinction of the self, a sublime state of conscious rest in omniscience. It later on came to mean the highest delight, the greatest felicity¹².

It may be noted here that actions, *karmas*, good or bad, cannot win *mokṣa* for however do we keep them unstinted with desires and *saṅga* they are bound to get tinged with some sense of the results. The attainment of the *manorathas* will necessarily form part of the end of *karmas* for there is no end to the *manorathas*¹³.

¹ *Sāk.*, V. 15.

² धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणाम् *Raghu.*, X. 84; cf. *Ibid.*, 22.

³ *Ibid.*, 23; *Ku.*, III. 5. मोक्ष *Ibid.*, II. 5.

⁴ *Raghu.*, VIII. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁷ *Ku.*, V. 77.

⁸ *Raghu.*, XVIII. 33.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XIII. 58.

¹⁰ *Sāk.*, VII. 34.

¹¹ *Raghu.*, VIII. 22, 24, XIII. 33; *Vik.*, I. 1.

¹² *Raghu.*, XII. 2; *Ku.*, III. 52; *Māl.*, III. 1; *Sāk.*, II. 10, p. 88; *Vik.*, III. 21; cf. *Kir.*, XI. 69; निर्वाणोऽवातो *Pāṇ.*, VIII., 2. 50.

¹³ *Ku.*, V. 64.

The Mīmāṃsakas lay much stress on the performance of good actions comprised in the rituals and religious ceremonies, but good actions (*punya*), at their best, can bring only delight (*sukha*¹), a residence in one of the seven *lokas*². Their achievement in the last end can be only the attainment of *svarga*³, heaven. But this state will not be one of the final beatitude and will not bring about a cessation of rebirths. The length of residence in the *svarga* will be in accordance with the *punya karmas* and when the latter will exhaust, the spirit will have to revert once again to the earth⁴ and resume its existence through the chain of births. The reference of Kālidāsa to the liberation from rebirths through a dip in the Triṣeṇī⁵ is only an instance of *arthavāda* and is meant to encourage people to perform good actions. In fact, the existence of the spirit itself has been considered one enchained with the *karmas*, and for *mokṣa*, the freedom⁶ from them, the cutting of the Gordian knot will be imperative. It is only when the actions have been burnt down with the fire of knowledge (*tattvajñāna*⁷) that *mokṣa* can be achieved and this horrid chain of existences put aside.⁸

¹ *Śāk*, II 10.

² *Raghu*, X 21

³ *Ku*, II 12, *Raghu*, XI 87, 88, *M. P.*, 30

⁴ *M. P.*, 30.

⁵ *Raghu*, XIII. 58.

⁶ कर्मबन्धच्छिद *Ku*, II 51.

⁷ *Raghu*, VII 58; cf *Ibid*, IV 60

⁸ I am indebted for a few suggestions in this Chapter to my friend Prof T R V Murti.

THE DATE OF KĀLIDĀSA

Much has been written on the date of Kālidāsa and the range of time in which he is sought to be placed is extensive. He is supposed to have lived in the 2nd century B. C. on the one hand and in the 7th century A. D. and even later on the other. And the epochs marked out for him between these two ends are indeed many. We shall not discuss here the merits or demerits of the arguments put forth in favour of one extreme or in that of the other; as a matter of fact, most of the various theories will not even repay the labour of scrutiny. It is proposed to briefly examine here just a few of the theories and then to furnish the data which may fix the poet's date as accurately as possible. An attempt will be made, therefore, to bring the two lines closer and thus to indicate the utmost possible narrow range wherein the poet may have flourished.

The two limits of the poet's date are easily determined. The earlier limit is settled by the fact that the *Mālavikāgnimitra* depicts the court life of Agnimitra the son of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga family, whose rule ended about 148 B. C. The lower limit is fixed by the Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. which names the poet.

The 2nd century B. C. theory has no serious defenders. We must remember, besides, that Kālidāsa cannot be accepted as a contemporary of Patañjali for he shows a thorough acquaintance with the terminology used by the latter in his *Yogasūtras*. Panatāñjali, we know, was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra. Then the tradition makes the poet contemporary with Vikramāditya, which was never a Śuṅga royal epithet and who cannot be placed earlier than the 1st century B.C.

Likewise, there is a number of unsurmountable difficulties in accepting the 1st century B. C. theory. This theory depends much for its strength on the fact that the Vikrama era was founded in 56 B. C. by a king named Vikramāditya who was also the patron of the poet. But we do not know of any Vikramāditya in the 1st century B. C. likely to have been so strong as to oust the Sakas and assume the epithet of *Sakāri* and to found an era. It is even doubtful if the era was at all founded in the 1st century B. C. The first use of this era (in the name of Vikrama)¹ was made about a thousand years after the time when it is said to have been founded! The theory, however, has had two brilliant champions, namely Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya and Professor K. C. Chattopadhyaya. Vaidya's arguments, set forth in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*², have been thoroughly met by K. G. Sankar in the next issue of the same publication³. The endeavours of Prof.

¹ This era was in use under a different name, viz. *Kṛta*.

² July 1920, pp. 63-68.

³ Pp. 189 ff.

Chattopadhyaya also have been controverted by Prof. V. V. Mirashi in his *Kālidāsa*¹. But here a few remarks may be made against the conclusion of Mr. Chattopadhyaya. He has taken his stand on the fact that there are similarities in the expressions of Kālidāsa and Aśvaghōṣa and he has tried to show that the latter is a borrower and that since he lived in the 1st century A. D., the poet must have lived in the 1st century B. C. It may be observed at the very outset that many of the supposed similarities are no similarities at all and ninety per cent of the phraseology of Kālidāsa which the learned professor reads in Aśvaghōṣa are common to all Sanskrit poets. As a matter of fact, they are the common property of the Sanskrit literature. And even when it may be established that the borrowing is genuine it will remain to be proved as to who borrowed from whom. The evidence deduced from the writings of the two poets and the subsequent conclusions drawn from them by the professor are hardly convincing. Some of the conclusions are indeed absolutely unwarranted. A searching scrutiny will easily show this to be the case.

Prof. Chattopadhyaya thinks that when a philosopher is constrained to write poetry he will read and imitate others². But there is hardly any justification for his view that Aśvaghōṣa was *constrained* to write poetry. We hold that the compositions of the poet were never a result of constraint. They were on the contrary a product of choice, voluntary choice. He has amply put his credentials before his critics and whoever judges him will be convinced that he may be inferior to this poet or that in the dignity of diction, in the sweetness of expression or in the skill and dexterity of the arrangement of his plots, but certainly the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda* are products of no mean merit. Why, Mr. Chattopadhyaya himself admits that Aśvaghōṣa is a first rate poet³. The professor quotes Mr. K. G. Sankara approving his remark that there are unnecessary repetitions in Aśvaghōṣa which clearly indicate a novice's hand⁴. This cannot be accepted. There are endless repetitions of expressions and ideas in Kālidāsa himself who is the master of Sanskrit poetry. A number of verses of the seventh canto of the *Kumārasambhava* finds repetition in the seventh canto of the *Raghuvamśa*⁵. And surely every litterateur, whether a poet or a prose writer, has a particular weakness for certain expressions which he repeats. Mr. Chattopadhyaya supposes that Kālidāsa's single verse (*Ku.*, VII. 62, *Ra.*, VII. 11) is repeated twice by Aśvaghōṣa and he asks: "Does not this clearly indicate who is the plagiarist?" He further adds that "the puritanic monk has taken care to omit 'the fragrance of wine'." Mr. Chattopadhyaya conveniently uses the same argument in two opposite contexts as it suits him. He, for example, approvingly quotes Principal Saradaranjan Ray, "... On this consideration the presumption is that Kālidāsa is the author of these common ideas. If he were not, he would not have paraded them this way. The thief does

¹ Hindi edition, pp. 14 ff.

² *The Date of Kālidāsa* p. 83.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵ *Raghu.*, 5-11; *Ku.*, 56-62; *Raghu.*, 19; *Ku.*, 73.

⁶ *The Date of Kālidāsa*, p. 88.

not make a display of stolen goods¹." Now, one may ask, who is the plagiarist Kālidāsa or Aśvaghōṣa?—one who conceals his borrowing or one who parades it? If Aśvaghōṣa had borrowed expressions from Kālidāsa, could he have paraded them by repeating their use? And can the same argument not be utilized the other way by saying that the plagiarist will try to convince the world regarding a borrowed expression by repeating it and making it patently his own? And it is strange that the learned professor should have thought that a *single* verse of Kālidāsa has been repeated twice by Aśvaghōṣa when he himself refers² to two verses of Kālidāsa one contained in the *Kumārasambhava* and the other in the *Raghuvamśa* as a case in point. About the omission of 'the fragrance of wine' it may be said that the 'puritan' does not take care to omit it but that he cannot think of it. Kālidāsa, on the other hand, being obsessed by the prejudices and the preferences of his age betrays himself in the expression. His age, as it is amply proved in the body of this book, was marked by drinking wine. It is thus not that one omits the expression but that the other improves upon the context by using it right in keeping with the spirit of the age. It is further, pointed out that "It is because the *Saundarananda* is his first *kāvya*, Aśvaghōṣa wrote those apologetic lines at the end of the work. When writing the *Buddhacarita*, his fame as a poet must have been established and he needed no apology³." But can this view at all endure? Does not an apology form almost an integral part of the opening portion of a Sanskrit poet? And is the habit forsaken when a certain poet has achieved celebrity? Does not Kālidāsa himself begin his *Raghuvamśa*⁴, the maturest product of his genius, with profound humility and studied apology? And is it that this apology is the essential start of a novice? Does not Kālidāsa himself again challenge the old standards of valuation in his *Mālavikāgni-mitra*⁵, a work positively of questionable merit? And do we not find that majestic poet Bhavabhūti throwing gauntlets in the face of his contemporaneous world of critics through his famous verse⁶....*tānpratīnaisayatnaḥ....Utpatsyate mamatu koapi samānadbarmā Kālobyaniravadhīrvipulā ca prthivī?* About the professor's assertion that there is no occasion for the pre-history of the Śākya and the birth and ancestry of Nanda and that it has been done by Aśvaghōṣa in imitation of the *Raghuvamśa*⁷, it can be asked: Can the mere existence of an historical *Kāvya* induce another poet to preface his *kāvya* with a dynastic account? And is not the practice of giving dynastic history warranted in literature? Does not Bāṇa follow the same practice in his *Harṣacarita*? [Mr. Chattopadhyaya supposes to have gained a capital point in a faulty expression of Aśvaghōṣa. He says, "It is a bull's shoulder and not a lion's that can be an object for comparison. Aśvaghōṣa has made Nanda have the shoulders of a lion and the eyes of a bull! Kālidāsa does not mention the eyes of Dilīpa but his shoulders are likened to those of a bull.

¹ Ibid., p. 84.

² Ibid., p. 88.

³ Ibid., p. 90.

⁴ Cf. I. 2, 3.

⁵ I. 2.

⁶ *Mālatīmādhava*, I. 8.

⁷ *Date of Kālidāsa*, p. 92.

Aśvaghoṣa attempted variation but betrayed plagiarism¹.” The professor also remarks², “or, may we think that the variation in Aśvaghoṣa is due to wrong memory?” In this observation, firstly, it is presumed without any ground whatever that a borrowing has been made and then a further error is committed on this hypothetical deduction. If at all there is a wrong comparison, indeed it is genuine. There is hardly any point in looking for a conscious effort in an innocent flaw. And as a matter of fact the shoulders of a lion are broad enough to be used for comparison and the bull’s eyes are without doubt ideally big. As to the learned scholar’s suggestion that the variation may have been occasioned³ due to wrong memory, we can only say that it knocks the bottom out of his purposeful endeavour. Is it not strange that Aśvaghoṣa had no manuscript of Kālidāsa’s works before his eyes? It is expected that a person who is freely borrowing from a poet, and is making conscious efforts for effecting variations in them should at least possess a copy of his works! And surely one who borrows at such an exhaustive length should become a veritable master and must not suffer to occur such a common-place mistake as one pointed out above by the professor. He points out that the description of the conquest of Māra by Aśvaghoṣa is borrowed from the destruction of Kāma in the *Kumāra sambhava*⁴. But just the opposite may be possible for it must be borne in mind that in the life of Buddha the noted incident is a remarkable one. It is interesting to note that Mr. Chattopadhyaya thinks that one improvement is sought to be made by Aśvaghoṣa in making Sundarī paint her cheeks herself on Kālidāsa’s making Kāma dye the feet of Rati with lac⁵. And in this connection he quotes *Smaragardalakhaṇaṇam mama śirasi maṇḍanam dehi padapallavamudāram*⁶ of Jayadeva. It may be pointed out that it is no improvement of Aśvaghoṣa on Kālidāsa but it occurs in Kālidāsa as also later in Jayadeva because both Kālidāsa and Jayadeva come after Vātsyāyana. As to the parallelism of Nārada’s prophecy regarding Umā’s marriage with Śiva and Asita’s prophecy regarding the future greatness of Buddha⁷, it may only be said that the latter happens to form an incident of the Buddhist legends important enough to have been taken from there. “Lastly,” the professor adds, “the still later *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, to judge from the three passages preserved in the *Dīnyāvadāna* (pp. 357-64, 382-4, 430-3), is a first rate work with very little obligation to Kālidāsa.” This is a candid confession undoing all that he has said, for, taking the professor for his word, if Aśvaghoṣa could bring out ‘a first rate work’ with very little obligation to Kālidāsa can he not be credited with enough poetical sense to compose much inferior pieces without the influence of Kālidāsa? In continuation of his last point perhaps trying to retrieve his ground lost through his confession, the professor adds in a footnote⁸: “The third passage, contain-

¹ *Date of Kālidāsa*, p. 94 footnote.

² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 97 footnote.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 100

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁸ *Ibid.*

ing a touching story of Aśoka's liberality towards the Sangha may have been influenced by the story of Raghu's liberality in the *Raghuvamśa*, V." This makes the confusion worse confounded. For a devout Buddhist was not the Aśoka's liberality closer at hand to go by and the *Aśokāvadāna* the hoard to draw from? Thus using the professor's own words we can say that "One may object about my inferences that such coincidences are natural when there is an agreement in the subject matter and they do not necessarily imply borrowing¹."

Here we may refer to a few more points raised in the same paper. Mr. Chattopadhyaya has fallen a victim to the usual error when he says that Khāravela did much mischief in Puṣyamitra's dominions². Since the coins bearing the name of Puṣyamitra have now been discovered the equation of this king with Bahasatimitra of the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela is hardly justified and therefore Khāravela and Puṣyamitra cannot be considered contemporaries at least on the basis of that evidence. As to the professor's objection to Candragupta II being considered king of Ujjayini³, it may be asserted that he was king of Ujjayini by virtue of his having conquered Avanti and Surāṣṭra. We know from inscriptions⁴ that both Kumāra Gupta I and Skanda Gupta continued to hold sway over these two provinces. Regarding his observation—"The manner in which Kālidāsa has paraded his astronomical learning indicates the popularity of the study in that region, and probably also its recent introduction there⁵"—it can only be added that if the terms became known in the 1st century B. C. we must allow a fair interval of time to let them become current so as to be popularly understood in poetical allusions. Kālidāsa then could not have lived in the 1st century B. C.

We may here note a few further points to show that the 1st century B. C. theory cannot be accepted for the date of Kālidāsa.

Firstly, Kālidāsa nowhere in the whole range of his works mentions the Sakas. If he had lived in the 1st century B. C., say about 57 B. C., he would have surely known of the Śaka invasion mentioned in the Yugapurāṇa⁶ of the *Gārgī Samhitā* which came about 35 B. C. and to which a reference would have become inevitable. It was a very important invasion coming from the frontier under Amlāta⁷, perhaps a governor of the Śaka king Azes (58 B. C.—11 B. C.)

Secondly, the calm times and the sense of luxury pervading throughout the works of the poet could not have been an incident of the disturbed political condition of the 1st century B. C.

Thirdly, the Puranic traditions and details which find such frequent mention in the works of the poet came mostly to be compiled under the Gupta patronage and may yet have been in the melting pot during the 1st century B. C.

¹ Ibid., p. 92.

² Ibid., p. 117.

³ Ibid., p. 143.

⁴ Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumāra Gupta I and Bandhuvarmā; Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta.

⁵ *The Date of Kālidāsa*, p. 162.

⁶ Diwan Bahadur Professor K. H. Dhruva's edition, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 1, 21, I. 51 ff. cf. Ibid., p. 41.

⁷ Ibid., p. 21, l. 58.

Fourthly, the enormous number of the images of Hindu Gods and their temples to which the poet makes frequent references cannot point to the conditions of the 1st century B. C. Surely the idol worship had long become prevalent in India but the prolific fashioning of the Hindu images marks out the period after the Kuṣāṇas. The impetus was received through the introduction of the Mahāyāna, a bhakti movement of the 1st century A. D. Before that mostly the images of Yakṣas were worshipped. This is how references to the idols of gods are not so frequent in Aśvaghōṣa as in Kālidāsa. This may also incidentally point to the posterity of the latter poet to the former who live in the 1st century A. D.

Thus the 1st century B. C. theory must be abandoned. Likewise the sixth century theory of Hoernle¹. M. M. Hara Prasad Shastri² and Dr. D. A. Bhandarkar³ making Kālidāsa contemporary with Yasōdharman have been very ably combated by scholars like Dr. A. B. Keith⁴ and Mr. B. C. Mazumdar⁵ and must be abandoned. The theories of Hoernle and Pathak are based on the reference to *kunkuma* which idea is also set at right by accepting with Prof. Pathak the reading *Vaṅṣu* for *Sindhu*⁶. We have already discussed the point of saffron in the valley of Oxus in our chapter dealing with the place names in connection with the identification of the habitat of the Hūṇas. There we have also discussed that the Hūṇas had already crossed the Oxus and settled in its valley in A. D. 425 when they had been defeated by Behramgour of Persia and when the Oxus had been recognized by them as their boundary. Even as early as A. D. 350 they had attacked Persia and had been repulsed by Shapur the Great⁷. Therefore there is absolutely no need of Kālidāsa being dragged to the 6th century for giving the Hūṇas time to invade India and settle in Kashmir. Then the fact that the poet has been followed by Vatsabhāṭṭi⁸ points that he lived before A. D. 472 in which year the inscription is dated.

The poet is not aware of the Huṇa and the Puṣyamitra trouble of the reign of Kumāra Gupta, and so Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti's date⁹ of the end of the fifth century A. D. is also precluded. Thus the range of time in which Kālidāsa lived and worked has been narrowed down to a considerable limit, i.e., about A. D. 400. Since Kālidāsa follows Vātsyāyana in many details, as has been shown in the chapter on *Learning*, he must have come after the third century which is the accepted date for Vātsyāyana. Therefore the poet must have lived about A. D. 400. This view has the concurrence of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar¹⁰, Keith¹¹ and Smith¹².

¹ J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 109 ff.

² J. B. O. R. S., 1916, pp. 31 ff.

³ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1927, Vol. VIII. pp. 200-4.

⁴ J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 433 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 731 ff; J. B. O. R. S., 1916, pp. 389 ff.

⁶ Cf. *Meghadūta*, Introduction; J. B. O. R. S., XIX. pp. 35-43.

⁷ *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, p. 66.

⁸ Mandasor Inscription, cf. V. 31 with *Riv.*, V. 2, 3; cf. also Kielhorn-Gott. *Nach.*, 1890, pp. 251 seq. Buhler—Die Indischen Inscription, p. 71. J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 433 ff.

⁹ J. R. A. S., 1903, pp. 183 ff; *ibid.*, 1904, pp. 158 ff.

¹⁰ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XX. p. 399.

¹¹ *A His. of Sans. Lit.*, p. 82.

¹² *E. H. I.*, p. 321.

Below will be given a few points to bring about the contemporaneity of Kālidāsa with the Guptas. Most of these points are absolutely new and will fix the poet to the reigns of Candragupta II Vikramāditya and his son Kumāragupta. We shall start, however, with two points common with others.

There is a perfect similarity of expression between the language of Kālidāsa and that of the inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas. Sometimes the very same phrases occur in Kālidāsa as well as the inscriptions. Mr. Chakravartī¹ and Mr. Basak² have compared this affinity at length and Dr. F. W. Thomas has referred to a number of expressions formed from the root *gup*³. And although he does not subscribe to this view at least one thing positively follows from this. It is that Kālidāsa was greatly fond of using the derivatives from the root *gup*. This may have been due to his patronage by the Imperial Guptas. Throughout the present work also affinities in expressions and ideas pertaining to the social, religious, aesthetic and sculptural aspects have been alluded to. We may refer here to three such further affinities. The legends on the Gupta coins—*Samaraśatavitatavijayo jitaripur ajito divam jayti*⁴, *Rājādhirājaḥ pṛthivīvijitvādivam jayatā hṛtavājimedhabh*⁵, *Kṣitimavajitya sucaritair divam jayati Vikramādityabh*⁶, etc., are much akin to Kālidāsa's *purā saptaadvīpam jayati vasudhāmapratirathabh*⁷. Kārttikeya riding a peacock, found on the coins of the Imperial Guptas⁸, was perhaps their family deity. Kālidāsa makes frequent allusions to Kumāra and Skanda⁹ and actually translates the coin figure of Kārttikeya riding a peacock in his expression *mayūrapṛsthāśrayiṇā gubena*¹⁰. Kālidāsa also refers to this symbol borne on the seals.

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The *chakra* of the pre-Kuṣāṇa images later on developed into the halo rising from the pedestal from the back of the image. During the Kuṣāṇa period it was plain and was called *prabhāmaṇḍala*. Later, during the Gupta period, it was elaborated and its ground mostly filled with fanciful figures and rays of radiating light. This has been particularly marked by Kālidāsa in his term *sphurat-prabhāmaṇḍala*⁸.

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These points will conclusively prove that Kālīdāsa was a poet of the Gupta times. The perfect calm that pervades his works precludes the reign of Skanda Gupta and the closing years of the reign of Kumāra Gupta I which were marred by the trouble with the Pūṣyamitras and the Hūnas. The lower limit of the date of the poet thus may be put in the year 449 A. D., 450 being the year of the war with the Pūṣyamitras. But if both Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta have been referred indirectly by the poet he might have lived to see the birth of Skanda Gupta. The poet wrote extensively and his work must have extended over a long period of time. If he lived to an old age, say eighty years, then taking his death about A. D. 445, we can place his birth about A. D. 365. Thus he may have been born during the reign of Samudra Gupta and lived during the whole of Chandra Gupta II's reign and the major part of Kumāra Gupta's rule. He thus may have seen the birth of Skanda Gupta also as the prince must have been at least twenty years old when he beat back the Pūṣyamitras. And if Kālīdāsa began his career as a poet in his twenty-fifth year his *Rtusambhāra* may have been begun about A. D. 390, and his period of activities may have spread over a long range of time coinciding with what is popularly known as the Golden Age of Indian history¹.

¹ Professor V. V. Miśra has discussed the evidence from the *Kumtāleśvarādantya* in his *Kālīdāsa*, Ch. I, but here no discussion on that work has been made since the piece is not yet recovered.

EXTENT OF PUṢYAMITRA'S EMPIRE

It is not the purpose of this Appendix to settle the limits of the great Śuṅga empire on all its four directions. The point occasioned for discussion is due to an observation of Kālidāsa in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* which has been misunderstood by certain scholars. Sindhu, a river, finds mention in the above named play, Act V, in course of emperor Puṣyamitra's letter to his son, Agnimitra, the ruling prince of Vidiśā and the viceroy of his father's southern possessions. There it is narrated that on the southern bank of the Sindhu (*sindhordakṣiṇarodhasi*) Vasumitra, the grandson of the emperor and the guardian of his sacrificial horse had an encounter with *Yavanas*, the Greeks, whom he vanquished. The interest of this Appendix is therefore, to identify the river Sindhu of the text and to indicate the north western frontier of the Śuṅga empire. In this regard the title of this Appendix will prove a misnomer as there is no endeavour made to settle the limits of that empire on all its four points. The discussion, however, is not free from difficulties and it incidentally brings to the fore some very important and interesting points. There is an important section of the *Early History of India*¹ devoted by Dr. Vincent A. Smith to a discussion of the invasion of Menander on India of which several incidents and conclusions will prove unfounded and mistaken. We shall indicate them as we proceed.

Smith, following Cunningham, thinks that the western foreigners took up the challenge of the Śuṅga emperor "on the banks of the river Sindhu, which now forms the boundary between Bundelkhand and the Rajputāna states²." He further adds that "These disputants may have been part of the division of Menander's army which had undertaken the siege of Madhyamikā in Rajputānā³." But the utter untenability of Smith's position is easily established by a few facts which we give below. We shall, at the start, examine the savant's conclusion itself and so we shall have to take into account a few antecedent facts as well.

I. Smith confuses the invasion of Menander with that of Demetrios and makes Puṣyamitra a contemporary of both Khāravela and Menander⁴. The contemporaneity of Puṣyamitra and Khāravela rests on an extremely dubious datum, that of the equation of the former with Bahasatimitra of the Hathigumpha inscription of *Mahāmeghavāhana* Khāravela. Now since the coins of Puṣyamitra have been discovered bearing his own name, there is hardly any justifiable ground for clinging to an unnatural and indirect equation of part of the etymology (Pusya-Bṛahaspati) of the two names, Jayaswal himself having had accepted it

¹ 4th Edition, pp. 209 ff.

² Ibid., p. 211.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 209, 210, 227-229.

only as a temporary workable hypothesis. The equation then easily falls to the ground. Then, if we accept with Jayaswal 'Dimita' as the correct reading of the Hathigumpha inscription, which seems very probable, the Greek king (Yonarāja) of the Indian invasion turns out to be Demetrios and not Menander. There is another important point which makes the contemporaneity of Puṣyamitra with Khāravela highly improbable. The *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgī Samhitā*, an astronomical work of about the 1st century B. C.¹ (i.e. written within a range of fifty years of Puṣyamitra's time) narrates the incidents, of this Greek invasion just after the reign of Śāliśūka Maurya², the fourth successor of Aśoka. Now, according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,³ Śāliśūka Maurya is followed by at least three kings, namely Somaśarman Maurya (Daśavarman or Devavarman of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*), Satadhanvan Maurya (Satadanus of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*), and Brhadratha Maurya (Brhadaśva or Brjadaśva of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*). And it is after killing this last named Maurya king that Puṣyamitra ascends the throne of Magadha. Now, if the invasion came after the reign of Śāliśūka Maurya, certainly the Śuṅga emperor was removed downwards at least three reigns from the event of the occupation of Pāṭaliputra. According to Smith's computation itself Puṣyamitra is removed from Śāliśūka Maurya at least twenty-one years⁴ (i. e. 206 B. C. acc. of Somaśarman, 185 B. C. the acc. of Puṣyamitra). Thus the invasion must not have fallen in the reign of Puṣyamitra. This important piece of evidence of the *Yugapurāṇa* has been overlooked by scholars. Now Khāravela's invasion against Puṣyamitra itself is unfounded and it must have come earlier probably during the time of Śāliśūka Maurya himself, to which fact Smith himself reluctantly, and perhaps doubtfully, accedes⁵. The *Yugapurāṇa* says that Śāliśūka Maurya was terribly irreligious himself although he persecuted the people of Saurāṣṭra and emulating Samprati, forcibly converted them to Jainism, his own faith. This indeed may have been considered enough ground for a foreign invasion and there is therefore no wonder that the almost contemporaneous chronicler calls the Greek invader Demetrios Dharmamita⁶, a 'friend of the faith.' Thus the invasion came much before the accession of Puṣyamitra to the throne of Magadha. We learn, besides, of two invasions of Khāravela on Magadha. On the first occasion the Magadha king was humbled. It seems that it was now that the Greek invasion came. On the second invasion of Khāravela, according to the Hathigumpha inscription, the Greeks (Yonarāja Dimita) retired to Mathura and Khāravela again held sway over Magadha⁷. We may remark at this stage that according to the *Yugapurāṇa*⁸ already 'the kings (of Magadha) had perished and the Greeks had been ruling' in the Madhyadeśa. It may, however, be observed on the

¹ J. B. O. R. S., XIV. 1928, p. 399.

² E. H. I., 4th Edition, p. 207.

³ Ibid., pp. 401-02, II. 16 ff.

⁴ E. H. I., 4th Edition, p. 207.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ J. B. O. R. S., XIX. 3, 1928, p. 401, l. 19.

⁷ Ibid., p. 403, l. 40.

⁸ यवना ज्ञापयिष्यन्ति नश्येरन् च पार्थिवाः Ibid., l. 41.

same authority that the Greeks did not retire due to the Orissan pressure but they did so in consequence of a civil war which had broken out among themselves. It was the revolt of Eukratides that had compelled Demetrios, the *Rex Indorum* of Justin¹, to speed up with a desperate haste towards the north. All the same, the incident served as a great event for the panegyric exploits of the great Orissan potentate. The Greek withdrawal from the Āryāvarta is indirectly alluded to by Patañjali also while commenting on the Paninian ephorism *Sūdrāṇa-manirvāsītānām*². Thus if all this happened during Śāliśūka Maurya's time or soon after his demise, then at least three reigns had to intervene before the great usurper could be brought to the scene of action, Puṣyamitra, therefore, could not have been the ruler of Magadha contemporary with either Khāravela or Demetrios. He may, however, have been a younger contemporary, serving in the Mauryan army and making his plans for and keeping a distant cast over his future usurpation.

I am prepared, however, to accept the view of Tarn as expressed in his *Greeks in Bactria and India*, a remarkable publication of recent years, that Menander was probably a General of Demetrios and also perhaps his son-in-law³. If it was so, Menander would indeed become a contemporary of another youngman Puṣyamitra. Menander may have joined Demetrios in his attack on the Magadhan empire and Tarn's thesis⁴ that it was led by Menander on the east and by Demetrios and Apollodotus on the west like a pair of pincers, the points of the pincers meeting at Pātaliputra may be correct. This may besides be borne out by the fact that Patañjali referring obviously to this event mentions simultaneously the sieges of Śāketa and Madhyamikā (*aruṇadyavanaḥ śāketam, aruṇadyavanaḥ madhyamikām*) in an example. It is significant how of the two sieges one located in Oudh and the other near Chitor in Rajputana could have been simultaneously effected if they had not been carried on by two flanks led under independent and yet tactfully coordinated units of an Invader's rushing columns of army. It may also be observed here that both Patañjali and the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*⁵, refer to the same Greek invasion for in both the allusions to the siege of Śāketa are common. By analysing the *Yugapurāṇa* we find that there has not been only one invasion on Magadha but several. Smith considers them to be only one and this he supposes to have come towards the close of Puṣyamitra's reign⁶, the invader being Menander! But actually the first came under Demetrios, as is attested to by both the Hathigumpha inscription⁷ and the *Yugapurāṇa*⁸, Menander as a general leading an attack on the eastern side⁹. The Greeks become supreme in Pātaliputra for a time. The kings disappear and the Greeks rule¹⁰. The provinces get disrupted and

¹ XLI. 6, 4, *Demetrio regis Indorum*. cf. *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 154.

² *Mahābhāṣya* (While describing the boundaries of Āryāvarta).

³ W. W. Tarn: *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 140, 225, 226.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 140 ff.

⁵ J. B. O. R. S., XIV, 3, 1928, p. 402, l. 22.

⁶ E. H. I., 4th Edition, pp. 210, 229.

⁷ *Yonārāja Dīmīta*.

⁸ J. B. O. R. S., XIV, 3, 1928, p. 403, l. 40.

⁹ *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 140 ff.

¹⁰ J. B. O. R. S., *Ibid.*, l. 41.

fall to disorder¹ and anarchy. But the Greeks do not stay in the Madhyadeśa for long² and Demetrios is constrained to hasten homeward to extinguish the conflagration set by the wily Eukratides. Necessity compels him to abandon his eastern possessions to Menander, who sets himself up as king at Sākala. At this stage the *Yugapurāṇa* comes in with an interesting event if we accept the reading Sākala with Professor Dhruva³. Seven stalwarts arise in the Greek camp at Sāgala, an internecine war develops and the Greek leaders meet their doom in the disaster. Then there is another move towards the east, probably under Menander. Swords are unsheathed, steel cracks under steel, may be near about Saketa and the east meets the west. There is a storm and then a consequent lull: the beaten foreign divisions decamp in disorder. And if we are to believe Plutarch that Menander died fighting in camp⁴, who could indeed his invincible inveterate enemy be, but Puṣyamitra? Now the interval between the two Greek invasions must have fallen apart from each other several decades in distance of time. This would allow the three Mauryan reigns to pass off, the assassination of the last Mauryan king and the usurpation of the Magadhan throne by Puṣyamitra to be successfully attempted, the first performance of the *Aśvamedha* to be accomplished and a long reign to be established. Then came the vigorous attempt to reclaim the lost possessions to the dominions of Demetrios on the part of Menander who considered them his own both by virtue of his having succeeded to the eastern possession of Demetrios and by that of his part collaboration in the earlier victory over Magadha. But his designs were foiled by the Brahmanic veteran, Puṣyamitra, Patañjali's model of a Brahmanical revivalist. And it was now when the storm on the west had passed off, the throne of Sākala had lain vacant and the possessions near about Taxila and the Indus had been rendered uncertain, the Indian worthy thought of a complete effacement of the enemy and of claiming the dubious possessions of the Indus as his own. The second *Aśvamedha* followed in consequence. Vasumitra, the valiant escort of the agile sacrificial horse and the grandson of the redoubtable Puṣyamitra overran the vast tableland of the Āryāvarta and swept past the kingless capital of Sākala and Taxila and crushed the challenge of the gathering Greeks in a bend of the Indus, the Sindhu of our text, and thus reiterated the claims of his grandfather as a paramount sovereign of India. Tarn draws an affinity between the designs of Alexander and Demetrios⁵ in their projected conquest of India. The analogy may be completed by observing that it proves true on the Indian side as well. It can be said that just as Demetrios had Alexander for his model perhaps Puṣyamitra also had Candragupta for his. But just as Alexander could accomplish nothing Demetrios' plans also fell through. It was Menander who had to strive to lay claims to the possessions of his master, Demetrios, right in the manner of Seleukos endeavouring to regain possession of the lost dominions of his master, Alexander. But

¹ आकूला विषयाः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः । Ibid., p. 402, l. 25.

² मध्यदेशे न स्थास्यन्ति यवना युद्धदुर्मदाः ॥ Ibid., p. 403, l. 42.

³ J. B. O. R. S., XVI. I. pp. 20, l. 22.

⁴ *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 228, (*Mor.*, 821, D.)

⁵ Ibid., p. 131.

just as Seleukos had received the surprise of his life in his defeat by Candragupta Maurya so also did Menander receive his in his adverses at the hands of Puṣyamitra. Nor was the Indian sovereign less energetic in his demands on the humble Greeks. Had not Candragupta received a Greek princess in the daughter of Seleukos as a term of stipulation in the treaty? Why should then Puṣyamitra hold back in a similar circumstance? This is why the *Yugapurāṇa* tells us as to how it was that he demanded the hand of a certain Greek princess, may be for his grandson (he himself being over sixty now), and pushing hard his point to gain his object, he died in camp¹ in the north. The evidence is corroborated by the *Aśokāvadāna*² as well whose author was probably a younger contemporary of Puṣyamitra³. Perhaps Agnimitra, who continued the war⁴ started by his father, succeeded in gaining Puṣyamitra's objective⁵.

II. With the defeat of Menander the United Provinces must have been evacuated of the Greeks and thus this part of the country dominated hitherto by a heretical Buddhist king⁶ secured. The Yavanas may have been constrained to keep a hold only on the extreme western Punjab and it is not likely that Puṣyamitra, an emperor of the status of one who could perform two horse sacrifices⁷, would have left the followers of Menander, an adversary whom he had defeated, at a harmful distance who could threaten the safety of his newly won empire and a squadron of whose army actually came in conflict with his grandson.

III. Another evidence may be taken into account in this regard. The *Aśokāvadāna* says that Puṣyamitra was a great persecuter of the Buddhists whose monasteries he burnt upto Jalandher⁸. The authenticity of the story has been doubted and the narration has been characterised as an exaggerated piece⁹. But there is no evidence to assail the incidents of the story and there is hardly any justification for supposing it to be a fabricated exaggeration. Perhaps there is some untrodden ground and some evidence not yet properly weighed which may be discussed below: The Mauryas from Aśoka downwards were rulers converted to Buddhism or Jainism holding them in high respect. We read not infrequently of the consequent inequities that occasionally befell the fate of the followers of the Brahmanical religion. Whenever there was an ascendancy of the Brahmanical faith the Buddhist *Saṅghas* had shown ample desire to plot against it. Puṣyamitra was a hater of the Buddhists and had wrested from Brhadratha, the last Buddhist emperor of the Maurya dynasty, his empire by killing him in open day light. This successful revolution that he led was itself evidently the outcome of a Brahmanical conspiracy of which he may have been the leader. He, besides being him-

¹ J. B. O. R. S., XVI. 1, 1930, p. 21, II. 44 ff., cf. also Jayaswal's text, Ibid., XIV. 3, 1928, II. 84 ff.

² E. H. I., (Tārānātha), p. 229.

³ *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 177.

⁴ J. B. O. R. S., XVI. 1, 1930, p. 36.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ That Menander had taken to the Buddhist faith is proved by the evidence of the *Milindapañha*.

⁷ Ajodhya Inscription of Puṣyamitra.

⁸ *Early History of India*, 4th edition, p. 213.

⁹ Ibid.

self a Brahmin, was furthermore a great revivalist of the temporarily overshadowed Brahmanic culture. He revived the long forgotten horse sacrifice and other rituals and must have been regarded with awe and hatred by the followers of Mahāvira and Buddha. The Jainas and Buddhists might have been driven to extreme wrath. The Buddhists were given to intrigue; it is very probable that they intrigued with the background of a long-lived Buddhistic state, and with many adherents of their faith who were yet quite large in number in the country. Let us digress a little here and examine Smith. The two invasions, if we were to depend on Smith, against the Brahman emperor, both by rulers professing faiths inimical to Brahmanism, were the result. The coincidence is intriguing and calls for an explanation. It may be that the Jainas and the Buddhists made a common cause against this Brahmanical revivalist and animal sacrificer and it is not improbable that their combined intrigue had something to do with the invasion of Khāravela apart from the additional reason of his patriotic sentiments of vengeance against his contemporaneous successor of Nanda, who had the audacity of forcibly carrying away a Jaina image by humiliating one of the predecessors of Khāravela on the Kalinga throne. The first invasion came and was bought off, the second compelled Puṣyamitra to undergo the privation of an exile and to retire to Mathura. But the diplomat seems to have been an invincible match to his wily opponents as he soon recovered his kingdom and was able to establish his authority in the land. But we, however, do not agree with Smith on this point or seek the aid of his argument to establish our theory. The wreckers were hot at work and won over the services of a Buddhist monarch, Menander, to the cause of their faith. It was subsequent to the withdrawal of Demetrios and the assumption of powers at Sākala by Menander. Menander came with the ardour of a newly converted brother-of-faith and with the personal designs of a territorial aggrandisement and penetrated far into the east. But the hand that had struck Brāhadratha and wrested the empire of the Buddhist Mauryas was strong enough to hold it and the intruder was violently repulsed and thoroughly routed. The wrath of the Śuṅga general, who could well have seen through the real cause of this invasion (i. e. a Buddhistic conspiracy), was naturally raised to a frenzied pitch and, it seems, he followed his conquest by pressing hard upon the heels of the followers of Menander slaughtering the Buddhist monks and burning down their monasteries, the centres of plots against him and his religion. And it is in the fitness of things that the reference in the *Aśokāvadāna* story should have been made to the burning of the Buddhist monasteries up to Jallandher, and around Sākala for the head of each Śramaṇa of which he is said to have put a hundred gold pieces for the price¹. We may note here that Sākala was full of Buddhists then and the capital is said to be a possession of the Śuṅga emperor². This story seems to be absolutely correct to us and the idea that Puṣyamitra could not be so cruel on the ground that the Brahmanical rulers were generally tolerant does not appeal to us. The story of Saśāṅka's persecution is on record after all.

¹ पुष्यमित्रो यावत् संघारामान् भिक्षूश्च प्रघातयन् प्रस्थितः । स यावच्छकलमनुप्राप्तः । तेनाभिहितम् । यो मे श्रमणशिरो दास्यति तस्याहं दीनारशतं दास्यामि । *Aśokāvadāna* in the *Dīvyāvadāna*.

² *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 177.

The truth of the story cannot be denied especially as the uncalled for assumption is made with reference to a man who remained a soldier all his life so much so that it gained him the epithet of *Senāpati* which he preferred to his well-deserved title of the emperor, and who revelled in bloody wars and sanguinary sacrifices. Then we must remember that the occupation of Pāṭaliputra and the sieges of Sāketa and Madhyamikā would have been very fresh in his mind and would have urged him on to wreak full vengeance on the Greeks, the perpetrators and the Buddhist monks, the abettors of a national crime.

IV. The horse sacrifice referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*¹ seems to have been the second of the two that the emperor performed and must have fallen almost at the fag end of Puṣyamitra's reign in view of the fact that his grandson had grown old enough to venture out with an army in foreign lands guarding the horse consecrated for a Rājasūya sacrifice. We know that Agnimitra has been portrayed in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* as making love with Mālavikā in an advanced age and as having a household with several wives and children. These facts show that this was the second sacrifice of Puṣyamitra who was an old man now. By this time it is expected that a man of his energy, push and tact should have consolidated his empire and made it peaceful and prosperous. There is no strength in the plea that the Greek squadron that Vasumitra stumbled into on the bank of the Sindhu may have been a part of the rear guard of a bigger army and that this Sindhu is a minor stream of that name near Bundelkhand. Then the fact yet remains to be proved that this Kalisindh did not flow through the dominions of Puṣyamitra. It can, on the contrary, be established that the valley of this river was a possession of the Śuṅgas, father and son. How can it be possibly imagined that the Kalisindh which flows at a short distance from Vidiśā, the capital of Agnimitra, lay out of the territory of Puṣyamitra? Thus whereas the region about Sākala², Malwā and the protectorate³ of Vidarbha (Berar) lay at the feet of the Śuṅga emperor and since the entire course of the Kaliṣindh wound through his territory, it would be untenable to think that a Greek army could bivouac on the bank of this river towards the close of Puṣyamitra's reign and endanger his prosperity.

V. Mathura to which, according to Smith, the general had retired after his defeat from Khāravela must not have lain beyond his dominions in the west, nāy, nor even on the extreme western border of his empire for we have to take into account the inimical Buddhists and the ambitious Menander whose territory was conterminous with his. But we shall not build our theory on the failure of Smith, when we have the evidence of the *Aśokāvadāna* (quoted *ante*) to go by. It says that Sākala was a Śuṅga possession. Mathurā also, therefore, was included in his empire. Thus, if Sākala lay within his empire which cannot be doubted now, it is only natural and logical that we should look for a Sindhu beyond this city, for the Kalisindh will fall farther within the Indian side of Sākala. And

¹ p. 102.

² Represented as a possession of Puṣyamitra in the *Aśokāvadāna*. cf. *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 177.

³ *Mālavikāgnimitra*, V. 13.

beyond Sākala there is only one Sindhu that we know of which is none other than the Indus.

VI. An *Aśvamedha* sacrifice obviously refers to a conquest of lands lying beyond the dominions of the sacrificer. His horse cannot possibly be attacked at home and since the Kalisindh lay within the empire of the General the horse must have moved beyond Sākala and its leader must have encountered the Greeks on the bank of the Indus.

VII. Lastly, as we learn from the *Mālavikāgnimitra*¹ that Dhārini, the mother of Vasumitra and Agnimitra his father, rejoice on the victory of their son to a great length which fact may indicate their anxiety for him as it is further strengthened by the mother's remark: अति घोरे खलु पुत्रक सेनापतिना नियुक्तः². 'Our young son has been appointed by the General to a dangerous undertaking.' Now we know that their information about the victory of their son comes through the letter from Pusyamitra³. This would have looked strange if the battle had been fought on the Kalisindh which flowed within the possession of Agnimitra. He would have been the first person to know the results of the battle fought in his neighbourhood. It will be futile to press the point that he was engaged more in the personal affairs of his harem and did not seriously care for politics because he shows himself considerably alert in the disposal of the affairs regarding Vidarbha. The information comes from the General for he was closer to the scene of operation which was the frontier Indus than Agnimitra and the courier that brought the message of victory from Vasumitra changed post at Pātaliputra⁴.

The data discussed in course of the above few pages amply make out a case for the identification of the river Sindhu of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* with the frontier Indus.

¹ Pp. 102-104.

² Ibid., p. 101.

³ Ibid., p. 102.

⁴ I have discussed at length the *Sindhu* problem in the *Journals* of the U. P. Historical Society and the Benares Hindu University (Silver Jubilee number) in the year 1943.

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